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HOLINSHED'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

31058

VOL. V.

SCOTLAND.

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THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

SCOTLAND,

WRITTEN AT THE FIRST BY HECTOR BOETIUS IN LATINE,

AND AFTERWARD

TRANSLATED INTO THE SCOTISH SPEECH BY JOHN BELLENDEN

ARCHDEACON OF MURREY,

AND NOW FINALLIE INTO ENGLISH BY R. H.

WHEREVPON IS INFERRED

THE HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND,

CONTEINING

THE BEGINNING, INCREASE, PROCEEDING, CONTINUANCE,

ACTS, AND GOUERNEMENT

OF

THE SCOTISH NATION,

FROM THE ORIGINALL THEREOF VNTO THE YEARE 1571.

GATHERED AND WRITTEN IN ENGLISH

BY

RAPHAELL HOLLINDSHEAD:

AND CONTINUED FROM 1571, *TO* 1585, *BY OTHERS.*

TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL MAISTER

THOMAS SECFORD ESQUIRE

AND MAISTER OF THE REQUESTS,

WILLIAM HARISON WISHETH ALL KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, WITH DAILIE INCREASE OF HIS GIFTS AT THIS PRESENT, AND IN THE WORLD TO COME LIFE EUERLASTING.

HAVING by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my tratrauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges alredie finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by Leland our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankefulnesse for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories.

And

And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate Hector out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, Boetius hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie Iohn Bellenden archdeacon of Murrey his interpretor hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you and my good ladie your wife with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie, & your own aduantage.

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2 *The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.*

3 *The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carriche, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.*

4 *The situation of Renfrew, Cliddesdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things conteined in the same.*

5 *Of Rosse, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.*

6 *Of Boene, Anzè, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fiffe & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.*

7 *Of Louthian, Striuelin, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels, and flouds thereof.*

8 *Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of sundrie Scotish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.*

9 *Of sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citisus, commonlie called Hadder.*

10 *Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.*

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13 *Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behauiour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.*

14 *The description of an ancient Pict, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.*

15 *Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.*

THE AUTHORS

OUT OF WHOME THIS

HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND

HATH BEENE GATHERED.

Hector Boetius.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.
Iohannes Maior.
Iohannes Fourdon.
Rogerus Houeden.
Richardus Southwell.
Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.
Albertus Crantz.
Aeneas Syluius.
Edward Hall.
Richard Grafton.
Iohn Stow: and others.

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THE BOUNDS OF ALBION WITH THE SUNDRIE COMMODITIES THEREOF, AND OF GREAT INFIRMITIES THAT FALL VNTO THE PEOPLE THERE FOR THEIR INTEMPERANCIE, AND FINALLIE OF THE RELIGION VSED THERE IN OLD TIME.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

THE Ile of Albion conteineth in the whole circumference, 2 M. miles, hauing in lengtli 700, & in bredth 300, as appéereth well by the coast therof that dooth lie ouer against France where it is broadest, and from whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it come to the vtter marches & last bounds of England and Scotland. For betwixt the Mule of Gallowaie that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas, and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane ocean toward the east, are scarselie 130 miles, and thencefoorth it groweth smaller and smaller till it touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thirtie miles, as I noted before in the description of Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horsses, and all other kind of cattell and corne in most abundant maner, except it be in such places where as God of his singular goodnesse hath otherwise indued the soile with rich mines of gold, siluer, tin, brasse, copper, and quicksiluer, which for the most part are so plentifull, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of the whole Iland, but also of sundrie regions that are situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skilfull and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But the abundance of all other things requisite for the vse of men, that is found generallie in our Iland, maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodities, and more giuen to idlenesse. For beside the great plentie of those things which heauen and earth doo minister, as grasse, corne and cattell, foules of sundrie kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the same would suffice to féed and susteine all the people of the Iland, if there were none other commodities to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which lie néere vnto the coast) doo saile hither with great numbers of vessels dailie to fish vpon our coasts, and buy such as we haue alreadie caught, not onlie for their owne vse, but also for the Leuon prouision of such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they sell the same at their owne wils, with very spéedie vtterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodities are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the aforenamed nations doo make no small account, beside these common things. What shall I saie of our woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands, bicause of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie skarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make this mention, bicause the report thereof is not yet made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Dionysius Alexandrinus saith that the wool of Britaine is often spun so fine that it is in manner comparable to the spiders draught.

Certes this I dare boldlie affirme, that if the kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie, or by any meanes be brought vnder the subiection of one prince, they should yer long féele such a saiour in this amitie, that they would not onelie liue franklie of their own, without any forren purchase of things, but also resist all outward inuasion, with small trauell and lesse dammage. For as touching their persons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for the attaining of learning and knowledge of handicrafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. Therevnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, offering themselues often vnto the vttermost perils with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to performe, if they would giue themselues to liue temperatelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation of diet.

Therefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined their grounds (otherwise plentifullie indued with all kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of wine; as foreseeing that the said liquor, which bringeth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to them. For they are giuen to such vnnaturall rauening and greedie desire of forreine things (whilest they contemne or not regard their owne) that they cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and excesse vsed in drinking of the same: insomuch that we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not onelie with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies common to vs and them of the maine, but also manie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing at all acquainted with, as experience dailie teacheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing gréefes doo grow into such deformitie onelie through excessiue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you knew them when they were children & yoong men, you shall hardlie remember them when they be old and aged; and that which more is, in comparison of other that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them to be changelings and monsters, brought out of other countries to gaze and looke vpon: diuerse of them through the continuall vse of wine are molested in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passions. Seldome also shall you sée those that are giuen much vnto wine and such welfare, to become parents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture and generatiue force is much abated, if not altogither extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or Britains, as Cæsar in his commentaries, and Tacitus in his annales doo report, were very religious, after the maner of religion vsed in old time. For in those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides, were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie, and from thence came the first professors of that sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was reputed at that season for the welspring and fountaine of all learning and knowledge, and after that their priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith, they perseuered in the same with great constancie, without anie note of heresie.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST, WEST, AND MIDDLE BORDERS OF SCOTLAND, WITH THE MOST NOTABLE TOWNES AND FLOUDS THEREOF.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THE Picts had sometimes the principall and most fertile part of that countrie, which now is vnder the regiment of the Scots, and after they had continued in the same by the space of 1171 yeares, ioined in maner in perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains and Romans, and sometimes also iarring with their Scotish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe by the diuine prouidence, that the said Picts were ouerthrowne, their name extinguished, and the kingdome vnited vnto that other of the Scots for euermore. After this time furthermore, although the Scots haue béene verie oftentimes assailed with most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes inuaded by enimies from diuers regions, yet such hath beene the fauour of almightie God towards them, that still they flourish and reteine their estate inuiolate.

Whatsoeuer we haue generallie spoken of Albion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots, and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as they call them in the high land, as people that haue lesse to doo with forreine merchants, and therefore are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with strange bloud and aliance. Hereby in like sort it commeth to passe, that they are more hard of constitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blasts, to watch better, and absteine long, whervnto also it appeareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise, they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the most plentious region of the Picts for their march, which so long as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera, or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named Mers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their countrie. In processe of time also the Scots extended their bounds euen vnto the Twéed, which now diuideth Northumbérland from the Mers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cheriot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout into the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annandale, and so being brought into one chanell, they fall togither into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The Cheriot hilles are in like sort taken for the middle marches of the region, which with certeine small brookes that fall from the same, doo separate both the countries, whereby their limits are knowne. The Mers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whither it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea, sometime east Louthian, sometime the Twéed, and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong holds and castels, that stand vpon the borders, is the towne and castell of Barwike in time past called Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci (if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Twéed springeth out from a meane head, and after his augmentation with other small waters that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Twéed, to the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Teuidale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it is Eskedale, or the vale of Eske, of a riuer so called that runneth through the same: ouer against Eskedale on the other side lieth Eusdale, so named of the riuer Eus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the water of Annand: but Tif and Eske doo run into the Twéed: furthermore, on the west side ouer against the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherevnto the Annand water giueth denomination, which marcheth sometimes without the bounds of Niddesdale, where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say, Eus, Annand and Sulway descend togither in one bottome into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochmaben, fiue miles in length and foure in bredth, not onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a castell of the same name, builded of purpose to restreine the furious dealing of théeues which doo great hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale, but in all the dales or vales afore rehearsed, are manie strong théeues, which often spoile the countrie, and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as inhahit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers (because the English doo border vpon their drie marches, and are their perpetuall enimies) doo often make forceable rodes into the English bounds, for their better maintenance and sustentation, or else they pilfer priuilie from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so invred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leaue off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praisewoorthie to molest their aduersarie, as they call the truer sort, whereby it commeth to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plentie of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perilous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This vale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yéelded themselues vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anie time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euerie such aduenture. On the west borders and also toward the north lieth Niddesdale, so called of the water of Nidde. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing broder in the middle marches of Scotland, it finallie restreineth itselfe againe, till it commeth at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scotish writers doo report. In this vale standeth a towne named Dunfrise, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought vp and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

THE DESCRIPTION OF GALLOWAIE, KILE, CARRICKE, AND CUNINGHAM, WITH THE NOTABLE TOWNES, LAKES AND RIUERS IN THE SAME.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

ABOUE Niddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people whereof were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Crée into two parts, whereof that which lieth néerest to Niddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Crée is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcowbrie, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbeie dedicated to saint Ninian the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honored of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Mirton, the one halfe whereof doo fréeze by naturall congelation as other pooles and plashes doo; but the other is neuer séene to beare anie yce at all, which vnto me dooth séeme to be a great woonder. In Gallowaie moreouer are two other lakes, the Salset and the Neutramen, of equall length and bredth with the Lochmirton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeeldeth out a great poinr, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the mules nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Rean and Lois, except I be deceiued, one of these lakes or pooles is 30, and

the

the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oisters, herrings, coongers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, sith the Romans write that Man the Iland lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwéene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the braies or baies are now worne wider & further distant ech from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & eleuation of the pole that Ptolomie ascribed to the Brigants, agréeth well to the heigth of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Man lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanish (we affirme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a new companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilest they were in Spaine, they called themselues Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus dooth séeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the vttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Niddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine woolls and store of cattell, dooth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carrike, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinelie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carrike, whose ruines doo yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into thrée parts, to wit, Carrike, Kile, and Cuningham. In the first, as I said, was Carrike the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicat and verie tender to be eaten, the tallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sappie that it neuer waxeth hard, but relenteth of the owne accord, and becommeth like vnto oile. Beyond Carrike is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or doone on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me dooth séeme vnpossible, neuerthelesse the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoeuer the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuningham the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a poole named Downe, from whence the riuer Downe dooth runne through the middest of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuningham likewise is a lake called Garnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is dailie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largis, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

Reade in the Latine *Hector.* 12 foot in hith, 30 foot in length, and three elns thicke.

THE SITUATION OF RENFREW, CLIDESDALE, LENNOX, LOWMUND, ARGILE, LOUCHQUHABER, LORNE, AND KENTIRE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE THINGS CONTEINED IN THE SAME.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE water of Clide diuideth Lennox on the north side from the barone of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidonwood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth

goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gluda, and Cluda: but Tacitus nameth it Glota. Not far also from the founteines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clude hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mounteine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidesdale. Betwixt Clide and Lennox lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two pooles named Quhinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennox, that lieth next aboue Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Lelgouia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this lhin or poole are 30 Ilands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things woorthie consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred doo want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not aduenture to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which fléeteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situat at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dée. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmond is the castell of Dumbritteine named sometime Alcluid, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middest being called Knapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Iland, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsuallie had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Iles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certeine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and bredth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Garloll, one of the pooles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the yeare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a greihound, and footed like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge okes with his taile, & therevnto killed three men outright that hunted him with three stroks of his said taile, the rest of them sauing themselues in trées thereabouts, whilest the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncouth sights, beléeue that this beast is neuer séene but against some great trouble & mischiefe to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath béene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in maner of a cape or toong, full sixtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authors affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhabet, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie riuers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samons, and other delicate fish, aswell of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certeintie. The Lochtie riseth not aboue eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomorth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their dailie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer hir pristinate renowme. But whether the negligence of the due repare of this towne, procéedeth of the slouth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons doo beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncerteine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

THE DISCOURSE OF ROS, STRANAUERNE, & MURREY LAND, WITH THE LAKES, RIUERS, AND NOTABLE TOWNES IN THEM.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

BEYOND the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middest of the Iland, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nèerest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuerthelesse waxing more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yeeldeth it selfe to culture, and rendreth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogither vnprofitable, sith there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the vallies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, doo yeeld a sweet and verie sauorie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Ros are sundrie lakes, but Lochbrun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh riuers, fraught with excellent fish, and finallie a notable firth or safe hauen called Cromart, wherevnto diuers in time of necessitie doo resort, to auoid the danger of shipwracke, that otherwise would assuredlie annoy them. The Scotish men call it Heill of shipmen. In this region moreouer is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) doo rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Iland) than the holie gospell of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise mainteined in one vale of the Ros, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I doo not find. Next vnto the said Ros lieth the Stranauerne, as the vttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, doo afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Rossia on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are three great crags or points lieng on the vttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hoie, Howbrun (the greatest of the three) and Downisbie, which bicause they shoot farre off into the sea, doo make two great firths and lakes, each of them being seuerallie distinguished from other.

Next vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chieflie for the nourishment of bestiall, wherevnto it chieflie inclineth, as doo the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this lieth Murrey land, sometime

sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betweene Spaie and Nesse to the Ireland sea, was named Murrey; now it is knowne to be onlie beyond the water of Spaie & Kissocke, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Ros and Murrey land, is a great baie, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for thereinto fall the Nesse, Narden, Findorne, Los and Spaie, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the floud striuing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Nesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochtie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast thereinto, it will by and by relent and dissolue againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benummed with cold. In the mouth of the Nesse, standeth a towne called Inuernesse, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuieng the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often séeme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Whervpon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase eftsoones decaieth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to procéed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in bredth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horsses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martirns, beuers, foxes & wezels, whose skins and cases are sold vnto strangers at huge and excessiue prices. In Murrey land also is not alonelie great plentie of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort doo vse a strange maner of fishing: for they make a long weele of wicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shoot themselues into the same, and foorthwith are so inclosed that whilest the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreouer is a lake named Spiney, wherein is excéeding plentie of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certeine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose séed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangirs: and herevnto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroied, as may be prooued by experience. For albeit that this lake be fiue miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by meanes wherof all the great fishes there be vtterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little Iohn remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcasse hath béene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yéeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hanch bone, which séemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, wherby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were ouercome with gluttonie and excesse. In this quarter finallie is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spaie, and therin is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Murrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisteaux, and Pluscardie of the Cluniaks.

This was no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland.

OF BOENE, ANZE, BUCHQUHANE, MAR, MERNIS, FIFFE, AND ANGUS, WITH THE LAKES, FLOUDS, ABBIES, TOWNES, AND OTHER NOTABLE THINGS CONTEINED IN THE SAME.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

NEXT vnto the Murrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notablie indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of cattell, they yeeld moreouer excellent corne, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great store of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. Neere also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuer maruellouslie stored with fish, standeth a towne named Bamfe, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wooll excéedeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and finenesse. The riuers that are in this countrie doo in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Rattra onelie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath béene séene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and néere vnto the same is a maruellous caue: for the water that droppeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had béene oft remooued heretofore, the caue it selfe had béene filled vp with the same manie yeeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finallie it is most maruellous of all, that as otes doo grow there in manie places of themselues without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked féends doo captiuate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogither impossible. Next vnto this lieth the great region of Mar, which is verie plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Badzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberden, wherin is a bishops sée, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dée, wherein is the greatest store of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Next vnto Mar, we haue Mernis toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnother the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Fordon, in which the bones of Palladius doo rest, who is taken generallie for the apostle of our nation. The water of Eske is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Northeske, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein manie haue perished for default of a bridge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Mernis, it was sometime part of Horrestia, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Northeske alreadie mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finallie the Taie, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tau.

In Angus also is an high mounteine or promontorie, called the Red braes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Taie also riseth farre beyond the mounteins of Granzben out of loch Taie, which is a poole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Ilands, with castels in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most fine and subtile) is notablie replenished with great store of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dun-

dée, a towne called in old time Alectum, wherein I was borne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Brechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castels as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castels, as the ruines doo yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & pooles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose shéepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wooll, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Iland.

After we be ouer the Taie, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ottoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifullie as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no corne is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolue and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I doo know of) but betwéene the Taie and the Tine within the whole Iland. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie cities in the same, of which S. Andrewes is the chiefe, wherein is both the sée of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are moreouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Leuin, and in this later are diuerse Iles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phil'ne, a Scotish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuer of Forth that runneth a large & broad chanell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifullie indued with cockles, oisters, muskels, séales, pellocks, mereswine, whales, and great foison of white fish: and among manie other Iles that are to be found in this Forth, that of Maie is of greatest fame, because Adrian and his fellows were killed in the same. In the middest of this Ile springeth vp a founteine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruelled at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a woonderfull crag, rising within the sea, wherevnto is so strict and narrow a passage, that a man shall hardlie come vnto it by a fisher bote, and thereto but at one place. This rocke (called the Bassecastell) is inuincible, and therein are manie caues verie profitable for defense, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and woonder; therein also is great store of soland géese (not vnlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or (as we saie) sea herons) and no where else but in Ailsaie and this rocke. At their first comming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plentie of sticks and boughs togither for the building of their nests, that the same doo satisfie the kéeper of the castell, for the yéerelie maintenance of his fewell, without anie other prouision. These foules doo féed their yoong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue alreadie preied vpon anie one, and haue it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, vntill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the kéepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no résistance, doo turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their yoong with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awaie of their yoong, they bring yéerelie no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these géese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medcine, and fleaing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable

fitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken vp and planted elsewhere, it either groweth not at all, or vtterlie giueth ouer the vertues wherewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had beene powred thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be séene in Fast castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firth also is the Ile Aimon, wherein is an abbeie. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said firth are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with cowles hanging ouer their heads like vnto moonks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselues likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight dooth breed great terror vnto the Scotish nation, who are verie great obseruers of uncouth signes & tokens.

THE DESCRIPTION OF LOUTHIAN, STRIUELING, MENTETH, CALIDON WOOD, BOUGHWALL, GAREOTH, WITH THE NOTABLE CITIES, CASTELS, AND FLOUDS THEREOF.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

ON the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Piets, it was sometime named Pictland; but now it is parcell of the Scotish kingdome, & thereto for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and townes, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Northberwijc and Leith: but Edenburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisedome, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Maddens, remembred by the most renowmed authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tripleth the renowme of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oilie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the more is caried from thence, the more is restored: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man is now become one of the cheefe holds in Albion. It was sometimes the principall house apperteining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbeie or colledge of canons founded by those earles. Next vnto Louthian lieth Mers, whereof I haue spoken alreadie, but we will now go vp higher into the land. Neerest vnto Mers therefore lieth Teuidale, and aboue it is Twedale: next vnto Twedale is Druisdale, Walcopdale, Douglassedale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops sée, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Mongow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberall arts and sciences are verie zelouslie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of Iames the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the common wealth, bicause it is either vtterlie neglected,

or not very much regarded. North of Glasco lieth Menteith, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mounteine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Menteith and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were somtime white buls with shackt heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuerthelesse so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doo) they would refuse all sustenance, & starue themselues to death. Assoone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any maner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruze after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which voiage he escaped narowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand wherewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who ouerthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this valiant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his linage is to this daie called of the Turnebuls, bicause he ouerturned the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most delicate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of sinews and gristles, whereat some delicat féeders doo often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the vallies likewise of this region runneth the water of Ern, that falleth into Tay. This is moreouer worthie to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Ern and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great woonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be remooued from thence by manuall practise, art, or engine, & yet one man may so soone moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Gowray lieth Stermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Stermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble vallies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yéeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a towne called Lud, whose féelds are so plentious, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yéeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Howbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat soone into good and perfect rie, the like wherof I heare to be not farre from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Bocne lieth Bostgewell and Gareoth, very plentifull soiles both for grasse and corne. In Gareoth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to saie, the golden mounteine: for the shéepe that féed thereon are yellow, and their téeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh moreouer is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same maner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng togither in maner of a crown which yéeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scotish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Bradalbane, Strabraun, and Badzenoth, with diuers small territories and flouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue alreadie touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

OF THE GREAT PLENTIE OF HARES, RED DEER, AND OTHER WILDE BEASTS IN SCOTLAND, OF THE STRANGE PROPERTIES OF SUNDRIE SCOTISH DOGS, AND OF THE NATURE OF SAMON.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

HAUING made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concearne the same in generall. First of all therfore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red déere, fallow déere, roes, wild horsses, woolues and foxes. These horsses are not gotten but by great slight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certeine tame horsses & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finallie home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and soone broken to their hands. The woolues are most fierce and noisome to the heards and flocks in all parts of Scotland, sauing in one parcell of Angus, called Glennors dale, where these beasts doo no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but preie onlie vpon the wild.

Foxes doo much mischéefe generallie in all steads, but chéeflie in the mounteines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath deuised a meane to preuent their malice, and to preserue their pultrie. Certes there is almost no house that dooth not for certeine daies cherish vp a yong fox, which the Scots doo call a Todde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their foules and other little bestials, and by this meanes so many foules and cattell as eate héerof are preserued from danger of the fox, almost by two moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the foxes as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellowes yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but eschew, and know such a one, although it were among an hundreth of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are thrée sorts with vs, which are not séene else-where in anie quarter of the world. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against théeues that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a rach or hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call drawing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any maner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a théefe, or théefe stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raise vpon him. Or if it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entring and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceasseth to range till he haue nosed his footing, & be come to the place wherein the théefe is shrowded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would séeme méere incredible, except it were dailie had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase indifferentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after fellons and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessarie vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe théefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as liue by preie, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshaukes, sparrowhaukes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to excéed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is no where else to be séene, as the capercailze or wild horsse greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onelie by the rinds and barks of the

pine

pine trees. We haue in like maner manie moore cocks and hens, the which absteining from corne, doo feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cytisus, which the Scots doo commonlie call Hadder. These two are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the phesant, and no lesse delicious in taste and sauor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another foule in Mers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gustard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be séene in all places, such also is their qualitie, that if they perceiue their egs to haue béene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our foules are common to vs and other nations. Samon is more plentifull in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and bicause the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doo know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in haruest time commeth vp into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which foorthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From hencefoorth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore worthilie said to be growne out of vse and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their full fellowes, during the time of this their leannesse, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it commeth to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to procéed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring dooth yéeld great number of little frie, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yse laid foorth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a maruellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnworthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnes or pooles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow aboue, are yet déepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearse through the chanell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as commeth against him, he goeth so neere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obteineth his desire, if not, he assaieth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a litle hod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assay often to leape, and cannot get ouer, doo broose themselues and become measelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do oftnest leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therfore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finallie there is no man that knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth. for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humor.

OF THE SUNDRIE KINDS OF MUSKLES AND COCKLES IN SCOTLAND, AND OF PEARLES GOTTEN IN THE SAME: OF THE VNCOUTH AND STRANGE FISH THERE TO BE SEENE, AND OF THE NATURE OF THE HERBE CITISUS, COMMONLIE CALLED HADDER.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

HERE it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not vnlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are vtterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called Horsse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the déepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnwoorthilie called of old time, widowes lustes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, wherein (as in yéeld of gaine) they farre excéed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouthes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finallie product the pearle. *Cardane denieth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.*

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke aboue them, doo speake neuer so softlie, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrie you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doo catch them, they bind their shelles togither, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselues to be pursued. Their maner of apprehension is this, first foure or fiue persons go into the riuer togither, vp vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, sith they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eies downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and cléerenesse, and with their toes take them vp (for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoope for them) & giue them to such as stand next them.

The perls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naile of ones little finger, as I haue had and séene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint Iames, and brought into Scotland, but they are without pearls, bicause they liue in salt water, which is an enimie to the margarite: but Cardane also denieth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and muskles of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many vncouth and strange shapes of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard skales, and diuers round as a ball skinned like an yrcheon or hedghog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrements, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euerie kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euerie region.

In like sort we haue such plentie of fish vpon our seuerall coasts, that although milians and infinite numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on the next their losse will be so supplied with new store, that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yesterfang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne

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is séene in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it selfe called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columella lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bées especiallie. This herbe in Iune yéeldeth a purple floure swéet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholsome for the bodie: but forsomuch as the maner of making hereof is perished in the hauocke made of the Picts, when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not in me to set downe the order of it, neither shewed they euer the learning hereof to any but to their owne nation. Finallie there is no part of Scotland so barren and vnprofitable, but it produceth either iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be prooued easilie throughout all the Iles that are annexed to the same.

Galen. lib. 1. de Antidotis saieth that Citisus is no herb but a shrub, and so doth *Plinie lib.* 12. *cap.* 3. *lib.* 13. *cap.* 24. *lib.* 16. *cap.* 38. And *Columella* in the end of his 6. booke, where he accompteth it among trées.

OF THE ILES OF SCOTLAND, AND SUCH NOTABLE THINGS AS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THEM.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

BEING fallen at the last into mention of our Iles, I will addresse my selfe to describe the same, in maner and forme as followeth. In the Irish sea, betwixt Ireland and Scotland are fortie and thrée Iles, whereof some are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others more or lesse. These are called by some writers Euboniæ, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against Galloway, & was sometime the principall seat of the Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Cæsar in his commentaries, and other Romane writers doo testifie at large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, otherwise named Botha, after S. Brandons time, who dwelled there in a little cottage, which (as all other the like were in those daies) was called Botha. From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothesay, which later is so named of the Scot, which brought the Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of soland géese as they said before to be in Bas. Beyond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their seuerall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile belonging to Scotland is Ila, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Nouant cliffe (in Scotish the toong of Lorne) within sight of Lochquhabre. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunning to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Mula, fullie so large as Ila, both for length and dreadth. In Mulà is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof you shall read more in the description of Britaine, lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere vnto this is Iona, otherwise called Columkill, in which is an abbie, wherin the kings of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time of Fergus the second, vnto Malcolme Cammof, who erected the monasterie of Donfermelin, where since that time the most part of our kings haue béene of custome interred. Passing forward toward the north-northwest seas, ouer against Rosse is an Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade through the same at the spring of the yeere, there shall no samon be séene there for a twelue month after, wheras otherwise that fish is knowne to abound there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the Sky and the Rona, in the later whereof, it is incredible to saie what of seale, of pellocke and porpasse is to be séene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of any man. The last and vttermost Ile is named Hirtha, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrées, and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha the last Ile hereof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degrée, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Hirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a shéepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hornes longer and thicker

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than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed on euerie part with rochie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare aduenture thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, doo watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of Iune also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Leuissa, and ministreth the sacrament of baptisme to all the children that haue béene borne there since that moneth in the yeare precedent: which béeing doone, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiueth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chappels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The fame is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie and there laieth a wispe of straw, which being doone they fall all to praier, in the middest whereof fire commeth downe from heauen, and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto shéepe, whose nature and forme I haue alreadie touched in the description of Britaine, and therefore omit it here for hast and breuitie sake. Betwixt these Iles also is a right dangerous passage, sith the sea by working of opposite streames hath ingendred a gulfe, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes casteth it foorth againe, by meanes whereof many ships that by rage of wind and weather are inforced to come that waie, are either swallowed vp by the waues, or throwne against the rocks to their vtter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Corebrecke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

OF THE NATURE OF THE CLAIKE GEESE, AND SUNDRIE MANERS OF THEIR PROCREATION, AND OF THE ILE OF THULE.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

NOW it is come to hand that I intreat of those géese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hith rto béen thought to haue beene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet sith their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little trauelled, and with no small diligence indeuoured to search out the truth héereof, wherby I learne that their ingendrure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise producted, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elsewhere, as shall appéere hereafter. All trées cast into that element in processe of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be afterward) to be perceiued at the first. In the beginning, these worms doo shew their heads and féet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finallie when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of géese, they flie in the aire as other foules doo.

This was notablie prooued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Peslego, whither the bodie of a great trée was brought by working of the sea. This trée being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who soone after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being doone, it is incredible to sée, what a multitude of wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeered as if they had béene but new shapen, diuers had head, foot and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules. At last when the people had gazed theron by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Tire, where the said blocke remains still to be seene.

Within two yeeres after there hapned such another trée to come into the firth of Tay beside Dundée, wormeaten and full of yoong géese after the same maner: the third was séene in the hauen of Leith beside Edenburgh: and also within a few yéeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien thrée yéeres at anchor in one of these Iles, was broght to Leith, where bicause hir timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in hir kéele were found infinite holes as if they had beene eaten with wormes, or bored with a wimble, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Héere if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onelie as grew in these Iles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption doo turne into these foules, I will disprooue his assertion by one notable example shewed before mine eies. Maister Alexander Galloway parson of Kinkell, was with vs in these Iles, & giuing his mind with attentiue diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he tooke vp a branch of Alga, called in Scotish, Seatangle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to sée what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectlie shapen, fullie answering to the capacitie of the shell.

Finallie, knowing that I was verie inquisitiue of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hastilie with the said hearbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleeue that these Claiks (or Barnacls as I call them) are producted either by the qualities of the trées or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, bicause the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trées, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into géese, they beléeued that these géese grew vpon trées, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit doo by their stalks, but their opinion is vtterlie to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruit fall from the trée into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in processe of time to be conuerted into géese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Iles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not vnknowne vnto the Romans, as may appeare by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Iland of Britaine, and at their returne reported how they had séene the Thule, with other Ilands lieng about the same. Ptolome writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Iles, which lie néere vnto Norwey, and beyond the Orchades; but this cannot be prooued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Artike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale dooth come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

OF THE DESCRIPTION OF ORKENEY, AND SHETLAND, WITH SUNDRIE OTHER SMALL ILES, AND OF THE MANERS AND CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE DWELLING IN THE SAME.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

BEYOND the Iles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the northwest, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomonia, wherein is a bishops sée, and two strong castels. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit

howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifullie, they be without all venemous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anie while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind. Ouer and beside this, there are no frogs: as for éeles they are seldome found and to be seene in the Orchades. Hauing thus fallen into the mention of Irel nd, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue prooued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and hir commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in bookes.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or poole there, néere vnto the which by manie m^es, there groweth neither herbe nor trée; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof dooth within one yéeres space alter and change excéedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining hir former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, thrée distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre excéedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orchades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be rehersed, for sith there is great abundance of barley whereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke séene there, neither anie foole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madnes. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreame age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also ar^ of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Ilands haue for the most part two or thrée lambs a péece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horsses are litle greter than the French asses, but in their labour they excéed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit? among which there is one sort greater than anie horsse, of a maruellous and incredible sluggish desire to sléepe. This fish when shée prouideth to sleepe, fastneth hir huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbreth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espieng, they foorthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselues to the fish, and bore a great hole through hir taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and thus is their enterprise attempted yer long to be atchiued. For after this wound, it is not long yer the fish awaketh, who féeling hirselfe to be hurt, leapeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd hir in the déepes: but being staid by the weight of the anchor, and indeuouring in vaine to breake the cable, she laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last she windeth hir selfe out of hir skin (for the which she is commonlie taken) and soone after also turneth vp hir bellie, yéelding hirselfe vnto the waues, and hir bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of hir grease, and passing strong cables of hir hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they excéed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orchades are the Shetland Iles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Ilands great store of shéepes felles, oxe hides, gotes skinnes, and cases of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zeland and Germanie, fetch them yéerelie by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orchanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orchanois, concerning drunkennes and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of

strong ale, content themselues with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Ilands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to féed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaues, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselues in such maner with this their poore kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or kéepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forren warres, as men that déeme firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power dooth shew his whole indeuour. This finallie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischéefe, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yéere there commeth a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministreth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certeine time (hauing taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie trulie paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbred as parcels of worldlie riches and renowme, they are not without these also: for the people of these Iles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and gréeuous infirmities? For here among these men, you shall very seldome heare of sickenesse to attach anie, vntill extreame age come that killeth them altogither, and this is that exceeding benefit naturallie appropried vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is alwaies such as is constant, & vnchangeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worldlie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in déed) for ech one not to couet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and fortunate than the Shetland men and these Ilanders? Finallie, if those be the true honors, and reuerend duties which the obedient sonne with great sinceritie and void of all flatterie, dooth shew vnto his good parents, and wherewithall the best sort doo maruellouslie reioise and delite themselues: and that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we iustlie say that these men doo lacke anie thing, or shall we not rather affirme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that anie mortall man can iustlie wish or desire?

But if there be anie man that will accuse me of vntruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those Ilands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orchades, with whome one of these Ilanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearsall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beautie with anie ladie of the land, and finallie so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may sée, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happie than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued alreadie.

See *Matthiolus* vpon the first booke of *Dioscorides capite de populo alba & nigra.*

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Ilesgroweth the delectable amber, called Electrum, Chrysolectrum, or (as Dioscorides saith) Pterygophoron, indued with so vehement an attractiue force, that being chafed it draweth straw, flox, and other like light matter vnto it,

it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is throwen vp by continuall repercussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilest it hangeth on the rocke, affirme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Seatangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it fléets to and fro in this maner, so long is it apt to cleaue to anie thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as anie horsse, which the heardmen that kept their cattell neere hand caught vp, & not knowing in déed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finallie, perceiuing a swéet and delectable sauour to procéed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a péece of stuffe which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir Iohn had béene more cunning than themselues, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskilfull & void of knowlege than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he tooke but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little proofe and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perish by reason of their vnskilfulnesse. Certes when they brake it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had béene the laie or flame of a candle. Herein also the prouerbe was proued true, that the sow recks not of balme. But so soone as I vnderstood of the matter, I vsed such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to me at Aberden. And thus much of the Hebrides, Orchades, and Shetland Iles subiect vnto the Scotish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehersall of diuers other strange things woorthie the noting in this behalfe: but I haue made choise onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath fraied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncouth & strange incident, whereof maister Iames Ogilbie ambassadour from Iames our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and whereof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constreined by tempest of wether to get to land in Norweie. Thus standeth the case, being driuen (as I said) vpon the shore of Norweie, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue foorth for wild men, hearie and vglie to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuerthelesse deadlie enimies to mankind: they vnderstood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies inuade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and sleaing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terror, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced to cherish great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to kéepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are morouer of such strength, that sometimes they pull vp yoong trées by the roots to fight withall among themselues. The ambassadours séeing these vncouth creatures, were not a little astonished, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong gard to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they tooke the sea, and so departed thence. Finallie, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they preied vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which comming downe from the snowie hils to grase in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and

caried vnto their caues. In this exercise also they tie little boords to their féet, which beare them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a staffe in their hands they make the better shift to clime vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, whereof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

OF THE MANERS OF THE SCOTS IN THESE DAIES, AND THEIR COMPARISON WITH THE BEHAUIOUR OF THE OLD, AND SUCH AS LIUED LONG SINCE WITHIN THIS ILAND.

THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

FORSOMUCH as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apart the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behauiour from those of our forefathers, and hetevnto although I assure my selfe alreadie that the reuealing of these things will procure vnto me the hatred of sundrie woorthie or renowmed personages (of which few will yéeld to heare their doings touched or their errours reproued) yet because I owe such duetie and seruice vnto those that haue made this request vnto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken vnto them in this behalfe; I haue condescended to the performance of their desires. and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable vnto all the readers, but especiallie such as are not immoderatlie giuen ouer vnto their owne affections, nor so wholie drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but vpon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoeuer offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vsages haue béene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisedome and industrie they haue preuailed so long time against such and so manie mightie aduersaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which haue entered into this Iland with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much breuitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaie. And finallie how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicat negligence rather than by our owne prowesse, we liue in securitie, and thereby as it were ouerwhelmed and wrapped vp in all avarice and excesse, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall prowesse dooth maruellouslie impell vs.

Certes I beléeue that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet reteining a sauour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioise to heare their manhood & great prowesse commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sect (in seruile maner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excesse and riot) séeing their errors iustlie reprehended, and the dishonor gotten thereby openlie reuealed, will the rather addresse themselues to reformation of their estate, thereby to recouer the ancient renowme of their forefathers, in answering to their prowesse, than proue a reproch vnto their successours, through their lewd behauiours neuer to be forgiuen. This I protest before all men, that whatsoeuer I shall speake of the euill maners of our times, I doo not meane it vnto all, but those onlie whome blind selfe-loue, couetousnes, intemperancie, excesse and abuse of all Gods good gifts haue so touched, that they deserue much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmitie, by séeking reuenge on other men, but rather indeuour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdemeanors, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neuerthelesse in conuersation & behauiour verie temperat, which is the founteine & originall of all vertues. In sléepe they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented

tented with such food as was readie at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readilie on the ground, without all maner of sifting and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked vp as it came from the mill without anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof vnto our dailie nourishment. The flesh whereon they chiefelie fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they tooke great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame cattell as they bred vp at home, whereof béefe was accompted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after an other maner and far discrepant from the vse and custome of other countries. The stirkes or yoong béefets vngelded, we either kill yoong for veale, or geld, to the end that they may serue afterward for tillage in earing vp of the ground, but the cowcalfes and heifers are neuer killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or somuch for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands laie often wast and vntilled, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet vntill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were neuer ouercharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they vsed a kind of Aquauite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were inforced to lie in campe, they contented themselues with water as rediest for their turnes. Ech souldier also had so much meale as might serue him for a daie which he made vp in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes vsed to doo, and the emperour Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their aduersaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the iuice thereof so vsed to nourish verie abundantlie. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especiallie when they wanted their vsuall preies, or could not atteine vnto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, cheese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered togither as a shoot-anchor against extreme hunger, on which they would féed and sucke out the moisture, when other prouision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoeuer they had entred into league and amitie with their enimies, they would not liue in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselues in their former actiuitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatlie esteemed amongest our ancestors) or with running from the hilles vnto the vallies, or from the vallies vnto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were neuer idle. Their heads were alwaies shauen after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their forparts, and neuer couered, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was seene to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shooes, they dipped them first in the water yer they did put them on, especiallie in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their féet (which were well hardned in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labor and dailie trauell.

Their apparrell was not made for brauerie and pompe, but as shuld séeme best to couer their bodies, and serue their appointed vses, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their bréeches were for the most part of hempe, clokes also they had for winter made of course wooll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare floore or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancie to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take

intollerable

intollerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them furthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their brests, as they were before they were borne with the bloud of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselues, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but trauelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their cariages and victuals trussed behind them on their horsses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusall of anie labour inioined vnto them by their capteins.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horsse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was doone to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadlie fude conceiued in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most couragious gentleman would soonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readilest be séene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselues, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it happened that their capteine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenlie rush in through the thickest of their enimies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so doo, they would altogither lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerliué their leader.

The graues and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceassed had killed enimies before time in the field. If anie souldier had beene found in the field without his flint and tinder box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vsed they light armour for the most part, he was terriblie scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an exile; he that fled or went from the battell without leaue of his capteine, was slaine wheresoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bowe, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a buckler, but afterward heauier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countrie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & wiues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so soone as the armie did set forward, they slue the first liuing creature that they found, in whose bloud they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted therof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceiued, than if they had alreadie béene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne bloud run from them in the fight, they waxed neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enimies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by meere manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went foorth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldior) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectuous generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if she afterward happened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, droonkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being

being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie driuen to perke, so in daies of peace our cuntriemen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesse should hardlie be restreined but by extreame seueritie: such also was their nature, that so soone as they knew themselues guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the péeres and princes of the realme, neuerthelesse when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yéeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surplusage aboue the bare couenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargaine.

They vsed at the first the rites and maners of the Aegyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vsed not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with ciphers and figures of creatures made in maner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their toomes and sepulchers remaining amongst vs doo hitherto declare. Neuerthelesse in our times this hieroglyphicall maner of writing (I wot not by what meanes) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certeine letters proper vnto themselues, which were somtime in common vse: but among such as reteine the ancient speach, they haue their aspirations, dipthongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vre withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countrie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets; they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are turned into the said language, are giuen by tradition from their elders, they chéeflie excell in physicke, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, doo heale all maner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all maner of necessaries for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuerthelesse our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon toong through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne maners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie left among vs, that inhabit neere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mounteins reteine still their ancient spéech and letters, and almost all their old rites, whervnto in time past their forefathers haue béene acoustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be séene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue doone, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countriemen. In processe of time therefore, and chéeflie about the daies of Malcolme Cammor, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to wax idle and slouthfull, and therevpón driuen out of their countrie into Wales by their enimies the Saxons, we began to haue aliance (by proximitie of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our dailie trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said alreadie. Heereby shortlie after it came also to

passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthie of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certeine idle desire of our former renowme did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English maner, it fell out yer long, that wheras he in times past was accompted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went loaden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine puffes they fixed all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quæstores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swarued from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beléeue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such vtterance, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to dowghtinesse, we applie our selues to droonkennes: they had plentie with sufficiencie, we haue inordinate excesse with superfluitie: they were temperate, we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and thereto hath no péere if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to sée, how we stuffe our selues both daie and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & powre in, till our bellies be so full that we must néeds depart. Certes it is not supposed méet that we should now content our selues with breakefast and supper onelie, as our elders haue doone before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforsaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and reare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, sith almost the whole daie and night doo scarselie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie perteine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forrests for veneson, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Gréece: nay Affrike is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for swéet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behauiour) as men that aduenture their owne liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countriemen, as if the mind were not alreadie sufficientlie bereft of hir image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewithall to be extinguished outright, which alreadie dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor kéepe him selfe vpright, but must néeds yeeld as ouercome, and to be torne in péeces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it commeth to passe, that our countrimen trauelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vsage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doo burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenlie, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recouer for a little while, yet are they but dead people, reuiuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried alreadie.

Our

Our youth also following these vnhappie steps of their parents, giue themselues wholie to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherevnto they applie themselues as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time dooth come of seruice, and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horssebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatnesse which choketh vp their vitall forces, neither be able to performe anie thing at all in comparison of the souereigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So soone also as they returne home, bicause their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them vp in pleasure and pampering of their mawes, they must fall to couetous and greedie practises, therby to inrich themselues, or else proue strong theeues, or finally sowers of dissention and discord among the noble men, thereby to preie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceed generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would refraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholsome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despaire not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt maners of my countriemen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogither haue cast off vnshamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood dooth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with feruent deuotion increase euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more stedfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue beene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doo passe their ancestors in sumptuous and curious attire, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

¶ Hitherto haue I translated Hectors description of Scotland out of the Scotish into the English toong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swarueth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for euer hereafter of anie historicall matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies vtterly condemned, as vaine and sauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

THE DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT PICT.

THE XIV. CHAPTER.

THE Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparell, howbeit the nobler sort of them doo wrap their heads and wombs in hoops of iron, which they take for great brauerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the shauing of their nether lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beasts, so that he was the gaiest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner. Certes none of them regarded to weare anie apparell, bicause they estéemed it a great glorie

to haue these paintings séene. In warres they were bold, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselues (in stéed of other armor) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swords were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, bicause they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to wade.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, diuideth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Meats, saieng that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trées: and albeit that they haue excéeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shooes on their féet, their wiues are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue morouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to steale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horsses, which run also verie swiftlie, & stand at their féet with like stedfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little péece or two of iron, which ratleth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are togither. They haue also narrow daggers, but chéeflie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise sore labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marishes vp to the chins by manie daies togither. In the woods they féed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Meats (which were the néerest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

THE NUMBER OF BISHOPS IN SCOTLAND.

THE XV CHAPTER.

THE archbishoprik of
S. Andrewes
Glasco
Dunfalden
Dunblanen
Aberden
Brechen
Morauie
Ros
Whitherne
Cathnes
Argadie
Orkenie
Ymor one of the Iles which are exempt and perteine vnto the pope.

Vniuersities.
S. Andrews

Aberden
Glasco

Dukedomes.
Rothsay
Albanie.

Earledomes.
Cathnes
Sotherland
Rosse
Morauie
Buchquhan
Garuiach
Garmoran
Mar
Mernis
Angus
Gowri
Fiffe

Marche
Athole
Stratherne
Menteth
Leuenox
Wigton
Duglasse
Carrike
Crawford
Annandale
Ourmonth
Huntley.

Viscounties.
Berwike *alias* north Berwike
Roxborow
Selkirke
Twedale
Dunfrise

Niddisdale
Wigton
Are
Lanarke
Dumbritten
Sterueling
Louthian
Clakmanan
Kimos
Fiffe
Perth
Angus
Mernis
Aberden
Bamph
Fores
Inuernes.

FINIS.

THE

THE

HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND

CONTEINING

THE BEGINNING, INCREASE, PROCEEDINGS, CONTINUANCE,
ACTS AND GOUERNEMENT

OF

THE SCOTISH NATION,

FROM THE ORIGINALL THEREOF VNTO THE YEARE 1571.

GATHERED AND WRITTEN IN ENGLISH

BY

RAPHAELL HOLLINSHEAD:

AND CONTINUED FROM 1571, TO 1585, BY OTHERS.

WITH A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL PARTICULARITIES HEREIN CONTEINED.

M. PAL. IN ARI.

HISTORIÆ PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARLE OF LEICESTER, BARON OF DENBIGH, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, MAISTER OF THE QUEENES MAIESTIE HORSSE, AND ONE OF HIR HIGHNESSE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

IT may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I vndertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue seene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowme, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting you with so

meane

meane a gift, proceeding from one, although vnknowen to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, mouing you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will ceasse to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, aswell this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In *making* you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scotish histories, I most humblie beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and fauorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisedome, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be commanded

RAPHAELL HOLLINSHED

THE

HISTORIE OF SCOTLAND

THE Scotish men, according to the maner of other nations, estéeming it a glorie to fetch their begining of great anciencie, say that their originall descent cam frō the Gréeks and Aegyptians: for there was (as the old Scotish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Gréeks, named Gathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Nealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Gathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and vnrulie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdaining their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got togither a number of strong and lustie yoong men, such as had vsed the like trade of liuing, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharao Orus as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most gladsome wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopians that had inuaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Gathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopians, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle, (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obteined the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Meroe.

Gathelus.

Gathelus giuen to will and pleasure.

Gathelus went into Aegypt. *Anno mundi* 2416.

Gathelus was interteined of Pharao.

Gathelus went against the enimies.

Moses capteine generall vnder Pharao.

Ios. lib. 2. cap. 7.

For such tokens of valiancie and worthie prowesse as Gathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharao, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moses was rather enuied than honored for his dooing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat him into the land of Madian. Vnto Gathelus and his people there was giuen a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] béeing taken from the Israelites. ¶ Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter which Gathelus thus maried, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called *Scoti*, that is to say Scotishmen, and the land where they inhabit *Scotia*, that is to say, Scotland.

Gathelus his doings aduanced.

Moses doings not alowed.

Moses fled.

The citie of Thebes was giuen vnto Gathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharao.

Gathelus thus being aduanced by such honorable mariage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharao Orus, in great honor. But after his deceasse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharao Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israell then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had doone before him. Neither was there hope of anie redresse, till Moses returned by Gods

The credit of this historie of Gathelus we leaue to the authors.

Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Madian into Aegypt.

appointment from amongst the Madianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharao, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

Moses not regarded. *Exodus 5.*

But forsomuch as his words were regarded, neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible maner; and moreouer it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that sorer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the sooner. Gathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and séeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueiance to be prouided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he tooke with him his wife and children, and a great multitude of people both Gréekes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoising vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voiage, they arriued first on the coasts of Numidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they tooke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

Gathelus leauing Aegypt, séeketh other countries.

Gathelus departing was, *Anno mundi*, 2453. *W. H.* 3648. *H. B.*

He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portingale.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Gathele of this Gathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and eftsoones againe in a maner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptlie called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth?

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had wasted all their purueiance:) whose arriuall being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled togither, and fiercely incountring with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the woorst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncerteine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obteining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortlie after they began the foundation of a citie néere to the banks of the riuer called of ancient time Mundus, and afterwards Bracchara.

The inhabitants resist Gathelus.

A communication.

Gathelus buildeth the citie Bracchara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiuing these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vnderstood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to inuade, they eftsoones fell to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoiding of variance, to remoue vnto the northside of Spaine, lieng vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so doo, they would aid them to the vttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indeuours in anie maner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladlie accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a citie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Nouium, and now Compostella.

A communication.

Gathelus left Portingale, and went into Galitia.

He builded a citie called Brigantia, and now Compostella.

GATHELUS.

He maketh lawes and ordinances.

HERE Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the citie might not onelie be fensed with strong walles, but also with

with good and holsome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all cities and countries. And bicause he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandement that they should be all called Scotishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a woonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the woorst, determined to foresée remedie in time, and herevpon purposing vtterlie to destroie them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Scotishmen, gaue them a sore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scotishmen, albeit not without great bloudshed on either part, as the Scotish historie saieth. At length a necessarie peace was agréed vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions whereof were these: that aswell Scotishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to inuade other.

The Spaniards fight with the Scots infortunatlie.

A peace concluded.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, following it, that wheresoeuer it should be found, there should the Scotishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scotishmen, receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

Gathelus ministred iustice. A description of the seat.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocúnq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be thus translated

Except old sawes doo faile,
and wisards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceiued that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agréement, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by séeking to inlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of couenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Iland lieng north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitors, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought togither into an hauen néere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome hée had by his wife Scota, the one named Hiberus, and the other Himecus, to conueie them ouer into that Iland, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hiberus, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

Galtia not sufficient to find the Scots.

The Scots séeke new seats.

At their first arriuall there, they came into the hauen of Dundalke, where getting on land, they first incamped themselues néere the shore, and then sent foorth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought foorth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Herevpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, minding to ioine them in friendship so with their Scotishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be doone, sithens the inhabitants (perceiuing the Scotishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in wholie about them, submitting themselues into their hands with gladnesse.

The Scots atiue in Ireland.

Irishmen liue by milke and hearbes.

Irishmen are gentlie intreated.

HIBER.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were giuen how the land should be conuerted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing foorth of such things as serue for mans sustenance, Hiber (leauing his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succéeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioising of all the people there.

Hiber returned into Spaine.

Hiber succéeded his father Gathelus.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to inlarge the same: Hiber ceassed not to conquer cities and townes néere adioining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties: and in the end constreined his enimies to séeke for peace, which he willinglie granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same tooke such good successe, that within certeine yeeres after, both the nations, what by mariage and other contracts, which they exercised togither, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hibers deceasse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, Hibertus, and Simon Brechus were of most woorthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

Hiber a conquerour.

A peace.

Spaniards & Scots becom one people.

HEMECUS.

In the meane while that these things were thus a dooing in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scotishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one, but that after his deceasse either of them would haue seuerall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling eftsoones at discord amongst themselues, there insued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties happilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so soone as they had once recouered their decaied strengths, so that the one séeking the others destruction, they continued in great disquietnes for a long time. These Scotishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finallie adressed an ambassage vnto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scotish men in Spaine, requiring him of aid and succor against their enimies, who went about with tooth and naile to expell all the Scotish nation out of Ireland, which they were like inough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid prouided for the contrarie.

Hemecus K. of Ireland.

Dissention.

The Scots send an ambassador vnto Metellus in Spaine.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man mooued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scotish linage, gaue eare to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediatlie therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hibertus, with a chosen power of wariors ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enimies with fierce and cruell battels, they set the Scotishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This doone Ptolomeus and Hibertus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succéed his father when time should serue thereto.

Aid sent to assist the Scots in Ireland.

Hermoneus returned into Spain againe.

After this the Scotish estate continued many yeares in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred vp grudge and parcialities amongst them, which shorthie would haue decaied the force of the Scotish nation, if the ancient lords had not prouided redresse in time, which was to persuade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine

for

for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the bloud roiall, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiancie in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with him amongst other princelie iewels and regall monuments, the fatall stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Simon Brech.

Brechus came into Ireland.

BRECHUS.

Brechus being thus crownd, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yeere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harisons account is after the floud 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sauiour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose deceasse succeeded Fandufus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Glaucus, which Glaucus begat Noitafilus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scotishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appeere.

4504 *H. B.*
60 *H. B.*
696 *H. B.*
Fandufus.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scotish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Iles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the westerne Iles because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scotishmen into those Iles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

Rothsay.

The Scots ferrie ouer into the westerne Iles.

They inhabit the Ile of Rothsay.

This Rothsay had not béene long in those Iles, but that hearing of his fathers deceasse, he returned into Ireland to succéed in his place. Where the Scotishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Iles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither dailie in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Iles were not large inough to find them sustenance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the forerememberd Iles, by them alreadie inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselues, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first captein and guide Gathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

The Scots inhabit the maine land of Scotland.

4617 *H. B.*

They inhabit the countrie called Arguile.

At their first comming, bicause they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they seuered themselues into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes ministred, and iustice mainteined: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yéere, increasing in processe of time vnto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enimie. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers doo agrée, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

They make lawes and ordinances.

Gouernors had in reuerence.

They liue in peace.

The Picts came into Scotland out of Germanie.

Some saie that they came foorth of the nether part of Scithia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathyrsi, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, bicause they vsed to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they vsed gaie apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yéeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Iles of Orkeney, and there inhabiting for a season, feried ouer

The Picts came first into Orkeney, and

changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

ouer into Cathnesse, whereof it came to passe, that the streict there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Rosse, Murrey land, Merne, and Anguse, and after that, entring into Fiffe and Louthian, they droue such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

4867 *H. B.*

These Picts, as by conference of times may appeere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arriued, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselues, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such shifts; but perceiuing they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing foorth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scotishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure aliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and vsurpers vpon their confines.

The Picts make strong holds.

The Picts require wome of the Scots.

A league made.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts, with couenants, that neither of them should seeke to vsurpe any peece of that which the other held, but content themselues with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioine their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at *anie time* it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scotish women should be admitted to the throne.

The succession of the gouernement.

Their aliance misliked.

This aliance was euen at the first misliked of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparablie togither, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the suertie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to preuent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroie both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first togither by the eares amongst themselues, that afterwards when their powers were by such meanes sore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the affinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them. The Picts applied themselues to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, vsing about the same to go armed in iacks and light iesternes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had beene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

Dissention a present destroier.

The Picts good husbandmen.

The Scots giuen to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send ambassadors vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

At length, the Britains perceiuing happilie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they sent solemne ambassadors vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioine in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitfull and replenished with all commodities necessarie, hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of mettall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and sauage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beasts. And hereynto they added that (which most mooued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophesies, that the Scots through treason should vtterlie in time to come extinguish and destroie all the Pictish bloud. Which persuasions induced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

Prophesies.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, incouraged the Picts so, that they sought dailie how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scotishmen: wherevpon making proclamation that no Scotishmen should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some

such

such as they tooke within the same, they cruellie slue; other they ransomed at excessiue summes: wherevpon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks. The Scots reuenge the iniurie doone vnto them.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there insued open war betwixt them: whervpon the Sotishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadors vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the vtter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needful to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sute also to haue some capteine of honor with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselues. In that season amongst the Irish Scotishmen, there reigned a king named Ferguhardus, who inclining to the petition of the British Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leuied, and thereto he appointed his owne sonne Fergusius to be generall of the same, a worthie yoong gentleman, and an expert warrior: whome hee sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, bicause he went foorth vnto such a dangerous warre. Scots send for aid into Ireland. They require a gouernor. Ferguhardus king in Ireland. Fergusius sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Such also as went with him in this iournie, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusius was no sooner come into Albion among the Scotishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselues against their enimies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finallie for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to choose onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thencefoorth follow and obeie. Fergusius landed in Albion. A parlement. A king is for to be obeied.

FERGUSIUS.

But bicause there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusius, and that the chaire of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioising of the people, he was laced vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scotish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our sauiour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scotishmen being thus begun in Albion, Ferguse tooke vpon him to rule as king, making prouision on all sides to resist his enimies: who whilest these things were a dooing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselues, and were now entred into the Scotish borders. Ferguse hauing hereof knowledge, speedilie got togither his people, and came with banners displaied to encounter his enimies. In king Ferguses banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folden towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be mooued to displeasure. Ferguse was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath beene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there. The Britains aid against the Scots.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroie them both, the vanquishers togither with the vanquished, as they found them out of araie in following the chase. The like report was brought The Britains are about to deceiue the Picts.

Treason reuealed vnto Ferguse.

brought vnto Ferguse by one that fled to his side from the enimies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

Ferguse sendeth to the Picts.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might insue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certeine daies togither, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Ferguse sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as perteined no lesse to the safegard and preseruation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell araie, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met togither, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts called his counceil and commons.

Herevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his councell afore him, declaring the substance of the communication which had beene betwixt king Ferguse and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present deuises of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agréed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yeeld withall to auoid the imminent perill of their vtter ruine and common destruction intended by the Britains.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be doone; *declaring* that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being *thus* proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter frendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murthered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a beastlie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroie all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdome to kéepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

A prophesie.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scotish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to séeke new dwellings in some other forraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Ouer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scotish nation, and thereby ingraffed their séed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the néerest meane and foreablest occasion to nourish friendship amongest people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

Whilest the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongest them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murther, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine togither in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scotish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betweene them: and

The Picts are moued to pittie.

for

for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had beene the chiefe procurers of all that mischiefe and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enimies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should doo therein as vnto him might seeme good.

Britains reputed as enimies.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Ferguse, declared what his subiects were agréed vpon: and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of méeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Ferguse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordinglie, so that comming togither, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, auailable (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first méeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so soone as the Britains had vnderstanding of this agréement, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies homewards, doubting least the said agréement might turne finallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scotishmen also after they had thus fullie ratified the peace and league betwixt them, brake vp their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The méeting of the two kings.

An other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go homward disappointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts returne home in peace.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (soiourning in that season néere about Yorke) being informed of this sudden rénouation of the league betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts, was nothing ioyfull of the newes; for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and meanes he might best prouide remedie for such inconueniences as might insue, he attempted nothing openlie for the space of two yeares, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion seruiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

This Coilus by the circumstance of the time, and other considerations, should séeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gutteline.

Coilus his subtiltie.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered néere to the marches of both the people) to fetch preies and booties out of the Pictish confins. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had doone such trespasses (being a people iniured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains doo in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such iniurious dissimulation, aswell Scots as Picts being not a little offended, they entred soone after into the British confins, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he tooke grieuous indignation thereat, and therevpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchiue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scotish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wasting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dune, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to destroie the countrie, and to bring in all such prisoners as they should lay hands vpon.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

Coilus entred into Scotland with an armie.

But in the meane time, and so soone as Ferguse heard of the approch of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent foorth about fiue thousand nimble men, and such as had beene vsed to clime craggie hilles, to go before and win the passages, purposing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scotishmen and Picts being now assembled togither, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they were best to doo; and in the end agréed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Ferguse with his Scotishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead

Ferguse assembled a great power of Scotismen.

of the night the Scotishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yer Coill had knowledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilest the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dune, by a certeine blind foord, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselues by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon an other, and were not able to helpe themselues, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongest the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemnlie buried according to his estate in Troinouant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sisellius, who with his mother Mertia gouerned the same togither by the space of manie yeares.

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, of whome as *Hector Boet.* saith, their countrie of Coill tooke name.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enimies hands, got them togither in the next morning, & perceiuing what losse they had susteined not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herault vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yeeld thereto: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Peace concluded.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Ferguse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scotish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie ouer so puissant enimies as the Britains were, he exhorted them to liue in friendlie concord amongest themselues, and to absteine from violating the leagues now concluded, aswell with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

A parlement. An exhortation vnto quietnesse and peace.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scotish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this peece or that did belong. Which politike aduise of Ferguse, the Scotishmen praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

Whereupon shortlie after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of good conscience and great experience, which were appointed to be surueiors of the whole countrie, and to diuide the same as neere as they could into a set number of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulnesse or barrennesse of the soile required, so they should inlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission seuered foorth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Ferguse then soiourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne, as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

Men diuide the land into portions.

The gouernement is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries tooke their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euen vnto this day. Ferguse hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied furthermore to deuise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murther, robberie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

Statutes and lawes are made.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughquhabre on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Iles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of she same Iles might haue their accesse

Beregonium. A place appointed for iustice.

cesse & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Picts and Britains, indeuouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finallie, sailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was inbarked, was driuen vpon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scotishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath beene euer since called rocke Ferguse, after his name.

Ferguse went into Ireland and in his returne was drowned.

Rocke Fergus otherwise Knocke Ferguse.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Britains one Enanius, named by Hector Boetius Esdadus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the banke of the riuer called Caron, as the Scotish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious hauen apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed vp in such sort, that vneath there appeareth anie token where that hauen was: and the citie it selfe was finallie subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The forenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Maidens, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & woorke, till they came to yeeres of mariage.

Esdadus.

Cruthneus Camelonus.

This citie the Scotish write take to be Camelodunum of the which there is so ofte mention made in the Roman writers; but verelie herein they doo grea lie erre.

Agneda now called Eden-brough.

The castell of Maidens.

But now to returne to the Scotishmen. After the death of Ferguse, the nobles of the realme assembled togither, to take counsell whome they might choose to succéed in his place. Manie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Ferguse, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though yoong of yéeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer them selues of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with toong can be well expressed.

The Scots consult about another election of a king.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minoritie, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected, the nobles bearing and bolstering vp all kinds of iniuries doone or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agréed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he séeke to aduance his kinsfolks more than reason happilie required, and peraduenture doo things otherwaies much displeasant to no small number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yéeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he vnderstood what charge he had in hand: and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensuall lusts and inordinate fansies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yéeres) how to gouerne themselues.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agréed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceassed Ferguse should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Ferguse his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as apperteined to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yéeres, they might succéed him in the estate and kingdome.

Feritharis chosen king.

This ordinance also they decréed to be obserued as a law from thencefoorth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succéed him, then

should one of his néerest coosins, such as was thought méetest to occupie the roome, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecessors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

The choosing of kings was not allowed.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obteining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncle to séeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncle and vncles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthie princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finallie that ordinance was clearelie abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

FERITHARIS.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments,

A two edged sword.

as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortresse, signifieng that he tooke vpon him to preserue the libertie of his countrie, to sée offendors dulie punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scotish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Achaius king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperour and king of France, to indure for euer betwéene the Scots

The crowne changed.

and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne foure flower de lices, togither with foure croslets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion and sincere faith, mainteined by the Scotish

The league with the Picts confirmed.

nation, might be the more euident to all men that beheld it. But now as touching Feritharis, shortlie after he was thus inuested king, he came to an interuiew with the king of the Picts, where manie things being communed of touching the wealth of both nations, the league was in solemne wise confirmed, and such punished as had doone anie thing sounding to the breach of the same.

After this, being returned home, he ordered himselfe in the administration of his charge verie vprightlie, without giuing iust occasion vnto anie to find himselfe gréeued: and thus continued he certeine yéeres in such loue of all the estates of the realme, that afterwards when his nephue Ferlegus the eldest sonne of king Ferguse, being now come to full age, through instigation of some insolent persons, and such as by alteration hoped for aduancement, required (contrarie to the ordinance before established) to haue of him the crowne: the matter was taken in such ill part, that where before the same Ferlegus was highlie beloued and honored of all the people, they were now readie (if Feritharis had not with authoritie and gentle persuasions staied them) to haue torne him all in peeces: but although their rage was somewhat appeased by Feritharis, as is said, yet would they not be pacified throughlie, till that all such as had béene of counsell with him in that practise, had suffered death, and new gouernors appointed to haue the ouersight of him.

Feritharis suddenly died.

Feritharis liued not passing three moneths after this businesse, but died suddenlie in the night, the truth not being knowne whether by naturall death, or through treason of Ferlegus and certeine of his complices (whereof there was no small suspicion) for that he togither with them found meanes to flée first to the Picts, and after to the Britains, where he passed

Ferlegus exiled.

the residue of his life in great shame and ignominie. Feritharis being thus dead in the 15

An election of a new king.

yéere of his reigne, the nobles assembled togither for the election of a new king, and in the end they agréed vpon Mainus the yoonger sonne of king Ferguse, as then being about 24 yéeres of age.

MAINUS.

MAINUS.

THIS Mainus being of contrarie conditions to his brother Ferlegus, was thus aduanced to the crowne by the whole consent of the nobles and commons, who yet kept in fresh memorie the noble gouernement of his father Ferguse. He therefore studieng to answere the peoples expectation in following his said fathers worthie acts, mainteined iustice in all points, without suffering anie bearing or bolstering of wrong. If there were anie controuersie risen betwixt neighbour and neighbour within one hundred or cantred, he willed that the same might be taken vp and ended amongest them at home by order of some authorized court there. But if the matter were of such importance, as that it could not well be decided without authoritie of some higher court, he would then haue the hearing thereof, at such time as he vsed euerie yeere once to haue a publiklie out of all parts of his realme, to conferre togither for such purposes; at what time also such as were notorious offendors were arreigned and punished by death or otherwise, according to the fault which they earst had committed.

Iustice maintained.
Small matters redrest among neighbours.
Great matters determined by the king.

Also for the more quiet of his subiects, he confirmed the ancient league with the Picts, their king named Chrinus requiring the same by his ambassadors sent vnto him. Moreouer this Mainus vpon a religious deuotion toward the gods, hauing an assured beliefe, that without their fauours all worldlie policies were but vaine, deuised sundrie new ceremonies to be added vnto the old: and also caused certeine places in sundrie parts of his dominion to bee appointed out, and compassed about with great huge stones round like a ring; but towards the south was one mightie stone farre greater than all the rest, pitched vp in maner of an altar, whereon their priests might make their sacrifices in honor of their gods.

Mainus confirmed the league with the Picts.
Mainus a deuout man in his religion.

In witnes of the thing, there remaineth vnto this day certeine of those great stones standing round ringwise, which places are called by the common people, The old chappels of the gods. A man would maruell by what shift, policie, or strength such mightie stones were raised in that maner. Amongst other the gods also, which the Scotishmen had in most reuerence, Diana was chiefe, whome they accounted as their peculiar patronesse, for that she was taken to be the goddesse of hunting, wherein consisted their chiefest exercise, pastime and delite. Vnto hir therefore he instituted monethlie sacrifice, by reason wherof this vse was taken vp, that so soone as anie of them got sight of the new moone next after hir change, ne saluted hir with certeine praiers or salutations most reuerentlie. Which custome indured amongst them manie hundred yeeres after. Mainus did also appoint foorth liuings for the priests to be taken of such sacrifice as was offered vp to the gods. Finallie, when he had thus instructed his people in lawes and ordinances, aswell touching the religious seruice of the gods, as also for politike gouernment of his countrie, he ended his life; after he had reigned about 29 yeeres, leauing the estate to his sonne Doruadille, Elidurus reigning at the same time in Britaine, and Thaara amongst the Picts.

Diana honored of the Scots.
Diana goddesse of hunting.
The new moone is worshipped.
A liuing prouided for the priests.

DORUADILLE.

DORUADILLE being crowned king of the Scots, established a new league with the Britains, by sending his ambassadors vnto them: and with the Picts he renewed & confirmed the ancient aliance. He set all his pleasure on hunting and keeping of hounds & greihounds, ordeining that euerie housholder should find him two hounds and one greihound. If a hunter chanced in following the game to lose an eie or a lim, so that he were not able to helpe himselfe after that time, he made a statute that he should be found of the common treasurie. He that killed a woolfe should haue an oxe for his paines. This beast in deed the Scotishmen, euen from the begining, vsed to pursue in all they might deuise, bicause the same is such an enimie to cattell, wherein consisted the chiefest portion of all their wealth and substance.

Doruadille a louer of peace.
Doruadille had pleasure in hunting.
The reward for killing of a woolfe.

Thus

Lawes made for hunting.

Thus the Scotishmen in this season, setting all their delite on hunting, began also to vse lawes and statutes in proces of time concerning the same. And first it was ordeined, that he whose dog did teise and go through to the end of the course with the deare, so that he were séene to be at the fall, should haue the skin; the head & hornes to remaine to him whose dog did best next. The body being drest & broken vp, should be distributed at the pleasure & discretion of the maister of the game. The bowels and panch were cast to the dogs as the case required. And if there rose anie doubt in anie of these points, they should choose by common consent, a iudge to determine of the matter. But whether these deuises were lawes made by the king as then for the further aduancement of his pleasure, or rather customes growne and ratified by long continuall vse, I cannot tell, but certeine it is, they were obserued through all the Scotish regions, as hauing the force of lawes, and so are vsed euen vnto these daies.

The dogs rewarded.

Old lawes allowed, and new established.

Beside these ordinances for hunting, Doruadille commanded also, that all such statutes as Ferguse had made, should be kept and obserued: wherevnto he added certeine new, namelie diuerse sorts of punishments for sundrie kinds of transgressions, according to the qualities of the same: which he caused to be ingrossed in books of record, and committed to the custodie of a graue councellor, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offendor should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offendor might vnderstand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offendors without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the westerne Iles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decrée taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and dooings of king Doruadille, who in the 28 yéere of his reigne departed this world at Beregonium, now called Dunstafage, leauing behind him a sonne called Reuther as yet not of sufficient age to succéed in the estate. By reason whereof Nothatus the brother of Doruadille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

Nothatus.

NOTHATUS.

This Nothatus had vneath reigned two yéeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And forsomuch as he being admonished of his duetie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Reuther king Doruadilles sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Nothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not tarieng till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murthered him togither with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enimies to Doualus and his friends.

Brigantia, now called as the Scots say Galloway.

Nothatus murdered.

REUTHER.

After this they proclaimed Reuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it

Reuther crowned king. Diuers lords offended.

it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorouslie murthered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of choosing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, & an vnskilfull yoong man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Nothatus gouernor of Lorne and Cantir, called an assemblie of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblie was made, and there sleaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by flieng yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

Nouantia.

A conspiracie of Ferquhard against Doualus.

Ferquhard fled into Ila.

In the end, Ferquhard persuaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enimies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first ioining hands, which they did wet in mans bloud (according to the custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarking themselues in certeine vessels, they entred the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering togither no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountred with Douale in battell, whose host twise in one daie was put to flight néere to the citie Beregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

Ferquhard returneth into Scotland for to reuenge his iniurie.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came foorth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enimies readie to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliue. Vpon Douales part there was slaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Reuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & cõmons that tooke part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & cõmons of Rosse, Cathenesse, Marne, Argile, Cantire, and Lorne, with them of the westerne Iles which were there with him.

Douale is slain.

Ferquhard is slaine.

Reuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliue. Whereof his enimies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they tooke him within a castell in Cathnesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in respect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knowne how his tender youth was such as had not deserued death by any fact, otherwise than in that he had followed the counsell of malicious persons. By this cruell murther and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scotishmen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie infeebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enimies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might happilie be past and gone.

Reuther the king fled.

Reuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains inuaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiuing themselues not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Iles of Orkenie, and there assembling togither, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Héere also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scotish historie be true.) Hereof moreouer as some suppose it came to passe, that these Ilands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

Gethus king. Why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should séeme to be that they were so.

In

called bicause the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Britaine.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Mers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entred into the confines of the Scotish kingdome, burning & wasting all afore them, wherewith such Scots as yet remained aliue, being highlie mooued to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incountring with their enimies neere to Kalender wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being sore chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

The Scots ouerthrowne.

This discomfiture put the Scotish nation into such feare and terror, that they vtterlie despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope vtterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Reuther and all the nobilitie of the Scotish nation that was yet left aliue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Beregonium, where they held themselues as in the surest hold. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enimies to Beregonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and vehement siege, vntill that the Scots within were constreined through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agreement made amongst them.

Scots besieged deuoure one another.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernors, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by issuing foorth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarieng *still* within the fortresse, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enimies. Wherevpon by common consent there issueth foorth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiors, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were borne downe and slaine with prease and multitude of his enimies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilest he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Reuther with the residue of his people brake foorth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Iles, where he found a great number of other Scotishmen that were gotten thither, being compelled by Oenus king of the Britains to auoid foorth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

The Scots come foorth and fight.

Reuther escapeth.

Reuther remained not long in the Iles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little mooued for his escape with the other of the Scotish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such veneson and flesh of wild beasts as they killed in the wildernesse: and sometimes they came downe and made raises vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and lands, fetching great booties verie often from amongest them.

Reuther passeth into Ireland. They inhabit the mounteins.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeeres, vntill in maner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Gethus king of the Picts kept his siege roiall in Pomonia the cheefest Ile of the Orkenies. Reuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortlie after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Gethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships togither, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Iles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Rosse at Lough Bruum, and there comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his bloud, they first tasted thereof after their maner, then holding vp their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the bloud of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enimies. After this, hearing that Gethus king of the Picts was also entred the land with a mightie power of Germans,

Reuther is sent for out of Ireland.

A custome.

Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staied there abiding for his comming, to the intent that ioining their powers togither, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprise. The Germans in aid of the Picts.

The third daie after they met togither with great ioy and congratulations, vnto whom with all spéed a great number also of those Scotishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) dailie resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Sisillius king of the Britains, who succéeded after Oenus, as then latelie deceassed, hauing knowlege hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entred into the borders of his realme, he hasted foorth to incounter with their powers, and so ioining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scotishmen and Picts, by the great valiancie and manfull prowesse of Reuther: wherevpon the place where that battell was fought hath béene euer since called Reuthirdale, as ye would say Reuthers vallie. Reuther and Gethus méet and ioine their powers togither. The Britains are discomfited by the Scots and Picts. Whereof Reuthirdale tooke the name.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agréement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scotishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuiolate betwixt these nations. The yeare that Reuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Reuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Reuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scotish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as séemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to mooue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yeare 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appeere. Reuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Beregonium, in the 26 yeare of his reigne. A peace concluded. 240 *H. B.* 4995 *H. B.* Reuther by *Beda* is named Reuda. 4997 *H. B.*

REUTHA.

After Reuther his deceasse, his vncles son called Reutha succéeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agréement of all the states, bicause that Thereus sonne to Reuther vnneath come to the age of ten yeeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Reutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scotishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had atchiued anie notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hils or mounteins, vpon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enimies in the wars: whereof some remaine there to be séene euen to this daie. An ordinance for buriall of their princes. Obelisks or pointed stones.

This Reutha also vnderstanding of the lacke of all maner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongest his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Vnto these also as vnto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest liuings, by way of fées, assigned to be receiued of such oxen and beefes as were killed, to euerie man of science and artificer his part. And further, ech of them had certeine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vse of coine was not knowen amongest the Scotishmen. The which custome of distributing their beasts, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the westerne Iles euen to these our daies. Craftsmen brought into Scotland to instruct the people. Liuings appointed foorth vnto those craftsmen.

A law for phisicians and surgians.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskilfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his councell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vnlesse they were by long experience well practised aforehand in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie foorth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had béene vexed with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recouered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, kéeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Aegyptians.

Reutha thus studieng for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finallie perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to trauell in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his coosin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to atteine vnto the prowesse of anie of his noble progenitors. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his persuasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblie.

Reuthi resigned the estate vnto his coosin Thereus.

THEREUS.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sorts of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outragious in their licentious liuings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof insued theft, murther, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired togither, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kinglie authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conueied himselfe out of the way in most secret wise, fléeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Yorke, he finallie there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Iustice neglected and vice imbraced.

The nobles conspire against Thereus. Thereus fled to the Britains.

CONANUS.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and péeres chose one Conanus lord of Galloway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had beene euer great amongest the people. His studie was chieflie imploied how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuing, of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wéeded them foorth, in such wise that yer he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Beregonium, where by common consent Iosina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succéed.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offendors.

He renounceth the estate. Iosina elected king.

IOSINA.

IOSINA.

THIS Iosina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Picts and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongest them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he vnderstood the vertues and properties of herbes, wherewith in those daies the Scots vsed to heale and remedie all maner of sores and diseases, which as then were few in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now knowen amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and excesse of meats and drinks vsed in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeting, the chiefest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Iosina his daies it chanced that a Portingale ship was driuen and drowned by force of a streinable tempest neere vnto the shore of one of the Scotish Iles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongest whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

Surfeting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwrack arriue in Scotland, and are ioifullie receiued of the king.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Beregonium, where the king as then soiourned. They were Spanish priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most ioifullie, dooing them all the honor he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordinglie ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselues at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answere declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of corne and graine, as conteining far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; and this they said that they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vsages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Aegyptians, woorshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beasts and fouls, whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them conteined, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordiall cause or beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of liuing thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout praier, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vowes: at whose hands such as liued chastlie, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarilie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

The Scotish religion reproued.

Vpright liuing well rewarded at Gods hands.

With these their sensible instructions they persuaded manie of the Scotish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means follow anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the moone, and stars, but that there was a certeine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers briefle and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose.

When Iosina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Beregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotlan

Iosina departeth this life.

FINNANUS.

THIS Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priuie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by meekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somwhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constreine anie man to woorship the gods, otherwise than his fansie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelats, which gouerned after the maner of bishops, in all matters perteining to religion, and were called in the Scotish toong Durceglijs, in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scotishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleseie, in the British toong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all iniunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

Prelats ordered in religion.

Druides in the old Scotish toong called Durceglijs.

The Scots mistake Man for Angleseie.

These Druides afterwards applied themselues so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, aswell naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by meanes whereof their authoritie dailie so far foorth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtfull matters were committed vnto their determinations, offendors by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obeie their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleerelie by the same Druides absolued.

The authoritie of the Druides increased.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Cæsar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifieng how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all wholie vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought ouer into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting foorth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in ioifull rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little aduanced for the mariage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durstus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that aliance he wan diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Picts as then sore diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Beregonium, and there buried amongest his predecessors.

DURSTUS.

AFTER him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durstus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogither giuen to banketting and excessiue drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuises could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous maner.

Wicked councellors.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Iles with them of Cantire, Lorne, Argile, and Rosse, conspired togither in the reformation of such disorders as were dailie vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed councellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that

A conspiracie.

fauoured

fauoured them in this quarell, and so few that leaned to the king to aid him against them, that he was constreined to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remoue from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beléefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such councellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient. A craftie and cloked dissimulation.

He furrther also in presence of Doro the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, sware in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and couenants as he was agréed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being deceiued, came without suspect of further guile unto Beregonium, where at their first comming he was readie to receiue them (as séemed by his feined countenance) with gladsome hart and most friendlie meaning; but they were no sooner entred the castell, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie. Craftie dissimulation. A cruell murther.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinsfolke, caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies after, manie thousands of men in furious rage came before the castell, and besieged the king most straightlie therein. Who perceiuing himselfe in such danger as he knew not well how to escape, came forth with such companie as he had about him, and incountring with his enimies, was straightwaies beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children doubting the indignation of the people conceiued against them for their fathers fault, to auoid the perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the nobles of the realme assembled themselues togither for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding to haue any of Durstus his race to reigne ouer them, least they would séeke by some means to reuenge his death: howbeit at length when they were at point to haue fallen at variance in susteining of contrarie opinions about the election of their prince, through a wittie oration made by Coranus gouernour of Argile, who alledged manie weightie reasons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agréed to commit the frée election vnto the same Coranus, promising firmelie to accept whomsoeuer he should name. Herevpon Coranus consulting a little with the péeres of the realme, named one Ewin the vncles sonne of Durstus, who as then remained in Pictland, whither he had withdrawen himselfe in Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by him, for that he could not awaie with his corrupt maners. This election was acceptable to all estats, for that thereby the administration of the kingdome continued in the line of their former kings. A new tumult. King Durstus besieged. Durstus is slaine. Ewin is chosen king.

EWIN.

And Ewin shortlie after was brought forth of Pictland with all regall solemnitie, and at Beregonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the great reioising of the people there assembled. Herewith also the nobles of the realme, putting their hands in his, bound themselues by oth to be loiall and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins commandement, begun and continued manie hundred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie; in somuch that the capteins of the tribes also required the same kind of oth of them that inhabited within their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto this day amongest those of the westerne Iles, and such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the creation of a new gouernour, whome they name their capteine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being ended, at the next faire kept within that countrie, proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting within his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the ancient & accustomed name as such rulers afortime haue béene called by. And that so oft as they heare him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine seruice, when anie holie mysterie is in dooing, or anie sacred name of the almightie creator recited. Swearing of fealtie first begun. Humble reuerence.

But

The dutie of a good prince.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest studie was to mainteine iustice throughout his dominion, and to weed out such transgressours as went about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects.

A notable ordinance.

Furthermore, considering what inconueniencies proceeded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wanton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and trauell, as to lie vpon hard boords without anie feather beds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise themselues to throw the dart, to shoot, to wrestle, and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of warre; that when need required, trauell and such kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might make the same intollerable. Whilest Ewin is thus occupied about the setting foorth of necessarie ordinances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require his aid against the Britains, who were entred his countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, leuied an armie forthwith, and with all spéed passed forward to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the old iniuries doone to his nation by the Britains, who likewise were as readie to receiue battell, as the Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that both the armies incountring togither (the Scots and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the other) there insued a sore conflict betwixt them, continued with vnmercifull slaughter till night parted them in sunder; no man as then able to iudge who had the better, but either part being priuie to their owne losses, withdrew themselues further off from the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts the same night got them into the mounteins of Pictland, and the Britains so soone as it was day made homewards with all spéed towards their countrie, and leauing no small preie and bootie behind them, which the Scotishmen and the Picts recouered, comming downe with all spéed from the mounteins, when they once heard that their enimies were departed.

A doubtfull battell.

King Ewin being returned from his iournie, determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of the same. He appointed also such as should watch for the apprehension of théeues and robbers by the high waies, assigning them liuings of the common treasurie to liue by. And there be euen vnto this day that hold still such liuings, though the office be worne out of vse and forgotten.

Dunstafage is builded.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant from Beregonium, which he named after his owne name Euonium: but afterwards it was called Dunstafage, which is as much to say, as Stéeuens castell, which name it beareth at this present. Finallie, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great weale of the realme, about 19 yéeres, he departed this life, leauing behind him a son base begotten, named Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be executed with all solemne pompe and ceremonies, raised vp soone after sundry obelisks about his graue neere vnto Dunstafage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, bicause they were twins, and not knowne whether of them came first into the world, looked to be king after Ewin: their names were Dothan and Dorgall. And such malicious emulation and enuious spite rose betwixt the two brethren, for the atteining of their purpose, that greater could not be deuised; which Gillus, like a craftie & subtill fox, by couert means sought still to augment; and in the end causing them to come togither for some conclusion of agréement, at length when he had set them further at ods than they were before, he procured a number of souldiers appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and there to slea them both.

The craftie working of Gillus.

Durstus two sonnes are slaine.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he came for, shewed in countenance as though he had béene much offended therewith, and done what hée could to haue appeased the matter, and herewith he commeth running foorth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good shift for himselfe, he had beene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Dorgall, who fell into such mischéefe themselues, as they had prepared for other. Herevpon

also

also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in somuch that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstafage, where being receiued into the castell with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuectiue oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he persuaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowen, vnto whome the same of right apperteined.

The nobles through feare consented to creare Gillus king.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubing lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might happilie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaime him king: whervpon he required all such as were present, to sweare vnto him fealtie, and to doo him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeablie as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Whereby he wan the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogither in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing vp of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and therevpon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and freendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeeres o age, and the other Cormacus that was two yeeres yoonger. The yoongest of the three named Ederus, being about seuen yeeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought vp like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leauing certeine of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the yoongest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his comming home to Dunstafage, he caused them to be murthered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, prouided more warilie for his safegard, for she smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe togither with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders vp into the mounteins, and there within a secret den susteined his languishing life for certeine moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus goeth about to murther Dothans sonnes also.

A detestable murther.

Ederus escapeth.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: euer reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continuallie, and most of all after the bloud of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: insomuch that he caused in one place and other, all such to be murthered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Gillus counterfeiteth a zeale to iustice.

Now the people seeing the dailie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie sore mooued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Kiley, Carrike, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lorne, and Argile, they assembled their powers togither, and with all speed marched foorth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such puissance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enimies with more speed than good successe: for yer the two armies came to ioining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hervpon doubting the issue if he were constreined to fight, he stale priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiors yeelded themselues vnto Cadall gouernor of Galloway, who was capteine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernor of the realme till they had chosen a king.

The Scots rise against Gillus.

Gillus departeth secretlie and getteth ouer into Ireland.

Cadall of Galoway is chosen gouernor of the realme.

This

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beregonium, Dunstafage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the westerne Iles. Thither was brought vnto him also, the yoong Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorablie conueied vnto Epiake the chiefest citie of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, hee might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

Leland and other take Epiake not to be so farre north.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, insomuch that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Wherof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, wherevpon causing a councell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agréement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephue to king Finnan by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gowere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroied him also.

Gillus purchaseth aid in Ireland.

Ewin the second of that name chosen king.

EWIN.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his eigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had béene in the Ile of Ila, and put the same to fire and swoord, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernor of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstafage, directed his course streight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enimies, he put them to the woorse, insomuch that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saued himselfe. His souldiers also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yéelded themselues vnto Cadall, who tooke them to grace, and foorthwith sent out certeine companions to séeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie stroke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioising of all the companie.

Cadall with an armie is sent into Ireland.

Gillus taken.

Gillus beheaded.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprise with good successe, he tooke the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greeuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voiage. Which mischance sore blemished the glorie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioising of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall tooke it so greeuouslie, that nothing could be more offensiue vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castels in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

A shipwrack by a tempest.

Cadall for his good & faithful seruice is rewarded.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scotish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Sijora the daughter of Gethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Dunstafage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rosse, that the Ilanders of Orkney had passed Pictland firth, and were entred into Cathnesse,

An interview betwixt the kings of Scots and Picts.

The people of Orkney inuade Cathnesse.

nesse, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rosse, he leuied an armie with all spéed, and hasted towards the enimies, constreining them by his sudden comming to figl whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaie, so that with small resistance the were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whoi part escaped by botes ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden ouerthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Bladus the king of Orkeney, for that he would not come into his enimies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprise against the enimies of Orkeney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scotish nation.

Bladus king of Orkeney sleieth himself.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offendors. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme néere to the water called Lochnesse, which he named Enuernesse, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in néed of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such furres, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin prooued a most famous prince for his worthie exploits right fortunatelie atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderstanding the death of his verie déere and intirelie beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifieng of his sonnes being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to doo the more honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument néere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and setting an accord betwixt the yoong men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as néere as might be: which he placed in the middest of the market steed, commanding the same to be honored with burning of incense and other diuine ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so déere a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholsome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his deceasse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentéene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

Enuerlochtey is builded.

Enuernesse builded.

Cadall deceased.

Ewin resigneth the estate.

Ewins decease.

EDERUS.

After the decease of Ewin, Ederus was, in maner before expressed, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scotishmen. Whose chéefe delight was altogither in hunting and kéeping of hounds and greihounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the woolfe the heardmans fo, by meanes whereof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike state of the realme being mainteined by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politikelie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Iles, néere of kin to Gillus that vsurper and murtherer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the westerne Iles landed in Argile, wasting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst

Bredus inuadeth the Scots.

Ederus burneth his enimies ships.

the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hasting to the place where his enimies ships laie at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the westerne Iles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Bredus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depriuing some vtterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadors sent from Cassibilane king of the Britains, requiring him of aid against Iulius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie shortlie to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the seigniorie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Cassibilane king of the Britains requireth of the Scotishmen aid against the Romans.

Androgeus chéefe ambassador of the Britains declareth the effect of his message.

Ederus receiued these ambassadors verie courteouslie: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble togither the next daie, afore whome he willed that Androgeus, cheefe of the British ambassadors, should declare the effect of his message, which he did so eloquentlie, and vttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scotishmen vpon to aid the Britains against such common enimies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associats vnto Gethus king of the Picts, to mooue him to doo the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

The Scots grant to aid the Britains against the Romans.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped according to their desires, repaired homewards: immediatlie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ederus & Gethus leuied their armies, & sent them foorth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane soiourned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Douald gouernor of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iournie which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yéere that Iulius Cesar came to inuade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after Maister Harisons account 54 before the comming of our Sauiour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

Cadallane & Douald with ten thousand Scotishmen send to aid the Britains.

5139 *H. B.*

60 *H. B.*

The Scotishmen and Picts hauing their part of the spoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beléeued verelie they shuld haue no more to doo with those enimies, or if they had they thought themselues strong inough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to inuade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren enimies, to séeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselues to resist the same well inough.

The Britains refuse aid being offered them.

But of this refusall of so friendlie an offer, it was not long yer the Britains sore repented them. For shortlie after Iulius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at three sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaieng and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were three of their cheefest capteins, Androgeus, Cisentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischéefe, he yéelded himselfe vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of couenants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Iulius Cesar inuadeth this land the second time.

The Britains are ouerthrowne.

Cesar

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scotishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselues as Cassibilane had doone, or else he bad them looke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselues they should in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement alreadie. Whereunto aswell the one king as the other made this or much-what the like answer, that they were bent sooner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the triall, should be euidentlie prooued by the déed it selfe.

Iulius Cesar his message to the Scots and Picts.

The answer of the Scots and Picts vnto Cesar his ambassadors.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threats but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and vtterlie refusing all maner of bondage, would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of fréendship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolued to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iournie shortlie after indéed, if he had not béene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the reuolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picards and Normans, with other the inhabitants néere about Chartres doo now dwell.

Cesar sendeth new messengers vnto the Scots and Picts, but they spéed much like to the former.

The common Scotish chronicles record, how Iulius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish kings vsed most to soiourne. Herevnto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stonehouse of 24 cubits in heigth, & of 12 cubits in bredth, of square hewen stones, right workemanlie framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be vsed in steed of a iudgement hall, and here placed it néere the riuer of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie had béene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be séene euen vnto this daie, and is called Iulius hoff, that is Iulius hall, or Iulius court. Howbeit, other more agréeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddes Victoria, by the Romane capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his aduancement to the empire.

Kalendar or Caledon wood. This cannot be true, for Cesar came not néer Scotland, as in the historie of England it appéereth.

Iulius hoff.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Iulius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Iles to reinforce his host, he was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Iles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaued himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting vpon the enimies as they laie at anchor, he tooke them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them vp along the shore side within the Ile of Gowre: Murket himself being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their chéefe head and leader in that voiage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne passed without anie other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeéres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstafage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set vp about the place where he was so intumulate.

Murketus nephue vnto Gillus inuaded the westerne Iles.

Murket is hanged with manie more.

48 *H. B.*

26 *H. B.*

Ederus departeth this life.

EWIN.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first

A licentious king.

yéeres of his reigne he was wholy drownd in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogither to lie weltering amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to bé murthered, onlie bicause he might the more fréelie without gainsaieng hant his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and coosins.

Filthie lawes.

Such delight he had also in his filthie and abhominable ribaldrie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subiects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualities. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first defloure the bride after hir marriage: which last ordinance tooke such effect, that of manie hundred yéeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succéeding, shortlie after this Ewins deceasse, taken awaie and reuoked.

Ewin is pursued and forsaken of his subiects.

But now to conclude touching the dooings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there tooke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succors: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclamed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous yoong man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stéed of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked déed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seuenth yéere after he began his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, being the 9 yéere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

Ewin condemned to perpetual prison.

Ewin is strangled.

32 *H. B.*

METELLANUS.

After Ewin succéeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Ederus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus mainteined his subiects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie maner of wars, either forren or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such yoong gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassador from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernement of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subiects in peace with all their neighbors, sith the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

Kimbaline king of the Britains.

These ambassadors went also vnto Metellanus the K. of the Scotishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superioritie in the Romane emperour, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadors with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherwith Metellanus being partlie mooued to haue a freendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperour, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obteined an amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdome for a long time after.

Metellanus becommeth friend to the Romans.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning throughout the whole world, it pleased the giuer and authour of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeare of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the

The birth of our Sauior Christ.

the first establishing of the Scotish kingdome by Fergusius 324 yéeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie dooth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to doo the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finallie, he passed out of this life in the 39 yéere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauior, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue aliue behind him to succéed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellan by his sister Europeia, was proclamed king; as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the péeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a little to doo in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metallane.

10 *H. B.*

330 *H. B.*

5199 *H. B.*

Metellane departeth this world.

29 *H. B.*

14 *H. B.*

Caratake is proclamed K. This Caratake all the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

CARATAKE.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which doone, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caricronium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euen vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilest these things were a dooing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had béene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succéeding, disdained to sée the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and inuaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life, but such as saued themselues within castels & fortresses.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains dieth.

Guiderius the British king rebelleth against the Romans.

The emperour Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Planctius, and Cneus Sentius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constreined to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enimies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadours returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciaries to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not beene constreined to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yer the Galls could be resolued vpon anie determinat purpose.

Planctius otherwise Plautius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortlie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Britaine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obeisance, ordered things among them at his pleasure. And after preparing his nauie and armie with all purueiance conuenient, he set forward towards the Iles of Orkneie, purposing to conquere the same, for that they had aided the Britains in thesē last warres against the Romans. But approching neere to those Iles, he was in danger to haue beene cast awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he was entred the streict betwixt the Orkenies and Dungisbie head in Cathnesse called Pictland frith; yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile where he first arriued, no bodie at home, all the people through feare vpon the first sight of the great multitude of ships being fled to hide themselues in caues and dens amongest the rocks & mounteins.

The emperour Claudius commeth into Britaine.

Claudius saileth into the Orkenies.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into Pomonia the chiefest of all the Orkenies, where discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resistance, he besieged the kine of those

Now Kirkewale.

Iles

Claudius taketh the king of the Orkenies.

Iles named Ganus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and finallie causing him to yeeld himselfe prisoner, led him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.

The doubt of Claudius going into the Orkenies. *Dion Cassius.*

¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write of this passage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is not like that he came there at all, for if he staied not past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it appeareth that he did not in déed; how should we imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of Britaine, and after go into Orkenie and conquere the same within so small a time, being readie to returne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies, as the said Dion affirmeth? But this discourse haue I made according to their owne histories, least I should séeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie is to be gotten by errours, as the maner is of them as well as of other nations, which to aduance their antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the aduantage oftentimes of writers scant woorthie of credit.

Aruiragus forsaketh his lawfull wife.

But now againe to our purpose. Aruiragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Voada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scotishmen, and maried Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britans disallowed; the more in déed, because he had faire issue alreadie by Voada, as a son and two daughters. But this was doone, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Planctius, thereby to breake all friendship and aliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers togither. Neither did he onelie refuse Voada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales togither with hir children.

Voada imprisoned.
Voada is deliuered out of prison, and conueied into Wales.

With which dealing Aruiragus being highlie moued, determined with force of armes to punish them that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not onelie those people which inhabited the countrié, now called Wales, and other that adioined on the north marches thereof were readie to defend the queene against his malice, he was faine to require aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus Planctius assembling togither with such of the Britains as tooke part with Aruiragus, set forward toward the enimies, and ioining with them in battell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day after this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that the people inhabiting in the countries which we now call Lanchashire, Yorkeshire, and Darbishire, were vp in armour against the king and the Romans, by reason whereof Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius withdrew towards London, that defending the sea coasts towards France, they might yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer chanced. And to re-enforce their power, Aulus Planctius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into France, to come with all spéed to his aid.

Aruiragus giueth his enimies an ouerthrow.
A commotion against Aruiragus.

The Britains make themselues strong.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter that they could not well withdraw themselues, now being certified of all their enimies dooings, thought best to make themselues so strong as was possible. And to the end that they might procéed in some orderlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates assembled togither at Shrewsburie, in those daies called Coriminum, where they concluded vpon a league to aid one another with all their might and maine against the Romans & Aruiragus, who went about to bring them wholie vnder seruile subiection and thraldome of the same Romans. They being thus agréed to make warres in this quarrell, and for the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance togither, there rose a doubt whome they might choose for their generall capteine, for that it was feared least there might grow some secret enuie amongest the nobles being of equall power, if one should be in this case preferred before an other. For the auoiding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales, they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarrell against Aruiragus and the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniurie doone to his sister quéene Voada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane bloud) might

The Britains assemble themselues at Shresburie.
They confederat themselues togither.

Caratake chosen to be capteine of the Britains.
Aruiragus would disherit his own children which he had by Voada.

might inioy the kingdome. They further declared, that all the British lords which were confederat in this enterprise, had chosen him by common assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it might so please him to take it vpon him, as their trust was he would: considering the iust causes of their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole Ile of Albion.

Caratake promised aid to the Britains.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their request, and throughlie weieng the same, promised them to be readie with his whole puissance in the beginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, vnto what place soeuer they should thinke expedient: and thereof he told them they might be most assured, willing them in the meane time so to prouide for themselues, as their enimies might haue no aduantage at their hands. With this agreeable answere the British messengers returned to Shrewsburie to the confederats, who reioising at the news, made prouision against the next spring to go against the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with their king called Conkist were willing to helpe towards the deliuering of the land from bondage of the Romans, whose nestling so neere their noses they were loth to sée or heare of. So soone therefore as the spring approched, all those thrée people, Britains, Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together, and met in Yorkeshire, in purpose to incounter with their enimies in battell, wheresoeuer they found them.

The Picts ioine with Scots and Britains against the Romans.

Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius hauing knowledge of all the dooings of the confederats, likewise assembled their power, & comming towards them, for a while forebare to ioine in battell, through counsell of Planctius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be soone out of heart, through watching and euill harborough, in such sort that in the end they should be easie inough to deale with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the fields on ech side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, so that what through hunger, lacke of sléepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselues from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enimies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore infeebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were inforced vnto in the campe. Wherevpon Aruiragus and Aulus Planctius determined the next day to giue battell. And so in the morning they arraied their people, & marched foorth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

The Britains wearid through trauell.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederates, vnderstanding the enimies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; wherevpon there insued right great and vnmercifull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie hast afterwards to ioine againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left aliue as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Planctius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Yorke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortlie after there came vnto him ambassadors from Aulus Planctius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the British rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a woorthie amends for so presumptuous an enterprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enimies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue, it were much better for him to séeke their friendship, than to abide their enimitie.

The Romans giue battell to the Britains.

Night parteth the fray.

Caratake returneth home to Caricionium.

Ambassadors are sent vnto Caratake from Aulus Planctius.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust cause to doo that which he did, considering the iniuries which his sister Voada with hir sonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was doone, that hee thought it more reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid

Caratake his answer vnto the ambassadors.

out

out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselues to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enimies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedome. The Romane ambassadors being returned with this answer, Planctius tooke no small indignation thereat, sore menacing to be reuenged of so high and contumelious words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conceiued by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, reuolting from them, fled into Shrewsburie, where, at the same time such British lords as were enimies to the Romans, were assembled againe in councell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, tooke such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that trauelling before hir time, she immediatly died therwith. But Aulus Planctius, perceiuing now thoroughlie how little trust there was to be put in the Britans, dispatched a messenger in all hast with letters vnto Claudius the emperour, who as then soiourned at Rome, signifieng vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie prouision were not the sooner made.

Aruiragus reuolteth.

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus dieth.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperor from Planctius.

Claudius weieng the matter by good aduise of councell, ordeined by decrée of the senate, that Vespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent hither with an armie, to tame the proud and loftie stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his comming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and moreouer all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Planctius.

Vespasian commeth into Britaine.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to procéed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forward toward Aruiragus & other the enimies, whom he vnderstood as then to be at Yorke, making their assemblie, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yeere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piked men were sent for, as out of Deuonshire & Cornewall there came 6000, foorth of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Kendall, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Oxfordshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Yorke, euerie man bringing his prouision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scotish men: and Illithara otherwise called Tharan, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

The Britains gather an armie.

Iceni.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains.

Illithara or Tharan king of Picts.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time of all the dooings of his enimies, hasted with all spéed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Yorke, he fiercelie vpon a sudden setteth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had béene néere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfullie stood to their defense: insomuch that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue beene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part restored. The capteins on either side did what they could to incourage their folkes to sticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came by victorie, and what losse insued by receiuing the ouerthrow.

Vespasian assaileth the Britains in their campe.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like inraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardinesse preuaile, for fortune by fatall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the

The desperat hardinesse of the Britains and Scotishmen.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

dominion

dominion of the whole world, shewed hir selfe so fauourable vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to doo for atteining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight. The Britains receiue the ouerthrow.

Aruiragus séeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants caried him by force out of the field, that hée might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune. Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after such losse of his people, threw away his armor with all his kinglie ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. Aruiragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Yorke, considered how by reason of this great discomfiture, it was vnpossible to resist the Romane puissance, and therefore with consent of the residue of his nobles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an herald vnto Vespasian, offring to submit himselfe in most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions of peace and agréement. Wherevpon Vespasian commanded that Aruiragus should in priuate apparell cóme in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Aruiragus present, and therefore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him safetie both to come and go. Caratake escapeth. Tharan king of the Picts is slaine. Messengers sent by Aruiragus vnto Vespasian with submission.

Aruiragus séeing no other remedie, came in vnto Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasse, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wise forgiuen without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deliuered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place established. For the administration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to sée good orders obserued according to the forme thereof. By which meanes the British nation eftsoones returned vnto hir former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Vespasian laie at Yorke, making his apprests against the next spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So soone therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian setteth forward with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enimies, he did put them in such feare that the Picts were glad to yéeld themselues vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that town to defend themselues from all assaults. Vespasian being certified therof, came & besieged them within the same citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege continued till they within, being in danger to famish through want of vittels, surrendred themselues with the town into Vespasians hands. In this town were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The sword hauing the haft of gold, & a purple scabberd very finely wrought & trimmed, Vespasian vsed to weare in all the warres wherin he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good successe and lucke to follow therof. The Pictish lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart without anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remaining at Camelon, tooke order for the peopling of the towne with Romans, granting them the vse of the liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabiting in Rome inioied. Also ouer against the towne vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honor of the emperor Claudius, wherein he set vp two images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the goddesse Victoria. Aruiragus commeth in vnto Vespasian. Aruiragus is restored again to his former dignitie. The Britains are pardoned, but yet deliuer new hostages. Their lawes abrogated. New lawes. Camelon besieged by Vespasian. Camelon surrendred. The kings regall ornaments taken. Camelon peopled with Romans. Iulius Hoff. This was at Colchester, as the British & English writers doo gesse.

Whilest he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scotishmen had assembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to reuenge the last ouerthrow. Whervpon Vespasian with all spéed sent foorth a strong power vnder the leading of Aulus Planctius to incounter the enimies. Planctius being approched within foure miles of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his aid. Neuerthelesse, night was no sooner come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through Caratake assembleth an armie. Planctius sent forth with an armie against Caratake.

through his host, that euerie man should make him readie to depart at a certeine houre vnder the standards of their capteins in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the dawning of the day, till it was hie noone, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstafage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselues, were put in such dread through brute of this ouerthrow, that immediatlie therevpon they came in and yéelded themselues vnto Vespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway vtterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Planctius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offred to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

Planctius setteth vpon the Scotish campe.

Caratake flieth vnto Dunstafage.

The people of Galloway submit themselues to the Romans.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by a purseuant, he rode streightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie meanes to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some maner of subiection therevnto: but this deuise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a frée Scotishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie forreine nation, in hope to liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies foorth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselues. Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his answer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstafage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed what dangerous passages he must march thorough, all full of desart mounteins, bogs, and quauemires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to bée found by all the way as the armie should passe.

Ambassadors sent vnto Caratake.

Caratake vtterlie refuseth to become a subiect.

Leauing therfore this enterprise, he caused so manie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten togither a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iournie also was broken by another incident, for euen at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and diuerse others the inhabitants vpon the south coast, were reuolted, and had slaine diuerse Romans, which lay in garisons in those parts. Vespasian therefore minding to cure this wound yer it should throughlie fester, hasted thither with all spéed, and with litle a doo pacifieng the rebels, caused the chiefe offendors to be punished according to their deserts.

The Ile of Wight rebelleth.

Vespasian appeaseth the rebels.

Shortlie after being sent for by the emperour Claudius, he returned vnto Rome with great glorie for his noble and high atchiued victories.* Aulus Planctius was left in charge with the gouernement of Britaine after Vespasians departure: who hearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselues vnto the Romans, in purpose to recouer againe those countries which Vespasian had latelie conquered, he likewise prepared to meet them, so that both the armies incountering togither, there was fought a right terrible battell with great slaughter on both parties, till finallie the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skilfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes, the common refuge in those daies for the Scots, when by anie adventure they chanced to be put to flight.

Vespasian returneth to Rome.

Planctius left as gouernor.

Planctius prepareth to méet the Scots.

The Romans through policie vanquish the Scotishmen.

After this ouerthrow the warre was continued for two yéers space, by rodes and incursions made one vpon another in the confines of Kile and Galloway. In which meane while Planctius fell sicke of the flix, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that

Planctius fall the sicke.

that he was not able to trauell at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote hi letters vnto the emperour Claudius, signifieng vnto him in what case he stood, and therevpo required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauin receiued his letters, and vnderstanding the effect of the same, sent one Ostorius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

Ostorius Scapula is sent into Britaine.

About the time of whose arriuall into Britaine, Aulus Plancius departed out of this world at Camelon, where he then soiourned. His bodie was burned, and according to the vsage of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and buried within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Vespasian builded neere vnto Camelon, vpon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken vp amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuerse tokens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findor a village in Merne, fiue miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Marre, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by certeine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were foure chests, of workemanship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Manie the semblable monuments haue beene found in diuerse places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

Aulus Plancius dieth.

The vsage amongst the Scots to burne the dead bodie.

But now to our purpose. Immediatelie vpon the comming of Ostorius into Britaine, the people of the west countries rebelled, procuring the northerne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to doo the like. They sent also vnto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well inough with this new Romane capteine Ostorius Scapula, that vnderstood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Ostorius being informed of all these practises, and remembring what furtherance it were for a capteine in the begining to win a name by some praise-woorthie enterprise, he made first towards the westerne Britains, whome he thought to surprise yer they should assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and tooke a great number of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

The Britains yet eftsoones rebell.

The Britains require aid of Caratake.

The Britains of the west part are chased.

After this, he went against the people called Iceni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Oxfordshire, but other take them to be Northfolke men, who being gathered togither, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fense pasture grounds, that no horssemen should breake in vpon them: yet this notwithstanding, Ostorius assailed them within their strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on ech side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterprises, which Ostorius and other of the Romane lieutenants atchiued here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yeere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants remooued by Hector Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie prooued by Humfrey Llhoid, and others, that they inhabited countries conteined now within the limits of England. The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Ordouices where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Carrike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the description as in the historie of England aforesaid.

Iceni. Oxfordshire is assailed. Some take the Iceni to be the Northfolke men.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the busie minds of such other of the Britains, as were readie to haue reuolted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Caratake continued in their rebellion, till Ostorius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were

They of Galloway are beaten and pacified.

Kile and Cantire wasted and spoiled.

soone pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Kile and Cantire, spoiling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which iniurie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assembled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subiects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred into Pictland, there came vnto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be reuenged on the Romans, either else to loose life and libertie both at once, for the tast of bondage was so bitter vnto all the inhabitants of Albion in this season, that they in maner were wholie conspired togither to remooue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painfullie pinched them.

Caratake assembleth an armie.

The strength of the place where Caratake was incamped. Of this matter ye may read more in England.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose foorth a strong place to lodge in, fensed on the one side with the course of a déepe foordlesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approched vnto for the stéepnesse of the crags and such fensing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any way to enter. All such women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to doo valiantlie with shouting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approch. Other such as were yoong and lustie, were appointed to kéepe araie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Women incamped.

Women placed in order of battell.

Caratake and his capteins exhort their men to fight.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his capteins and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiors, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer. On the other part Ostorius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in araie after the ancient maner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whome they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine maner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Ostorius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake ouerthrowne by the Romans.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Picts, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enimies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor vnto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius. This was in the ninth yeare after the beginning of the warres. Ostorius vsed him verie honorablie, according to the degrée of a king: finallie he sent him vnto Rome, togither with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to sée him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

His quéene taken.

Caratake betraied by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewed to the people in triumph.

At his comming to Rome he was shewed in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with anie other atchiued enterprise against whatsouer the most puissant enimies of former time. The Emperor Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth receiued to be a true subiect vnto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning vnto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yéeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the deceasse of his vncle Metellan, in the yéere of our Lord 54.

Caratake departeth this life.

54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of horssemen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as séemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appéerance of them could any where be perceiued. Also a sort of woolues in the night season set vpon such as were

Strange sights séene.

kéeping

kéeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreouer, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. These vnketh signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

ORBREID.

After Caratakes decease, his yoongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yéere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agréeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of stomach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the westerne Iles, also in Rosse & Cathnes. In the meane time the Picts hauing created there a new king called Conkist, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next townes and castels adioining, they had slaine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the capteins, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiors, lost their liues there. The Picts moone war against the Romans.

Shortlie after also, the same Picts ouerthrew a number of forragers, with such companies of horssemen as came to defend them. Herewith Ostorius being not a little mooued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Picts, who defended themselues so vigorouslie, that the fore ward of the Romans was néere hand discomfited. Which danger Ostorius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enimies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue béene slaine. The night comming vpon parted the fraie, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Picts with such other Britains as were come vnto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first ioining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them vnto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streicts of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Picts as returned from the battell. The Picts ouerthrow the Romane forragers. Ostorius is wounded. The Romans trained foorth into ambushes and so distressed.

Ostorius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortlie after sent a purseuant vnto Rome, to informe the emperour in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Picts, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperour determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Picts should be eftsoons receiued vpon their submission, if they were driuen to make sute for pardon, but vtterlie to be destroied and exterminated. For the accomplishment whereof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as soiourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Ostorius departed this world, whether of his hurts (as the Scotish chronicles make mention) or through sickenesse (as should rather séeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose deceasse Manlius Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie foorth to incounter the Picts that came to séeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had abidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horssemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and chased vnto their campe, there being slaine aboue 3000 of them at that ouerthrowe, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least. Ostorius dieth. Manlius Valens inuadeth the Picts. The Romans are discomfited by the Picts.

Aulus Didius commeth into Britaine.

About the same time there arriued in Britaine an other Romane capteine to be generall in place of Ostorius now deceassed, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remembred. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great danger of loosing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been woone and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselues to recouer againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them manfull stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the gouernance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arriued with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loued libertie, and hated to liue in seruile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the sooner moued to condescend vnto the request of the Picts; and therevpon assembling an arme entred into Galloway. Wherof Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuersed againe vnto the empire.

The Picts sent to the Scots for aid.

Caesius Nasica entred with an armie into Galloway.

The herald had vnneath doone his message, when word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Romans vnder the guiding of Caesius Nasica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Galloway, he bestowed in castels and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Epiake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Venusius that had maried the forenamed Cartimandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Venusius was of counsell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraieng of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud gouernment of the Romans, he reuolted from them vnto Corbreid. Wherewith his wife being offended, found means to apprehend both him and his brethren with certeine of his kinsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

Venusius the husband of Cartimandua.

Venusius reuolteth.

Cartimandua is buried quicke.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also tooke & caused Cartimandua to be buried quicke. In the meane while a certeine number of Scots distressed a few forragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slaine. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Nasica was in purpose to haue assailed a certeine strong place, wherein a number of the Scotishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entries, had not other newes altered his purpose; for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approched within three miles of him, he brought his host foorth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scotishmen hauing knowledge, hasted foorth towards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scotishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got vp into the mounteins.

The darke night parted the fraie.

A peace concluded.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselues with that which they had in possession before the beginning

ning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts paieng their former tribut for the finding of such garisons of Romans as laie at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreouer it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour anie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie maner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had doone manie notable displeasures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six yeares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six yeares, departed this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

Aulus Didius departeth this life at London.

After his deceasse the emperour Nero, who succeeded Claudius, appointed one Verannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scotishmen; and at length hearing that certeine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Pictland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought dailie in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable incounter chanced betwixt them, Verannius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two yeares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Romane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue doone.

Verannius is made lieutenant of Britaine.

Verannius departeth this life

Paulinus Suetonius succéeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries doone on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for somuch as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleseie which the Britains name Món, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after what sort Suetonius both attempted & atchiued this enterprise, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to represse certeine tumults raised among the people there. In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, mooued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whilest Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseie, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and woonders which happened about the same time, wherevpon the southsaiers (as Hector Boetius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerthrow. Vpon trust of whose words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, set vpon such Romans as inhabited there, and slue a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine ech mothers sonne.

Paulinus Suetonius.

Angleseie and not Man was thus inuaded by Suetonius.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horssemen to their succours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, lost all his footmen, hardlie escaping himselfe with the horssmen to the campe. Shortlie after he tooke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then soiourned, who vnderstanding how the whole Ile was on ech side in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while quéene Voada sent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid against the Romans, who had so vilie vsed hir and hir daughters, to the great dishonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of such iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being risen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Petilius Cerealis his men being slaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Quéene Voada desireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Corbreid being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his sister, determined either to see hir satisfied by woorthie recompense, or else to be reuenged on them that had misvsed hir: and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiuing but a scornefull answere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering

Charanach K. of the Picts.

The Romans slaine.

thering togither a mightie armie of one & other, pursued the Romans and their associats, slaieng downe a woonderfull number of them. He also burned and destroied diuers townes, such as in keeping their alleigiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Berwike and Carleill with others. About the same season there arriued in the frith a number of Dutch ships, fraught with people of Merherne or Morauia, a region in Germanie situat betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and assembling togither vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making shift for vessels, they tooke the seas to séeke them some new habitations; and thus arriuing in Pictland, were ioifullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries against the Romans. Namelie with the Picts they were much estéemed, for that they came forth of the same countrie from whence their ancestors were descended.

Dutchmen arriue in Scotland.

Merherns were men of goodlie stature.

Their huge bodies and mightie lims did greatlie commend them in the sight of all men before whome they mustered, so that comming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march foorth towards the enimies, they were highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of quéene Voada against the Romans. With this Voada was assembled a mightie host of the Britains, amongest whom were fiue thousand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies doone to their persons by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the first that should giue the onset. Voada hearing of hir brothers approch with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

Women come with the queene in armour.

After taking aduise how to behaue themselues in their enterprise, they thought it good to make hast to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Wherevpon marching towards him, they met togither in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horssemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech side; Catus himselfe being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortlie after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing archiued this victorie, pursued their enimies from place to place, so that there died by the sword, what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, seuentie thousand Romans and other strangers, which serued amongest them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie thousand.

The Romans are put to flight and ouerthrowne.

Catus was wounded.

70000 Romans slaine, and 30000 Britains.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers, and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. Voada the quéene vnderstanding of his arriuall, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who togither with the Morauians came with all spéed vnto hir. When they were thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Morauians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter togither with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernors on either side. So that ioining puissance against puissance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being slaine and borne downe on both sides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chased out of the field. There were slaine of them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Morauians, togither with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Voada the quéene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enimies, slue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were taken prisoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

Voada assembled an armie against the Romans.

The Romans ouerthrow the Scots and Picts. The Morauians all slaine. Voada slue hir selfe.

The eldest of them within a few moneths after was maried vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. He was also created king of Britaine by the em-

Marius was made king.

perours authoritie, that thereby the state of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He vsed to be most an end in the parties of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adioining next vnto the Scots was called Cumberland. The Moramians which escaped from the discomfiture, had a portion of Scotland assigned forth vnto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Tome and Speay, called euen vnto this day Murrey land.

Westmerland.

Read Hect. Boethius of this historie of the Moramians. Murray land.

Corbreid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, meddled neither with the Scots nor Piets, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of Britaine in due obedience. Finallie Corbreid departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongest his elders neere vnto Dunsrafage, with manie obelisks set vp about him.

Corbreid dead Anno Christi 71. H. B.

DARDAN.

After Corbreid succeeded one Dardan, which for his huge stature was afterward surnamed the great. He was lineallie descended fro Metellane, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onelie for the good opinion they had conceiued of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roome, considering the sonnes of Corbreid were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to inioy the same. For the said Corbreid had three sons in all, Corbreid, Tudeane, and Breeke. The eldest had beene brought vp with Voada, quéene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vsages of the British nation, and thereupon was surnamed Cald, for so doo the Scotishmen vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countriemen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

Corbreid his three sonnes.

But to returne to Dardan, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the state by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices; remouing from offices such as were vpright bearers of themselues in the same, and aduancing to their places bribers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was drowned beyond all the termes of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was too little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceiued to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor Corbreid, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for Corbreid Cald the eldest sonne of the former Corbreid, remaining as then in the Ile of Man (where he should haue beene murthered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant Dardan into their hands, & bringing him foorth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, being the first of the emperour Domitian, & the fourth complet of his owne reigne ouer the Scotishmen.

Dardan falleth into all kind of vices.

His sonnes Gaderus and other. The commons rebell.

Dardan is beheaded. 75 H. B. 81 of Dom. H. B.

CORBREID CALD.

Corbreid Cald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the gouernment of Scotland after Dardan, is called by Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first begining of his reigne he punished such as had beene furtherers of his predecessors misgouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the

Corbreid called Galgacus. A note of his stature & personage.

See more of him in England.

westerne Iles, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Iles of Lewis and Skie, and put to death certeine offendors that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and judges. After this he returned by Rosse, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdemeanors of the people there. To be short, hee purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theeues, and other the like offendors against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the licentious rule of his predecessor Durdan, and hereynto he was mightilie aided by the Moranians, who pursued such offendors most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

Gald promoteth the quiet state of his subiects.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the veere next insuing, being the third of Gald his reigne, he called a councell at Dunstalage, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king Ewin, as before is partlie specified: but he could not obteine more, than that poore men from thencefoorth should haue their wines free vnto themselues, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilest he was thus busied about the establishing of holsome orders & statuts for the welth of his subiects, woord was brought him that Petilius Cerealis a Roman capteine, being sent from Vespasian the emperour to haue the gouernement of Britaine, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortlie to inuade the borders of his realme, as Annandale and Galloway.

Gald abroach to the [illegible].

Petilius Cerealis a Romane capteine sent by Vespasian into Britaine.

With these newes Gald being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certeintie of the enimies doings, before he made anie sturre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horssemen to ride foorth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of Pictland, and had giuen the Picts alreadie a great ouerturow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into Galloway. Gald being thus certified of the Romans approch towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armor, being readie to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

The Picts ouerthrow by the Romans.

The Romans purpose to enter into Galloway.

Gald determineth to fight with the Romans.

It hath beene reported, that as he marched foorth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was seene almost all a whole day, flieng vp and downe ouer the Scotish armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe weatie. Also an armed man was seene flieng round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were sported with bloud. These monstruous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie good successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefest capteins amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weieng the great force of the Romane armie, being the greatest that euer had beene brought into their countrie before that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought withall, hue rather to suffer them to wearie themselues, till vittels and other prouision should fail them, and then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

Strange sights appeared in the Scotish armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

Other were of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (sith the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should wax faint and decaie: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enimies host, they made readie to incounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cheerefull exhortations of their king, and other their capteins, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they boldlie set vpon the Romans, whereof insued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, howbeit in the

The Scots were in fight with the Romans.

end

end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Gald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

The Scots are discomfited.

There were slaine of the Scotishmen (as their chronicles report) aboue twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the seasone of that yeere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced ellsoonest to haue receiued the ouerthrow.

The Scots dare not fight in a field with the Romans.

¶ Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scotish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imploied chieflie against Scots & Picts: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie therevnto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen doo place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may reuel more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But nouerthelesse wee haue here followed the course of the Scotish historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselues, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authors it shall seeme to them expedient.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine vereadi foul sufficient ale in the historie of England.

In the meane time then, whilest Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Voadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partlie touched) gathered togither a crew of souldiors within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of such Scotishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee tooke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past receiued at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had beene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enimies, staied their hardie forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselues in arraie, defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sproong, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enimies, they put them quite to flight.

Voadicia conoweth war with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Voadicia.

But Voadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking the cille she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, vsed such diligence, that laieng an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought aline vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shee was presentlie slaine by the souldiors.

Epiake is taken & burned by Voadicia.

Voadicia is slaine.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Marius, so that without speedie succors they were like to drine him out of his kingdoms: whereupon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there all the next yeere after, he fell sicke of the fire and died. Immediatlie whereupon the emperour sent one Iulius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with hier two legions of souldiors, and after he had taken order with king Marius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such

The Britains [illegible]

Iulius Frontinus [illegible]

vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not vanquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and visiting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their labour and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilest the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent a herald vnto the king of the Picts with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any meanes to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Hereto the king of Picts nothing suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his peares & councellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruil bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Gald had assembled to defend his countrie, but forsomuch as he was diseased with sicknesse, he was at length constreined to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leaning his power behind him to resist the enimies attempts: but shortlie after his departure from amongst them, they were fought withall by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countries submitted themselues to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which vexed him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Iulius Agricola to succeed as lieutenant of Britaine in his roome. About the time of whose arriuall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Kile, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouision with all speed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwike to their former subiection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fiercelie beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced his power, he eftsoones gaue battell againe to his enimies: but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediathe thereupon was Camelon wonne by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be newlie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recouered the most part of all the castels and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Forth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched foorth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constreined to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murthered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation vsed to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Agricola vnderstanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance vnto him for the atchining of other enterprises in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow

shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the goulfe, and so got on land. The Scots wounder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to have arrived vpon their shores: but now departing to seek such kind of warriors as indeuored themselues to passe the seas in that maner of wise, they submitted themselues vnto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of them, and appointing certeine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he soiourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his host of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onely shew of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst aduance themselues to incounter him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had beene afore time subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countrie, exhorting them by gentle perswasions, to frame themselues to a ciuill trade of liuing, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Romain maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and aboue all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to cause them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer comming vpon, Agricola inuaded such countries as were yet vndiscouered by the Romans, entring by the mother side of Caledon wood, euen vnto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had beene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which vndoubtedlie was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bridge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie ouer into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawne into a castell thereby, standing vpon an high mountaine cleped Bennart, he inuironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approch, got him foorth abroad into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to haue broken the bridge, which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the passage, in his returne from thence he was incountred by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of the attempt of his enimies, had leuied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting together in the fields, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased vnto the riuer of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this ouerthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betweene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Forfarshe, and Ernedall, and soiourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their constreined obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meanewhile, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted vnto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of good cheere, and to hope well of the recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune and meanes that might happen in time ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them laie, as well for counsell as aid of hand: and hereupon they tooke aduise, which waie to worke, insomuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought good to seeke for succor at the

Agricola ouercommeth the Picts.

The Ile of Anglesey is subdued by Agricola.

Agricola studieth all he may to bring the Scots vnto ciuilitie.

Karanach commeth to succour his men.

Agricola builds a castell with a bridge ouer the Forth.

Mount Bennart.

Karanach vainly attempteth to breake the bridge, which the Romans had made.

Karanach is discomfited, chased, and driuen ouer the riuer of Tay.

The most part of the countrie brought into subiection of the Romans.

Karanach commeth to the king of the Picts.

the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certeine messingers dispatched with all speed vnto Gald the Scotish king, requiring him in that common ieopardie to ioine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the vtter subuersion of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeered by their proceedings, hauing alreadie occupied and wrongfullie surprised a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scotish dominions, minding still to go forward in such vnrighteous conquests, if by timelie resistance they were not staied. Gald vpon this request and motion of the Picts gladlie consented to ioine his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enimies as the Romans were esteemed) hauing herevnto the assent of all his peeres and cheefest councellors.

The Picts send [illegible] king Gald.

[illegible] in [illegible] with [illegible] against the Romans.

Thus whilest the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league togither for defense of themselues and their countries, certeine Scots entred into the confines of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, and wan diuers fortresses, wherein certeine garrisons of Romane souldiers solourned, whome they slue downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola hauing knowledge hereof, went streightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had doone those iniuries, some he tooke amongst the hilles and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the riuer of Clide, but the castell of Dunbreton he could not by any meanes obteine, though he assaied to win it euen to the vttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scotishmen being thus driuen backe, Agricola repared such castels and fortresses as they had ouerthrowne and beaten downe.

The Scots [illegible] the Romans [illegible] hauing [illegible] garrisons.

[illegible] of Clide, other [illegible] [illegible].

Agricola repaiing the Scots, could [illegible] win the castell of Dunbreton, ancient [illegible] called [illegible] or Alcluth.

In the yeare following, being the fift after the first comming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about frō the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochfine in Argile, thereby to put his enimies in vtter despaire of escaping his hands either by water or land: and therevpon passing ouer the riuer of Clide with his armie, and finding his nauie there, he set vpon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were readie to rebell, by reason wherof he left off this enterprise against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his comming into Pictland, he appesed the rebels with small adoo, punishing the cheefe authors according to their demerits. This doone, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

[illegible] Lennox.

Agricola returneth into Pictland, to appease [illegible] of the people there, [illegible] returneth vnto Clide.

The summer following he appointed his nauie to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks of Argile, and of the Ilands neere to the same. Whilest he by land passing ouer the water of Leuine, went about to conquer townes and castels, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streict passages, high mounteines, craggie rocks, thicke woods, deepe marishes, fens and mosses, with the great riuers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to atteine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, ouercame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their woorthie generall and other the capteins, and so inuading the countrie tooke townes and castels, of the which some they beat downe and raced, and some they fortified and stuffed with garrisons of men of warre.

Agricola pursueth his enterprise against the Scots.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Lorne, Murrey land, Lugemarth, also those of the westerne Iles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scotish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come togither in Atholl, at a place not passing fiue miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the comming of Kuranach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining togither in one armie, they might some high exploit. But he hauing assembled fifteene thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mounteine of

All the Scots assemble.

Granzbeine.

Granzbeng, in times past cleped Mons Grampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the eares, Karanach himselfe comming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presentlie at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that fourme was broken, for the Picts being vtterlie amazed and discomfited heerwith, skailed and departed asunder.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his cheefest aid, durst not aduenture to vse the chance of battell with the enimies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of victuels out of their waies, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to prouide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to incounter with them, puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting vpon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moone them vnto mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselues, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligentlie behaue themselues, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioine in friendlie amitie one with another, and to choose one Garnard to their king to succeed in the roome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enimies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wheresoeuer the same were inhabiting in anie part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Britons from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as for them that esteemed themselues halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enioy for euer.

Whilest these things were thus in doome, Caldus dimiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through fame thereof, than for anie apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselues in danger to enter into Caliden wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreame, by reason of frost, snow, and cold blasts of aire, that they were not able to enterprise anie exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer thereof (being the seauenth after the comming of Agricola into Britanie) [illegible] they [illegible] to inuade one an other againe with all their forces.

For [illegible] there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and ioined with an armie of Scots there in Athell, being then already assembled togither out of all quarters of the Scottish dominions. Thither came also Garnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled togither by common consent of them, Caldus king of the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hauing [illegible] with his host was entred into Kalender wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enimies in purpose to incounter them. [illegible] incouraged by spials, praied his people also into three seuerall wards, determining to be lodged within one of the same place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, [illegible] to the [illegible] number about 30 [illegible] one and other.

[illegible] vnderstanding by spials this order of the Romans, in the head of [illegible] vpon one of those hils which was lodged next vnto him, and hauing [illegible] the watch, [illegible] the enimies [illegible] before they had anie knowledge of their comming, so that [illegible] was right [illegible] among the Romans [illegible] Agricola being certified of this attempt of the Scots, sent forth [illegible] certeine number of light horsemen and footmen to assaile them on the [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] with all the rest of his people [illegible] those that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprise [illegible]

deuise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Piets, greatlie to the reliefe of these that were by them assailed, and withall sore amazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

Agricola commeth to the succors of his men.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appeere, shewed to the Scots and Piets the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Herewith were the Scots and Piets put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This ouerthrow did so abash both the Scots and Piets, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onelie did what they could to defend their townes and countrie, by making sundrie raises vpon their enimies, as occasion and opportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to ouercome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Kalendar weed, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field neere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Kalendar.

Agricola ouercommeth his enimies.

The Romans passe through the Caledon wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond.

The Piets, by reason that their enimies were lodged so neere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuſline, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castels and towers, as may appeere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scotishmen in our time call the place Inchruthill. All their wiues and children they remooued vnto the mountains of Granzbene for their more suertie and safegard.

The Piets burne the citie of Tuſline, least the enimies should take it.

The place where Tuſline stood is called by the Scots at this present Inchruthill.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish vp such numbers as were decaied in his armie. These slaieng their captaine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike feats at the beginning, as the maner was, got certeine pinnesses which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arriued in Taie water, offering themselues to the Scots and Piets to serue against the Romans, whose mercie they dread for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countries, which lie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Vsipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gulike.

The Germans reuolt to the Scots and Piets.

The Vsipites are reiected of the Romans, and therefore go to the Scots and Piets.

Their offer was accepted most thankefullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongest the Murraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilest these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his armie first arriued in the Irith betwixt Eſe and Loothian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for prouision wherof he had good store both of victels and armour. Galdus king of the Piets hearing of their arriuall there, foorthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and according to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receiued him in most ioifull wise, feasted and banketed him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most fit for their ease, to refresh themselues the better after their painefull iournie by the seas.

Gildo the Danish king arriueth in Taie.

Galdus king of the Piets receiueth Gildo.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Scotish king Gald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most ioifull and glad of his comming, yeelding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as eyther hee

to the purpose, and receiued no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies togither at Dundée, both the kings Gald & Garnard, togither with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Forfare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselues in their enterprise against the enimie. At length they resolued not to go foorth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might insue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperancie of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

prehending them all vnder the name of Britains.

Garnard the king of Picts ioifullie receiued Gildo.

Gald commeth into Dundée to welcome Gildo.

In the meane time they tooke order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onelie to kéepe fronter warre, that the Romans should not straie abroad to fetch in vittels and other prouisions to their owne gains, and to the vndooing of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the councell was broken vp, Gald withdrew into Atholl, to defend those parties; and Garnard with the Danish generall Gildo, furnished all the castels and holds in Angus ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enimies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without anie great exploit on either part atchiued.

Gald Garnard and Gildo assemble a counsell at Forfare, where they deuise how to procéed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make fronter warre onelie.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his nauie of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie créeke & hauen alongst by the same. The mariners executing his commandement, sailed round about the north coast, discouering manie of the westerne Iles, and likewise those of Orkneie, till at length they found out Pictland firth, being a streict of the sea of twentie miles in bredth, which separateth the Iles of Orkneie from the point of Cathnesse, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the next Iles, constreined them to go a shipbord, & to guide them through that streict, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they vpon a malicious intent not passing for their owne liues, so they might be reuenged of their enimies in casting away such a notable number of them togither with their vessels, entred the streict at such an inconuenient time, that the ships were borne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shelues, in such wise that a number of the same were drowned and lost without recouerie.

Agricola sendeth forth his nauie of ships, to discouer the furthest point of Britaine northward.

The Romane ships through want of pilots are lost in Pictland frith.

Some of them that were not ouer-hastie to follow the first, séeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and incamped on the further side thereof néere to the roots of the mounteine of Granzbene, leauing the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enimies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Gald the Scotish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and thervpon required of him aid.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, passeth by the same with his host, and incampeth néere to the foot of the mounteine of Granzbene.

Gald hauing mustered his people aswell Scotish as Irish, assembled them togither to the number of fortie thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all spéed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing ouer the mounteine of Granzbene, he arriueth in a vallie beyond the same mounteine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped togither not far off from the host of the Romans. Here taking aduise togither, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Gald (vnto whome as before is expressed, the gouernance of the whole was cõmitted) assembling togither all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most pretious iewell that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onelie to depriue them of that so great a benefit. And sith they were driuen to the vttermost bounds of their countrie, he persuaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather choose to die with honor, than to liue in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must néeds insue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselues to be vanquished in that instant. With these words, or other much of what the semblable effect, Gald so moued

Gald king of the Scotishmen commeth to the aid of the Picts.

The Scots and Picts determine to giue battell to the Romans.

Gald exhorteth his people to fight manfullie.

the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enimies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceiued a great desire amongest his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most chéerefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in araie. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduantage. On the other side, king Gald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battels thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compasse in the enimies on ech side. At the first approch of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrows and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined togither to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to fight at hand-blowes, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorie light bucklers to defend themselues with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried foorth into the warres, though the same haue béene so vsed among the Scotishmen, euen till these our daies.

Gald by reason of his multitude, thinketh to inclose his enimies.

The armies approch togither to fight.

They ioine.

The Scotish mens disaduantage, by reason of their vnfit weapons.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, slue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage againe at their hands, till king Gald appointed his spearemen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were néere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed foorth with great violence vpon the Scotishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloudie fight and most vnmercifull murther betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scotish side than anie warlike skill, till finallie the night comming on, tooke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left aliue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

A cohort of Germans restored the Romane side néere at point to haue had the worse.

The night seuereth the armies in sunder & parteth the fray.

The Romans withdraw to their campe, & the Scots to the mounteins.

¶ Cornelius Tacitus agréeth not in all points with the Scotish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Iulius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scotish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederates at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreouer, the night following, when Galdus with the residue of his people which were left aliue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was vnderstood by the wiues and kinswomen of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

See more hereof in the historie of England.

The number of them that were slaine at this battell.

Women bewaile their friends.

But Gald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke neere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had béene in token of some reioising, till the women bewailing thus the deth of their friends, might be remooued out of the way. This doone, they

fell

fell to take counsell what was best to doo in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morrow, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most méet for his safegard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Gald and Garnard into Atholl, whither they minded with all spéed to go.

The Scotish men & Picts breake vp their campe.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they dislodged and made awaie with all spéed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discouered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had beene in the chase, but some of them vnaduisedly aduenturing too farre forward, were inclosed by their enimies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hils and so escaped. At length, when all the fields and countries adioining were discouered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enimies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched foorth vnto Angus, where (forsomuch as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he tooke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

The Romans in pursuing vnaduisedlie are distressed.

Agricola subdueth Angus and wintereth there.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argile) what mishap had chanced to the same in Pictland frith. But herewith being not greatlie discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie prouision, and manned throughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This doone, he appointed them eftsoones to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Orkenies, and so vp alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Taie they burnt the Danish flèet lieng there in harbrough.

Agricola is certified of the mischance of his nauie.

The Romane flèet saileth round about the north point of Albion.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before the fore-remembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnketh and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared flieng in the aire certeine firie visions, much to be wondered at. Also a great peece of Kalendar wood séemed in the night time as it had béene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like maner séene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shapes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eies. These prodigious things were diuerslie interpreted, according to the variable fansie of man.

Strange visions.

Ships séene in the aire.

It rained frogs.

A mostruous child borne.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperour Domitian, he tooke such enuie thereat, that shortlie after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellius to succéed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousine to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the souldiors, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus tooke a sort of the best souldiors away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

Domitian the emperour enuieth the prosperous succes of Agricola.

Agricola is sent for to Rome, one Cneus Trebellius appointed in his place which causeth the souldiers to make a mutinie.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, ioined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiuing no great forwardnesse in their leader, created Caius Sisinnius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they were verie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enimies vnder the leading of Gald readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled by reason of this discord amongst themselues, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enimies: howbeit in the end, bicause that Sisinnius receiued a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awaie, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

The Scots vpon occasion of discord amongst the Romans, come forth against them.

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are discofited.

This atchiued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioised the appalled harts of the Albions, hauing béene continuallie in maner now for the space of fiftie yéeres through aduerse fortune grieuouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselues wholie vnto Tuline, and shortlie after

The Romans withdraw vnto Tuline.

They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and breake the bridge after them.

after for their more safegard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Gald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delaie, not suffering them to haue time to prouide for resistance. And herevpon comming to the castell of Calidon otherwise Kalendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffes forcing the banks on either side to a streictnesse.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay néere to Calidon castell.

The Scots eftsoones giue battell to the Romans.

The Romane capteins also not ignorant of the passage of the enimies, brought foorth their armie, and made themselues readie to incounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Sisinnius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds receiued in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celius, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enimies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Romane part in this incounter to the number of fiue thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obteined by the Scots, a great number of the Britains reuolted from the Romane obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awaie such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

The Romans are againe discomfited.

The Britains hearing of the euill aduentures fallen to the Romans, reuolt frō their obedience.

This doone, they sent vnto Gald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioising and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enimies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreouer, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifieng vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scotishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, insomuch that if timelie succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecouerable.

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongest his subiects, so far foorth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likeliehood; considering the slender prouision there through the misgouernement of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to kéepe them from rising vp in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leauing the north parts to the enimies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to kéepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, sith their puissance might not suffice to reteine & rule the whole.

Marius king of the Britains doubteth rebellion of his subiects.

Marius counselleth the Romans to leaue the north parts vnto the enimies, and to draw vnto him into the south parts to kéepe the same.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane armie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scotishmen and Picts, was come within ten miles of them. Wherevpon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to doo, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arriued, and perceiuing themselues as yet to be in no great suertie there, they went awaie from thence with spéed into Galloway. In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best eftsoones to fight with them yer they might haue anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diuerse castels and fortresses furnished with sundrie garrisons of his enimies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be doone, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselues with offering their seruice vnto him, and shewing furthermore great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare themselues fauourable in this their relieuing of the oppressed Britains. Herevnto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentlie, mixing his talke with most comfortable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous succesſe,

The Romans withdraw into Cantire, & after into Galloway. Gald pursueth the Romans.

cesse, as that shortlie they should thereby be restored intierlie vnto their former liberties, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forren seruitude and bondage.

But to procéed, at length he did so much by his iournies, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all spéed (séeing none other remedie) resolued themselues to giue him battell, and therevpon exhorting one another to plaie the men, sith their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie vnto the woorst. In which wing, according to their maner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiuing the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till néed required, and then to go where they should be commanded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse valiancie than the men, and therewith much more crueltie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preserued.

The Romans determine againe to fight with the Scots.

The Romans fiercelie assaile the Scots.

Strange dealing in wome, and contrarie to their nature.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their ouerthrow gaue occasion to all the residue to flée backe to their campe, being pursued so egerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much adoo to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselues to rest, but prouided them of all things necessarie against the next morning to assaile their enimies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of fagots and brush to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanor and purpose being vnderstood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some persuaded Galdus to the contrarie) vpon déepe considerations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted vnto them, and foure ancient Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came foorth and were admitted to the presence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Garnard of the Picts] vnto whome with humble submission they acknowledged themselues as vanquished, and that by the iust wrath and reuenge of the equall gods, which against them they had conceiued for the wrongfull inuasion of that which in no wise of right apperteined vnto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bridle and refraine their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reasonable conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing resounding so much to their fame and glorie, as nothing could bee more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

The Romans flie to their campe.

The Scots purpose to assaile the Romane campe.

The Romans require a communication.

The Romans submit themselues as vanquished.

Herewith falling prostrate at the féet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pitifull wise, that the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald tooke vpon him to answer in name of all the residue of the Scotish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these conditions: That the Romans should ceasse from that day forward in anie wise to infest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scotish and Pictish borders, and also to depart wholie out of those countries, restoring all such holds and fortresses as they held within the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remaining in their hands, togither with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

The conditions of peace prescribed to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, sith they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselues out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient hostages for performance of all the articles of agréement, they departed without protracting time, marching southwards to come into Kent, where Marius king of the south Britains soiourned as then. Agricola, as the Scotish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of thréescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but now at their departure out of Galloway, there remained vnneth twentie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before woonne and taken away from them, as the Mers, Louthian, the marches about Berwike, Fiffe, and Angus, with Kile, Cantire, Coningham, and

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

The Romans giue vp all their holds and fortresses which they kept within the Scotish or Pictish dominions.

and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leauing the same vnto the former owners.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, tooke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernement of the commonwealth, visiting dailie the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Further considering that as warre bréedeth good souldiers, so peace by iustice riddeth them out of the way, if they be not the better prouided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their liuing, he placed in garrisons néere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, hee came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Kalendar, to represse certeine troubles raised betwixt their subiects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countrie: where perceiuing a sort of euill disposed persons to be wholie in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to steale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such trauell and labour sought to restore, they punished the offendors, and set all things in good quiet, and so departed in sunder with great loue and friendship.

Galdus studieth to preserue his subiects in good quiet now after the warres were ended.

Such as sought to trouble the peace were punished.

Thus Galdus applieng all his studie and diligence to aduance the common-wealth and quiet state of his countrie, liued manie yeeres so highlie in the fauour of all his subiects, that the like hath béene but seldome heard of: finallie, to their great griefe and displeasure he ended his life, more déere to them than their owne, at Epiake, in the 35 yéere of his reigne, which was about the 15 yéere of the empire of Adrian, the 4098 yéere after the worlds creation, and from the birth of our Sauiour 131, and was buried with great lamentation in most pompous maner, and laid in a goodlie toome which was raised with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number of obelisks set vp round about it according to the maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with the Romans was called Galdia, after his name, which by addition of a few letters is now called Galloway, and before that time Brigantia, as the Scots doo hold: but how that séemeth to agrée with a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

Gald departeth this life at Epiake.

3. *H.B.*

5302. *H.B.*

130. *H.B.*

Galloway taketh the name of Gald.

LUGTHAKE.

AFTER this famous prince was thus departed hence, his sonne Lugthake succéeded in rule of the Scotish kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men for his detestable and filthie vices, ioined with all kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues. This Lugthake went so farre past the bounds of all continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that hée forced and rauished not onelie aunt, néece, and sister, but euen his owne daughters also. Such as were honorable personages, and méet to gouerne in the common-wealth he nothing regarded, but committed the administration of things vnto vile persons, and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarels against the rich, whereby they might be fléeced of all whatsoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon some forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he prouide to sée offendors in anie wise corrected, that contrarilie he mainteined them in such sort therein, that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but spoile and rauine exercised.

Thus hée continued aboue two yéeres, to the great ruine of the common-wealth. Finallie, when he went about to put vnto death such as in an assemblie called at Dunstafage spake against the misordered gouernement of the realme, he was there murthered amongst the people, with a number of those also whome he vsed to haue attendant on his person for safegard of the same. His owne bodie was solemnelie buried by appointment of the nobles, hauing respect to his fathers benefits, but the carcasses of his gard were cast out into the fields, there to bée deuoured of beasts and birds of rauine.

An vngratious son succéedeth after his woorthie father.

The incontinencie of Lugthake.

His small regard to the nobilitie.

Fauor shewed to men of base condition.

Offendors mainteined.

Iustice is banished.

Lugthake would haue put to death such as spake against his misgouernment.

Lugthake is murthered with a number of his men.

MOGALL.

AFTER Lugthake was thus dispatched, one Mogall the nephue of Galdus by his daughter was admitted king in his place. His cheefest studie was to reforme the decaied state of his countrie, and first he caused such wicked councellors of his predecessors and vncle Lugthake, as had escaped with life (when their maister was made awaie) to be put to death, according to their iust deseruings. He restored also the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neglected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers. The Scotishmen in like maner conceiuing an assured hope of a good redresse in all their gréefes and oppressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince, began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen the like as they had doone his grandfather Galdus. In the meane time came certeine ambassadors from the Picts, vnto this Mogall, requiring him of aid against the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden inuasion had doon much hurt in Pictland, to the great distresse of the inhabitants.

Mogall nephue to Galdus is admitted king, and studieth to redresse abuses.

Mogall is beloued of his subiects.

The Picts desire aid of the Scots against the Romans.

At the same time they of Galloway certified him also by letters, that the same Romans had made a rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great bootie of goods and prisoners. Mogall hauing a mind no lesse giuen to déeds of chiualrie, than to the studie of ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioised that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some proofe of his valiant inclination, and so herevpon sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requiring to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries thus by them committed. The herald dooing his message, receiued nothing but scornefull words, and disdainfull menaces, wherby Mogall being throughlie kindled with despite, assembled his power togither foorth of all the parties of his dominions, and comming with the same into Galloway, visited his grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great reuerence and solemne supplications, requiring as it were his aid against those enimies, which had violated the league made betwixt him and them, by solemne oths and other accustomed meanes of ratification. This doone, he drew into Annandale, where Vnipanus as then king of the Picts abode his comming. There ioining. their powers togither, they marched foorth into Cumberland, and so forward into Westmerland, with fire and sword wasting and spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the Romans.

The Romans inuade the Scotish borders.

Mogall requireth restitution of wrongsdoone by the Romans.

Mogall prepareth to the wars.

Mogall visiteth his grandfathers sepulchre.

The Picts and Scots ioine their powers togither and enter into the lands of their enimies.

Lucius Antenous the Romane lieutenant, lieng at the same time at Yorke, being certified hereof by such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inuaded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of all the countries of Britaine, and hasted forth with the same towards his enimies; of whose approch Mogall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his people to incourage them to fight manfullie against the Romans, persuading them effectuallie thereto by manie familiar examples brought in of the valiant enterprises atchiued by their elders, in the defense of the countrie and libertie of the same. In like maner Lucius Antenous for his part exhorted the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to remembrance the victorious exploits of their predecessors, and how that as then they should fight but with a rude and barbarous people, running to battell more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than with any discretion or aduised order, saieng furthermore, that it laie now in their hands with no great adoo to recouer that which through the negligent sloth of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they should atteine great honor and famous renowme for euermore.

Lucius Antenous lieutenant of Britaine.

Mogall exhorteth his men to doo valiantlie.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they drew neere togither, and began the fight right fiercelie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneth sée another. The place was more for the aduantage of the Scots than of the Romans, bicause they were compelled to fight as it were by companies and parts, by reason of bogs and marishes, with such sideling banks on the sides that they could kéepe none araie: yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this battell was fought so far forth to the vtterance, that in the end, after

The battell beginneth betweene the Romans and Albions.

A cruell fight. after a woonderfull slaughter on both sides made, when their swords and other weapons were spent, they buckled togither with short daggers.

The Romans retire. Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constreined to retire, which their generall Antenous perceiuing, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them hervnto, he was wounded with an arrow, and therevpon departed out of the battell, which gaue occasion to diuers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselues as well as they might, though some companies perceiuing that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselues togither and departed by another waie, which they tooke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they drew, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselues in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enimies were lodged so néere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number foorth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yéeld. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yéeld themselues as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulnesse, they were slaine in the end euerie mothers sonne.

Lucius Antenous is wounded. The Romans are put to flight.

Lucius Antenous hauing thus receiued the ouerthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole maner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason therof things stood in great danger here in Britaine, if spéedie succors were not the sooner sent, for the enimies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

Women as readie to the battell as the men.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Britaine. Causing therefore an armie to be leuied, he passed foorth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and comming to Calice, he transported ouer into Britaine, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late wasted and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine. Herewith Adrian being sore offended, ioined the power which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Britaine. This doone, he remooued to Yorke, where soiorning certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards drew toward the borders, and cōming to the riuer of Tine, he passed ouer the same.

Adrian the emperor prepareth to go into Britain. Adrian transporteth into Britaine. Adrian commeth to Yorke.

He passeth ouer the riuer of Tine.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he gréeuouslie afflicted them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end espieng the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tine, there to restreine the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tine to the riuer of Eske, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. ¶ The Scotish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therfore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enimies. What maner of people he had to doo withall.

Adrian beginneth to make a wall for safegard of the Britains against the Picts and Scots. The Romane writers doo confirme the same.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Britaine, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had mooued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Britaine nobilitie resorted to doo him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendlie interteinment, that they could not wish any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antenous with him, bicause he could not awaie with the aire of Britaine, in whose place he left one Aulus Victorinus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garisons of souldiers in places néere vnto the fore-remembred wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had latelie wasted on the further side of Tine) in such sort betwixt them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

Adrian commeth to London.

Adrian returneth toward Rome.

Aulus Victorinus lieutenant of Britaine.

The Scotish men & Picts diuide the countries beyond Tine betwixt them.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enimies. But being puffed vp in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrulie appetites; but that drowned in the filthie lustes of the bodie, he spared neither maid, widowe, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should forfeit all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue vnpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witchcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certeintie is not knowen) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his houshold.

Mogall through pride abuseth himselfe in sundrie kinds of vices.

A couetous and cruell ordinance.

A conspiracie attempted against Mogall.

Mogall fléeth out of his owne house.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspiratours pursued after him, who perceiuing them to approch, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongest other that were as readie as the first to wreake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murthered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our sauiour 169, Antoninus Pius then gouerning the Romane empire, and Phiatus surnamed Albus reigning amongest the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried togither with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most vnworthie of anie such honor.

Mogall is murthered.

148. *H. B.*

CONARUS.

Mogall being thus dispatched, as ye haue heard, his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was priuie to the conspiracie deuised against his father, and as he came to the gouernment by wicked means, so in the end he vsed himselfe much what accordinglie in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openlie to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires vnto men of base condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogither in banketting and costlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperancie in féeding, vsed amongest his woorthie ancestors.

Conarus the sonne of Mogall succéedeth his father.

Conarus giuē to excessiue gluttonie.

In wasting therefore his kinglie reuenues vpon such riotous excesse, he was nothing abashed to require in an open assemblie of his nobles, a subsidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chéere, as he iudged to stand with his honor to haue dailie

in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leuied through the realme, of euerie person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expenses as he dailie vsed in excessiue banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respit to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they communed secretlie togither, and in the end concluded, not onelie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie gouernement, sith his naughtie life required no lesse.

The lords conspire against Conarus.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councell-chamber, one of them in name of the residue tooke vpon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no warres wherewith to consume his treasure, should yet be inforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his houshold; but the fault was knowen well inough to rest in such as he most vnworthilie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuise means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and possessions, therewith to inrich themselues, but (saith he) as they shal be prouided for well inough yer long, and so aduanced as they shall not néed to thirst for other mens liuings, that is to wit, euen to a faire paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with shame, as a number of such other loosengers had often doone before them: so it is conuenient that the K. sith his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The answere of the lords to the demand of Conarus.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a lowd voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they shuld deerelie abide the bargaine. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed therto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him vp, maugre all his resistance. In like maner, all such as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, vpon examination taken of their offenses, suffered death according to their iust demerits.

Conarus is taken and committed to close kéeping.

Conarus his ministers are punished for their offenses.

Then was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argadus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour tooke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. This mans studie in the beginning was onelie to clense the countrie of all misdooers, and to sée the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finallie in all his dooings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But within a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe changed his former mind to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his péeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the commonwealth, he nourished ciuill discord and sedition amongest the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at ods. He also maried a Pictish ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren aliance.

Argadus is chosen to gouerne the realme.

Argadus an vpright iusticer.

Prosperitie changeth conditions.

Herevpon the péeres of the realme, vnderstanding what mischiefe might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parlement to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemblie, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onelie in coupling himselfe in mariage with a wife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his trespasse being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argadus is rebuked.

Argadus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to laie anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knées, & partlie confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eies, besought them

Argadus confesseth his fault.

of

of pardon, wholie submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being mooued with this humble submission of Argadus, vpon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had beene his chiefest councellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argadus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and soone after, amongest other things, he tooke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, borough-maisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especiallie he trauelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theeues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreouer, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should taste of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as vsed with dressing of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketing chéere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongest their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to susteine nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of costlie furniture. Argadus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselues, indeuored still to procéed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigne.

Argadus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argadus amendeth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute.

Fine cookerie banished.

Conarus departeth out of this world.

162. *H. B.*

ETHODIUS.

AFTER whose deceasse, the nobles and other estates of the realme assembling themselues togither, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argadus being highlie rewarded with lands and liuings for his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduancement of the publike weale, during the time of his gouernement, was thereto soone after created as it were lord president of the councell, thereby to be chiefest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ruling of all publike affaires & causes. Shortlie after Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those daies was) went ouer into the westerne Iles, there to take order for the administration of iustice, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, it was shewed him, that not passing two or thrée daies before, there had beene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was stirred amongest their seruants, being a companie of naughtie and vnrulie fellowes, to the great disquiet of the inhabitants. Herevpon was Argadus sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease that businesse, and to bring in the offendors, that they might receiue reward according to their demerits. Argadus forthwith hasted towards the place where he vnderstood the rebels to be remaining, and apprehending the whole number of them, some by force, and some vpon their humble submission, he returned backe with them to the king, who causing the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure. The Iland people being thus appeased, the king returned into Albion, where as then lieng at Enuerlochthée, a towne (as is said) in Louchquhaber, word came vnto him that the Romans had broken downe the wall builded by the emperour Adrian, and made a great rode into the Scotish and Pictish borders, where méeting with the inhabitants assembled togither in defense of their countrie (after a sore conflict) the victorie remained with the Romans; by reason whereof they led a great bootie of cattell and other goods away with them to the places where they soiourned.

Ethodius being mooued herewith, sent foorthwith an herald vnto Victorine the Romane lieutenant, requiring that his subiects might haue restitution of their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to looke for warres within fiftéene daies after. Victorine answered

Ethodius the nephue of Mogall is chosen king.

Argadus is created lord president of the councell.

Ciuill discord amongest the lords of the Iles.

Argadus is sent forth to apprehend the rebels.

The Iland rebels are punished.

The Romans inuade the Pictish and Scotish borders.

Ethodius requireth restitution of his subiects goods taken away by the Romans.

Victorines answere to Ethodius request.

herevnto, that the Scots and Picts had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall, and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifieng it with a number of men of warre, who running dailie into the British confines, fetched preies thence from amongest the Romane subiects, and though he had sent diuers times to the Scotish and Pictish wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue anie towardlie answer, so that he was constreined to begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had doone alreadie.

Ethodius exhorteth the king of the Picts to make warre against the Romans.

Ethodius not a little kindled with this answere, wrote streightwaies to the K. of the Picts, exhorting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subiects had latelie receiued at the hands of the Romans, to inuade the wall on that side where it diuided his countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon the enimies by the same, and for his part he promised shortlie after to come, and to ioine with him in such a necessarie enterprise against the common enimies of both their countries. The Pictish king giuing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promised with all spéed to set forward according to the aduise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner hauing knowledge of the whole intention of the two kings, with all spéed made preparation also for the wars, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in vpon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries next adioining. Which when the Romans perceiued, they passed by the enimies campe in the night season, and entred into the Pictish borders, wasting and spoiling all afore them.

The Scotishmen and the Picts inuade the British borders.

The Romans incountred by the Scotishmen and Picts.

Night parted the battell.

When the two kings vnderstood this, they hasted forth towards them, and were no sooner come within sight of them, but that they made ech towards other, and so incountring togither, there was fought a sore battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right wings on either side vanquished the left, the breasts of both the battels keeping their ground, the one not once shrinking backe from the other till night seuered them in sunder, but not without such slaughter made on both sides, that being once parted, they made no great hast to ioine againe togither; for as well the one part as the other being thus disseuered, drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie further exploit of all that yeare following.

Victorine sendeth letters to Rome.

In which meane time Victorine sent letters to Rome vnto the emperour Marcus Antonius Aurelius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifieng vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine; further declaring, that if conuenient succors were not sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious rage of the enimies, by reason of the small trust he perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in recouerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were to incroch vpon them. The emperour vpon receit of these letters, thought in his mind that Victorine was not so valiant a capteine as the case required, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became the more imboldened to resist, therefore he sent for him home, appointing one Agricola Calphurnius to succéed in his roome, who was (as some haue left in writing) the nephue of Iulius Agricola, the most famous capteine of the Romans that euer came into Britaine.

Victorine is sent for to returne vnto Rome, and one Calphurnius sent into Britaine to succéed in his roome.

Calphurnius entreth into the borders of his enimies.

This Calphurnius comming into Britaine with an armie, ioined to the same the power which he found there, as well of the Britains, as of other seruing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which doone, he repaired toward the riuer of Tine, where being arriued, he marched foorth into the borders of his enimies, finding all the countrie round about him so clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a house left standing, nor a graine of corne, nor one hed of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding all this, foorth he passed thorough Northumberland, and entring into Pictland, wasted all that was before him with fire and sword. And for so much as winter came vpon him, when he had doone his will in that behalfe, he returned vnto Yorke, where he soiourned vntill the spring.

Calphurnius retureth to Yorke.

The Welshmen rebell against the Romans.

When summer was once come, hauing made his prouision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word came vnto him that the Welshmen were reuolted, and began to raise warre against the Romans, so that taking order for the reparing of the wall made by Adrian, which the enimies in diuers places had broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of men of warre for defense of the same against all inuasions that might be attempted, he

turned

turned the residue of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom in the end, though not without much adoo, he reduced to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were vp in armour against such Romans as ruled there, sundrie noble men of the maine Ile taking their part, but they also were at length brought againe to their former subiection, and the authors of that rebellion punished by death.

The Welshmen brought to their former obedience.

The inhabitants of the Ile of Wight reuolting frō the Romans, are constreined againe to be obedient.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt anie further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calphurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchiued conquests of his grandfather Iulius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also dooth make a long rehearsall. Calphurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended wholie to reforme all misorders amongest the Britains, which being brought to indifferent good passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperour Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successour of the fore-remembred Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

The name of Agricola dredfull to the Scotishmen and Picts.

Calphurnius studieth to reforme the estate of Britaine.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vsed himselfe verie vprightlie in his office, shewing all honor and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once woone him a péece of credit amongest them, he changed his maners, or rather discouered his naturall inclination, so wholie giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelie studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntrulie he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so sore to hate him, that had it not béene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appease them) there had béene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and herevpon leuieng an armie, they came to the oft remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confins with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hasted forth with all the power he could make, to resist their inuasions; but finding the enimies readie in the field, and incountring them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horsse and galloping away.

Calphurnius returneth vnto Rome.

Publius Trebellius sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Publius Trebellius giuen to couetousnese.

He is hated of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts renew the warre against the Romans.

Trebellius fighteth against his enimies, is forsaken of his owne men, and chased out of the field.

After this, gathering togither his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Yorke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiors, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kendall in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion grounded vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Westmerland and Kendall spoiled by the Scotishmen and Picts.

The British commons rise against Trebellius, one Caldorus a Pict béeing their capteine.

Their capteine was one Caldorus a Pict borne. There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeting themselues to be of the vulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldorus escaping the hands of his enimies, fled into his natiue countrie of Pictland, not a little reioising that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enimies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into

The same commons are vanquished.

Caldorus reioiseth at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

into the hands of the Romans, were hanged vp vpon sundrie trées and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season tooke down those dead bodies, and hanged vp as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the dooers of that act.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperour Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe foot anie long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperour doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, tooke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iourneie against the Scots and Picts, driuing them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constreined them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperour Commodus being murthered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperour.

About the same time the state of the Scotish common wealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Iles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselues togither, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius the king with a great host of Scotishmen and Picts lay in campe néere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the inuasion of the enimies on that side, if happilie they shuld attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Iland-men hearing of Argadus his approch, drew themselues togither to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

Argile infested by the Ilandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus.

Argadus is slaine.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enimies, they laid themselues secretlie in ambush by the waie where hée should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake foorth vpon his rereward suddenlie, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first brunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into araie of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enimies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hasted foorth towards Argile, to reuenge the death of his valiant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his comming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue béene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wils, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warilie by closing them vp among the hils and mounteins, that finallie constreined through famine, they submitted themselues vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefest, should yéeld themselues simplie to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

The Ilandmen yéeld themselues.

Execution.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and péeres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had alreadie yéelded vp their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finallie they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Ilandmen being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scotishmen or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongest his subiects.

Ethodius visiteth his countries, to sée iustice mainteined.

And for that he would not spend his time in idlenesse, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he tooke order that

that all such ordinances as had béene deuised by his elders, should streictlie be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroie anie hares with nets, grens or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had béene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and couerts néere vnto the townes & houses.

He giueth him selfe to hunting & causeth the lawes for the maintenance of game to be wel kept & looked vnto.

He ordeined moreouer therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detesting nothing more than to haue such game destroied, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilest he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being borne in one of the west Iles, he was murthered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murtherer being apprehended, and examined vpon what occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to doo that déed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adjudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bée so painfull, but that I shall reioise euen in the verie instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. *Finallie by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horsses in most violent wise.*

Ethodius murthered by a musician.

194 *H. B.*

Ethodius reigned 33 yéeres, vntill the latter daies of Caracalla the emperor. He was buried at Dunstafage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interrement of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yéere after the birth of our Sauior, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the British 177.

Septimus Seuerus. *H. B.*

Britaine receiued the christian faith in the yéere 187.

SATRAHELL.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Satrahell, or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succéed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet bicause he was verie yoong in yéeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Satrahell was subtile of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from atteining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt hee anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods hée onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischéefe insued through the realme, and such ciuill sedition dailie rose amongst the people, that pitie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he vnderstood well inough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his kéeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yéeres.

Satrahell séeketh to destroy such as were in fauor with his predecessor.

Discord ariseth among the people through the kings misgouernment.

Satrahell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 *H. B.*

DONALD.

In his place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was frée, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore

Donald studieth to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie. Lucius king of Britaine dieth.

afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper among his subiects. Neither bare he with offendors, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholsome ord nances of the realme he caused to be dulie punished: finallie he tooke such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had beene from a wild and sauage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiuing that a kings authoritie among the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the British nation to inioy that title.

The Britains rebell and choose one Fulgentius to their captein, who sendeth for aid vnto the Scotishmen.

This thing mooued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their generall, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enimies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer beene from time to time, how to bring the whole Iland vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitors of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them wholie out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald promiseth to aid Fulgentius. The Britains come to Adrians wall, and pull it downe to let in the Scots. The Scotish men & Picts come to the aid of the Britains.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such daie and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whome in semblable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host togither, resorted vnto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrew in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more frée accesse and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains. The Scots helpe the Britains to spoile their owne countrie.

This doone, ioining their powers togither, they passed forth towards Yorke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawne into Kent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrieng of the countrie abroad on euerie side, constreining the most part of the people to come in and yéeld themselues vnder their obeisance. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter inforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countries, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

Trebellius certifieth the emperor of the state of Britaine.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: whervpon he with all spéed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appéere. At his comming into Britaine, he slacked no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadors vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to anie, wherevpon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to sticke to their necessarilie begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assuredlie atteine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfullie by dint of sword, like fellowes and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie concord, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obteining of victory must néeds be wanting among them.

Fulgentius incourageth the Britains to sticke vnto their begun enterprise.

The Britains mooued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Wherevpon he tooke aduise with them, which waie to mainteine themselues against Seuerus, of whose comming they were alreadie certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadors

from him, set incontinentlie forward towards Yorke, leauing his yoongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he tooke with him in his iournie against his enimies. At his comming to Yorke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnish custome, & also tooke aduise with his capteins how to procéed in his enterprise against his enimies.

Seuerus setteth foorth towards his enimies.

Seuerus commeth to Yorke.

This doone he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being alreadie ioined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, insomuch that those of the one side came no sooner in sight of the other, but that they hasted foorth to ioine togither in battell, whereof insued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and practised skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scotishmen and Picts.

Seuerus is incountred by his enimies.

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfited.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest prease of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scotishmen and Picts, and togither with them passed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got togither such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and reteined them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploie them eftsoones against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most gréeuouslie, but the commons he vsed more gentlie, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their capteins. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to draw vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Yorke.

Fulgentius withdraweth into Pictland.

Seuerus winterethat Yorke.

In the next summer there was little doone worthie to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But forsomuch as the Scots had no aid sent them foorth of Ireland, they were not minded to ieopard againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was readie bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sicke at Yorke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repared. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to staie the Scotishmen from inuading the lands apperteining to the subiects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in sort as before is partlie mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastilions, one placed so néere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first descrieng of the enimies approch.

Seuerus sickneth.

The wall is repared.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so soone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to atteine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a leage with the Scotishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Pictland, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then laie. Shortlie after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it appeereth. But now to returne vnto Donald the Scotish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of forren trouble, he studied chéeflie how to preserue his people in good peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauiour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald studious to maintein his subiects in peace and concord.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus saith Harison) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the christian religion, and vtterlie to forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods, and there-

Donald conuerted vnto christian beléefe in the daies of the emperor Seuerus.

fore instantlie required him to send ouer into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right beléefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all spéed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most méet for that purpose, who at their arriuall there, did their endeuour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and cleerelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our sauiour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scotish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chronologie dooth manifestlie confirme.

The Scotish men receiued the faith in the yéere of our Sauiour 203.

5399 *H. B.*

533 *H. B.*

Moreouer this Donald was the first as the Scotish chronicles alledge, that caused siluer and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he deuised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots vsed no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romane monie, as diuers marble chests full of the same which haue béene found of late yeeres in sundrie parts of Scotland doo verie well witnesse. Finallie K. Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

Donald departeth out of this world.

216 *H. B.*

ETHODIUS.

After him succéeded Ethodius the second, and sonne of the former *Ethodius, which* prince prooued so verie a foole, that the regiment of the realme was quite *taken from him,* and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into *sundrie quarters of the* realme, tooke verie good order for the due gouernment of the *parties so to them limited, and* vsed themselues verie vprightlie in all their dooings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernement of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chéefest of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though doltish, yet naturallie giuen to vnquenchable couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

ATHIRCO.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so frée and liberall towards all men, that he wan him woonderfull much praise and loue amongest his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him togither with his age, but contrarilie decaied, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yéeres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, imbracing auarice: for courtesie and amiable countenance, he vsed sterne and loftie lookes: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholie to filthie pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by vilanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degrée.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regardeth not his nobles.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Natholocus, had two faire yoong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satisfie his lust vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so content, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this vilanie doone to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter,

The vilanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

ter, he required their assistance. They being in a woonderfull furie to heare of such an iniurie doone to their bloud, promised in reuenge therof to spend life, lands & goods, and foorthwith departing in sunder, they prepared themselues to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the countrie of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satisfieng of his filthie carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

The kinsmen and friends of the gentlewomen conspire against Athirco.

When they were once got togither in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstafage, where they vnderstood that the king as then did soiourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approch, called togither his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enimies; but when he had throughlie weied the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of good wils in his people, he priuilie stole awaie from them, and would haue passed ouer into Ila, one of the westerne Iles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enimies hands, he chose rather to slea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremitie after he had reigned the space of 12 yéeres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius.

Athirco doubting to be forsaken of his owne men if it came to the triall of battel conueied himselfe from among them. Athirco slaeth himselfe.

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Doorus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggers weed for doubt of death, and went into Pictland with thrée of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Doorus the brother of Athirco conueieth himself out of the way.

Howbeit, Natholocus hauing knowledge whither he was fled, sent forth certeine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie streictlie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischeefe. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doorus, slue the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie ioifull of the newes, although indéed they came not néere to Doorus. Then Natholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by disuading them to choose any of Athircos bloud to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should séeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Natholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, saue onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some néere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

Natholocus séeketh the life of Doorus.

Natholocus is chosen to be king.

NATHOLOCUS.

But Natholocus being once proclamed king by the multitude, and Athircos bloud attainted of treason, and so published, according to the custome he tooke the othes of those that were present, and then repaired vnto Dunstafage, there to be inuested according to the maner. This doone, he called such aside as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to be their assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gaue vnto diuerse of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he shewed himselfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establishment of his new atchiued estate: and hereto he imploied such riches as the former kings had heaped togither amongst the nobles, studieng by all meanes to auoid all seditious quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Natholocus goeth vnto Dunstafage to be inthronized.

Natholocus séeketh to procure loue of the nobilitie through bribes.

Fortune fauoring Natholocus for a time began to change.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certeine yéeres, at length fortune began to shew a change of countenance after hir old accustomed guise. For Doorus the brother of Athirco (whome, as ye haue heard, Natholocus supposed to haue béene dead) wrote certeine letters, signifieng his owne estate with the welfare of his nephues the children of Athirco vnto certeine Scotish lords, whom he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Pictish woman, appointing hir how and to whome she should deliuer the same, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Natholocus, he caused hir secretlie to be sacked and throwne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the forsaid letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretlie strangled.

Doorus writeth vnto certeine Scotish lords to moue them to rebellion.

Natholocus putteth such to death as he suspecteth to fauour Doorus.

Which wicked déed being once notified abroad, so mooued the harts of their friends and alies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them togither, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Natholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe priuilie into Murrey land, there to get togither an armie to resist his enimies, and for that he was desirous also to vnderstand somwhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Iona) estéemed verie skilfull in forshewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

Natholocus sendeth vnto a witch to know the conclusion of his enimies attempts.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortlie to passe, that the king should be murthered, not by his open enimies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be? Euen by thine saith she, as it shall be well knowen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these words, railed against hir verie bitterlie, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to sée hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a déed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might happilie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared, and therevpon put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he kéepe it secret, it might happen to be reuealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to worke the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being cõmanded to auoid, he declared how he had sped; and then falling foorthwith vpon Natholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a priuie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horsse which he had there readie, he fled with all spéed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought news vnto them of this act thus by him atchiued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 280, & in the eleuenth yeare after the first entring of Natholocus into the estate.

The witches answere.

What happened by giuing credit to the woords of a witch.

Natholocus murthered.

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After Natholocus was thus dispatched, the péeres assembled togither to ordeine one for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongest them concluded, that the sonnes of Athirco should be sent for into Pictland, and Findocke receiued for king. The Morauian that slue Natholocus was appointed to fetch them, who (according to his commission) comming into Pictland, conueied them right honorablie into Argile, where Findocke being alreadie chosen king, was placed on the stone of marble, with all the ceremonies in that case apperteining.

The lords of the realme assemble togither to chuse a new king.

The sonnes of Athirco are sent for, and the eldest of them named Findocke chosen to reigne.

FINDOCKE.

Findocke his noble qualities and vertuous disposition.

THIS Findocke was in the flower of his age, of person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie stature; wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind, not so much desirous to séeme as to be vertuous in déed. He was courteous, méeke, & full of affabilitie,

affabilitie, studieng alwaies to win friendship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare and menacing words. The leagues with the Britains, Picts and Romans he firmelie obserued. But as peace with forraine enimies breedeth oftentimes ciuill discord at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Iles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Rosse and Murrey land, fetching from thence a great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter of such as inforced themselues for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Natholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his dooings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed ouer with the same into the Ile of Ila, where incountring with Donald and other his enimies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Findocke obserueth the leagues confirmed of former times with his neighbors.

Those of the out Iles inuade the countries of Rosse and Murrey land.

Findocke maketh a iournie into the Iles, to subdue the rebels.

Donald himselfe taking a bote, in hope to haue escaped, the prease was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the ouerlading, and so he and all they that were on boord were drowned therewithall. The king hauing atchiued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Iland-men not fullie quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certeine Kerns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now and then into Argile and Cantire, dooing manie shrewd turnes in the same, yer they could be suppressed. But Findocke being soone informed of these tidings, went ouer againe into the Iles, and such of his enimies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to giue other example what to looke for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiuing himselfe not able to worke such feats as he hoped to haue doone, he sent a messenger vnto the king, offering to yéeld himselfe, and to become his true subiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be receiued, vnlesse he would come vnto Dunstafage with other of his chiefest complices, and to stand fullie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to doo, deuising an other meane how to be reuenged.

The Iland-men with aid of the Irish Kerns, make often inuasions into Argile, and other of the Scotish countries.

Findocke goeth againe to subdue the rebels of the Iles.

Donald offereth to yéeld himselfe vpon certeine conditions, but is not receiued.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to feine themselues to haue fled from him, where also he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king, and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be, and in the end to espie a time to rid him out of the way. These craftie mates working according to Donalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoo they got credit, and after credit they got place so néere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the kings brother (whome they made priuie also vnto their intent) that finding all things correspondent vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the one began to féed him with a tale of the hatred which the Ilanders bare towards him, whereto he gaue verie good eare, whilest the other smote him to the heart with a iaueline, & so leauing the iron sticking in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous companion and fellow. Those that were néere, seeing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to sée if they might relieue him as then strugling with the pangs of death; others followed the murtherers, and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue their meed according to that which they had iustlie deserued; being also examined, they confessed how they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald of the Iles, but also by Carantius the kings owne brother, who of set purpose being out of the way at that present, and hauing knowledge that he was accused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence (after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the emperours, Aurelius Probus, Carus, and Dioclesianus, he became a right famous and a verie skilfull capteine.

Donald deuiseth how to murther king Findocke by two naughtie persons.

Findocke is slaine.

Themurtherers confesse by whose procurement they did the déed.

A pretie induction (if not forged) to the historie that afterwards followeth of Carausius or Carantius as the Scots write him.

But if this report be true that Carausius (of whom Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers, could at no time come to the knowledge thereof, which if they had doone, no

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no doubt they would haue spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counterfeit himselfe to be borne of some base kinred, and so for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards that he atteined vnto so high degrée of honour, as to vsurpe the imperiall robes of purpure, and to possesse the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he would haue set foorth to the vttermost the nobilitie of his birth, if he had beene come of anie, and that so apparantlie to the world, that aswell his enimies as friends should both haue knowen and spoken of it.

DONALD.

FINDOCUS being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of his reigne, and buried with great lamentation of the people at Dunstafage, his brother Donald, the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kingdome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, prepared to go into the Iles against Donald that common enimie of Scotland. But this Donald himselfe deliuered the king of a great péece of that trauell: for so soone as he heard that the murther by him contriued was executed, he assembled a mightie power of the Iland-men, and transporting with them ouer into Rosse, proclamed himselfe king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as denied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised of that attempt of his aduersarie, spéedilie marcheth foorth with such power as he had alreadie assembled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Donald of the Iles inuadeth Scotland.

Thus comming into Murrey land, he pitched downe his tents, purposing there to abide the comming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of the Iles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole intention, thought it best to assaile him within his campe, before all his power should come vnto him, and being thus resolued, he set forward in the night time, and was vpon his enimies, before that his comming towards them was once signified in their campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersaries to be at hand, bringeth foorth his men, setteth them in arraie, and exhorteth them with many pithie words to receiue their enimies with manlie stomachs. But the Iland-men incouraged also by their capteine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Scotishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but were inforced euen at the first to ioine at hand-blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort, that in the end the Scots being oppressed with multitude, were constreined to giue backe, some sauing themselues by flight, and some standing at defense till they were beaten downe and killed in the place. There were slaine on the kings part thrée thousand men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongest whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate, togither with the king himselfe being wounded so sore, that he died within thrée daies after the battell, rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as some haue written) in the same yeare that he began his reigne. Donald of the Iles hauing thus got the victorie, tooke vpon him as king, accordinglie as he had caused himselfe at the first to be proclamed.

Donald of the Iles sudenlie setteth vpon the enimies.

The Scots ouerthrowen.

Donald departeth this world.

Donald of the Iles taketh vpon him as king.

DONALD.

BUT because he came to the estate thus by bloud, he continued still in doubt and feare of new conspiracies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrongfull vsurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had taken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie, menacing them present death, if anie of their friends and allies attempted anie stirre against him. Moreouer he nourished priuie factions amongest the nobilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would be the more féeble in anie publike exploit that was to be mooued against him; finallie, if anie mischiefe happened amongest them, he caused the matter thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard that he alwaies inriched his owne cofers with the forfeitures

A guiltie conscience.

forfeitures and penalties which he tooke vp amongst them. He seldome times went abroad, and when he stirred foorth anie whither, he had his gard about him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for dout of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that manie there were which dread him, and but a few that loued him, so that in the end being in a maner run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was murthered one night at Enuerlochthée (whither he was come to haue passed ouer into the Iles) by certeine that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of his reigne.

Donald of the Iles is murthered. Anno Christi. 273. *H. B.*

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after the déed doone, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and gentlemen inhabiting néere hand in the countrie, he declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting them to aid him, in reuenging the iniuries doone not onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but also to the whole state of the Scotish common welth, by the naughtie suggestion of diuerse of the kings complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was now happened.

Crathlint chiefe conspirator to the murthering of Donald. Crathlint procureth the nobles of the countrie to oppresse the seruants of king Donald.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and reioising greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, comming vpon the kings houshold meaine, they slue aboue two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping foorth of the house, and thinking to saue themselues, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioised much at his death, but thought themselues sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

CRATHLINT.

After this, Crathlint being certeinelie knowne to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such euident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him vp, was (partlie in respect of his iust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he persuaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked vp, euen as it were a trée by the roots, least anie of them happilie remaining aliue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common-wealth. The people consented lightlie herevnto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenlie in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualities of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting foorth all his dooings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

Crathlint is made king.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and alies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruellie put to death. Which doone, Crathlint appointed foorth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the laws executed, and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These hée chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yoonger sort he reserued to attend vpon his person.

The kinsmen and friends of Donald of the Iles are persecuted. The politike gouernment of Crathlint.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went vp into the mounteins of Granzebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beasts, whither came vnto him ambassadors from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maister had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scotishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadors most ioifullie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maister for this signification of his good will shewed by their comming, and herewith promised, that during his life

Crathlint goeth to hunt in the mounteins of Granzbene, ancientlie called *Grampeus mons*. An ambassage from the Picts. The Picts require the league to be renewed.

Crathlint promiseth to obserue the ancient amitie betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts.

The present sent by Crathlint vnto the king of the Picts.

Diuers Pictish lords come to Crathlint to hunt and make merie with him.

A praise of the Scotish dogs.

The Picts steale one of the kings best greihounds.

The Scots & Picts fight for a greihound.

What mischief insued vpon so light an occasion as the stealing of a dog.

This chanced about the yere of Christ 288, as *Io. Ma.* noteth.

The Scots rob the Pictish borders.

The Scots & Picts incounter in battell.

The Scots discomfited by the Picts.

Of what continuance the league was betwixt the Scots and Picts, & now broken about a small matter as begun about a dog.

Cruell wars.

Thelargus king of the Picts being an aged man, desireth to haue peace, and therevpon sendeth his ambassadors vnto Crathlint.

A truce granted.

life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreouer, when the said ambassadors should depart, he tooke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maister certeine horsses, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And shortlie after the returne of these ambassadors into their countrie, diuerse yoong gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart homewards, perceiuing that the Scotish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing vp and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bitches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scotish lords, and yet not so contented, they stale one belonging to the king from his kéeper, being more estéemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maister of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in déed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maister of the leash through with their borespeares that he died presentlie, wherevpon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned; and falling vpon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there insued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died thréescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them vnderstanding (till all was doone) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were woonderfullie mooued with the iniurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers togither, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the maner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came foorth togither into the field, and incountering with the Scots, there was fought a sore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died aboue thrée thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus vpon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still readie to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Reutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Ferguse.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was woonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destroie the other. No pitie might mooue their cruell harts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others bloud. At last Thelargus K. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certeine of his counsell to go as ambassadors vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken vp, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to insue to both nations. They according to their instructions comming to the place where Crathlint as then soiourned, had much adoo to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vsed such humble persuasions grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thrée moneths space, which was but sorilie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, mauger their princes and all their sore restraints.

Carantius named by *Eutropius* Carausius, troubleth the estate of Britaine.

In this meane time was the estate of the Romane empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath béene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknowne at his comming to Rome of what linage he was descended, and so he was reputed to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he atteined vnto great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the souereigne regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirats

of the Saxons and other Germans, that sore molested the same in those daies. But for that he vsed to suffer those rouers to take spoiles and prises, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Romane emperor, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his nauie with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the same tooke his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselues to be vnder his rule and obeisance, and promised to deliuer them from the grèeuous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

The wilie practise of Carantius.

Carantius fereth to come to make answer to such matters as he was charged with.

Carantius reuolting cõmeth into Westmerland, & causeth the people there to take his part against the Romans.

Thus hauing begun the foundation of that which he purposed to atchiue, for his further aduancement therein, he sent ambassadors vnto his nephue king Crathlint, both declaring what he was, and also excusing the trespasse surmised against him, for being of counsell touching the murther of his brother Findocke, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vtterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those prouinces within the same (which as then they possessed) vnto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scotishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friendship, and ioine with them in aid against their common enimies, than to sèeke to destroie one another, as he latelie vnderstood they had doone for a dog.

Carantius sendeth messengers vnto king Crathlint, in excusing his fault for his brother Findocks death.

Carantius requireth to be aided against the Romans.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadors, reioised not a little, that his vncle Carantius was not onelie aliue, but also had through his valiancie atchiued so high renowme as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane capteins. And herevpon with good aduise he determined to aid him in that his enterprise for the conquest of Britaine to the vttermost of his power. Adding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not onlie send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadors both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer vnto their maister Carantius, he reioised not a litle, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he receiued about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Crathlint reioiseth to hear that Carantius was aliue.

Crathlint resolueth to aid Carantius, & certifieth him of the same.

The king of the Picts also promiseth to aid Carantius.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Eske, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murther of his brother Findocke, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers togither, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to doo what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence therevnto stood so much in stéed, that chieflie through his persuasion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such maner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought requisite by the aduise and discréet order of eight ancient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduisedlie giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitrement and direction, so that a ioifull peace was confirmed, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

Crathlint king of the Scots and Carantius come to talke togither.

Crathlint and the king of the Picts come to a communication by Carantius his means, who trauelleth to set them at one.

Peace confirmed againe betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus reuolted, and had not onelie caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also slaine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all spéed to go against him, and to reuenge these iniuries. Within a few daies after, hauing his armie readie, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enimies were alreadie come to Yorke, and had woone the citie by surrender, he turned his force

Quintus Bassianus entreth into Westmerland, but hearing that his enimies were

at Yorke he turneth thitherwards.

force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with marishes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the maner of his enimies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great brute, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched streight toward the place where Bassianus was incamped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh readie for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forsomuch as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they desirous to sée the vtter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselues apart without anie stroke striken, and got them vp into the next mounteins, to see what would insue. The residue of the Romane armie, seeing themselues thus forsaken of their fellowes, and their sides left bare and open for the enimie to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by reason of the marish ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Romans, and other of their part were ouertaken and slaine. Amongst whome Bassianus himselfe was one, and Hircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains betray the Romans.

The Romans are discōfited.

The slaughter of the Romans.

The Britains yéeld themselues vnto Carantius.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yéelded themselues vnto Carantius, and sware to be his true liege men and subiects. In like maner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yéeres and thréescore, to remaine with him in hostage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongest his people equallie, so that as well the Scotishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victorie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclamed king of Britaine, vsurping the gouernment therof wholie to himselfe, and reteining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safegard of his person, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enimies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassadors, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Yorke, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for euermore. Finallie the said Carantius was slaine by his companion Alectus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

Carantius or Carausius, as *Eutropius* nameth him, vsurpeth the kingdome of Britaine.

Carantius hauing got the victorie, diuideth the gaine in assigning to his cōfederats their due portions.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scotish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Picts. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperour Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furious wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowne to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Britaine also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent bloud shed, with most vnmercifull murther committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

The persecution of the christians by Dioclesian.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine, who adiudging the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in déed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But yer he could atchiue any notable enterprise, he died, leauing behind him the fame of a right gentle and woorthie prince, sauing that in one point he sore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flée vnto the Scots and Picts to auoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destroieng all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the begining; and vtterlie abolished

Constantius persecuteth the christians.

Manie of the Britains flée to the Scots to auoid persecution.

abolished all the superstitious rites and customes of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which hée dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauiour, wherein the christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, according to their profession. This church being richlie indowed, was the first bishops sée amongst the Scots, and therevpon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Sauiour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, being much praised aswell for his politike gouernement, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Crathlint destroieth the temples of the false gods in Man.
The first bishops sée in Scotland. *Sodorensis ecclesia.*
Crathlint departeth out of this world.

FINCOMARKE.

FINCOMARKE that was his vncles sonne, succéeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marble, to the great reioising of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fléeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Sauiours church in Man: this Amphibalus did verie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting foorth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceassed not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Modocus, Priscus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scotish toong Culdei, that is to vnderstand, *Cultores Dei*, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

Amphibalus.
The church of S. Sauior, otherwise called *Sodorensis ecclesia.*
Culdei.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, ye shall vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the yéere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sauiour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scotish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yéere of Constantine the emperour. It chanced that Octauius king of the Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to doo, choosing rather to susteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safegard.

What yéere Fincomarke began his reigne.
322. *H.B.*
5490. *H.B.*
655. *H.B.*
First of Constantine. *H. B.*
Octauius is vanquished, & flieth into Scotland.

Herewith Traherus being not a little mooued, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scotishmens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons togither in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne countriemen, 20 thousand Picts, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Octauius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hasted foorth to incounter with his enimies, before they should haue time to doo any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus inuaded his countrie, but receiuing frō him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order readie to giue battell, and so ioining with the enimie, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnmercifull murther and slaughter on both parts.

Traherus inuadeth Westmerland.
Fincomarke raiseth his power.
Fincomarke ioineth in battell with Traherus.

Finallie, whē the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbandmen, who had got togither their cattell and were driuing the same awaie, that supposing they had beene some new succors comming to aid their enimies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leauing the victorie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slaine (as their chronicles report) fiftéene thousand men, and on the Romane part about sixteene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Yorke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Octauius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him

The Romans flée.
The numbers slaine.

Yorke is yéelded vnto Octauius.

into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies came thither, the citizens yeelded themselues, and receiued Octauius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of these atchiued victories being bruted throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Octauius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortlie after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

Octauius obteineth the rule of Britaine.

This doone Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell susteined in that iournie. There was also promise made and confirmed by solemne oth, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessor king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their ioining togither in league against the Romans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scotish kings, without anie claime or title to be made to the same by any of the Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortlie after that Octauius had once chased all the Romans foorth of the British confines, and that Traherus was fled ouer into France, there was a councell called at Yorke, where it was not onelie ordeined, that from thencefoorth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended foorth beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling foorth the inhabitants of forren nations.

Westmerland assigned to the Scotishmen.

Acouncell kept at Yorke.

Such an immoderate lust of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Octauius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might staie him from séeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For herevpon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scotishmens hands: but being incountred with a power of Scotishmen & Picts, they were sharpelie repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherus returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Octauius, he vanquished his armie, and constreined him for his refuge to flée vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Norwaie, there to saue his life, bicause that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherus againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor: but shortlie after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Octauius murthered, and then Octauius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Octauius couet-eth to inlarge his dominion.

The Britains inuade Westmerland.
Traherus returneth into Britain.
Octauius is vanquished by Traherus.

Traherus by a conspiracie is murthered.
Octauius is reconciled with Fincomarke.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scotish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans eftsoones to inuade his countrie, as shortlie after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castels and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scotishmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yéeres. This was in the yéere of our redemption 172. This Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yéeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yoonger than his brother by one yéere, so that neither of them might succéed their father, by reason they were not of yéeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Octauius entreth into amitie with the Pictish king.

Octauius becommeth tributarie vnto the Roman emperor.
17 of Cõstans & Cõstantius emperors. *H. B.*
Fincomarke deceased.
358. *H.B.*

Eugenius & Ethodius sons to Fincomarke.

Herevpon a councell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by thrée of his brethren, which of them should

Romacus, Fethelmacus and

gouerne

gouerne the land: their names were Romacus, Fethelmacus, and Angusianus. Romacus had a Pictish ladie of the bloud roiall of that nation to his mother, and for that his father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yoonger in yéeres than either Fethelmacus or Angusianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voices as he had vnto Angusianus, wherewith Romacus being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroied them both: but his practise being discouered, caused manie to withdraw their good wils from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more incouraged: and thervpon the councell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselues against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angusianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacus was constreined in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being néere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angusianus therefore vnderstanding what danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got togither an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountring with him in battell was put to flight, and forced to flie into the westerne Iles with his cousine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt whereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angusianus sonnes to thrée seuerall brethren pretenda right to the estate.

Romacusséeketh meanes to destroie his cousins.

Angusianus with vpright dealing purchaseth the more friendship.

Romacus vanquisheth Angusianus.

ROMACUS.

ANGUSIANUS being thus chased out of the relme, Romacus was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed maner of tyrants, comming thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so soone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherefore such as had borne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacus call vnto him, and afterward vsed their counsell aboue all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Againe, those which had béene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought couertlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his dooings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise yer long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conueied themselues into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a daie.

Romacus is receiued for king.

Romacus gouerneth tyrannicallie.

Ethodius & Eugenius the sonnes of Fincomarke are conueied into the Ile of Man.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauorers of Angusianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little mooued with such his cruell dooings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired togither by secret meanes how to deliuer their countrie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more spéedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yer he had any vnderstanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprouided of resistance) assaied by flight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserued, in the fourth yéere of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioising. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

The Scotish lords conspire against Romacus.

Romacus apprehended and put to death.

After which execution doone, they sent for Angusianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclamed king, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, bicause the Britains had slaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Constantius sent one Maximus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Maximus incountring in battell, gaue them a great ouerthrow. And within three daies after Octauius king of the Britains, through gréefe, age, and long sicknesse, being consumed to the last point, departed this

Angusianus proclamed king.

this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Octauius, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certeine yéeres vnknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Fincomarke. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were eftsoones discomfited in battell by Maximus, and sore by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

Nectanus king of the Picts maketh sore warres vpon the Scots.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Angusianus K. of Scots was sore disquieted by Nectanus king of Picts, who inforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scotish confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certeine Scotishmen, which had borne good will vnto Romacus, he preased so sore vpon Angusianus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or anie agréement could be heard, though Angusianus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and

The Picts discomfited by Scots.

met his enimie in the field, where (after sore fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Angusianus, and Nectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselues by flight.

Nectanus desirous of reuenge.

Nectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he caused a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries receiued by the Scots, whereof he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceiued against his enimies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all spéed an armie should be leuied, and led foorth into the Scotish borders. Nectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choisest men that might

Nectanus inuadeth the Scotish confines.

be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entred into Kalendar wood, spoiling and destroieng all afore him at his owne will and pleasure.

Angusianus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should séeke to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by anie friendlie meanes he might bring Nectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictish and Scotish estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enimies the Romans and the Britains. Herevpon therefore he wrote vnto Nectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such

Angusianus sueth for peace.

dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe, how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace togither as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept anie reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

Nectanus refuseth all offers of peace.

But Nectanus in no wise would giue eare to anie treatie of peace, so that Angusianus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorting them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable woords, he placed them in order of

Angusianus and Nectanus ioine in battell with their armies.

battell. On the other part Nectanus likewise incouraged his folkes to doo valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie fréelie one at an other, vntill at length comming to handblowes they stroke on freshlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Angusianus perceiuing his people to be put to the woorst, rushed foorth into the thickest of

Angusianus is slaine. The Scots are discomfited.

the prease amongst his enimies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people missing him, & notunderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had béene fled, and therefore fell also to running away;

but

but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had anie cause to reioise, for the capteins on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right pensife and sorrowfull, giuing manie a sore cursse vnto such as had béene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time beene conioined in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloudie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting anie enterprise of importance the one against the other.

Nectanus is also slaine.

FETHELMACUS.

ANGUSIANUS reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power togither, and incountring with the Scots, there was a sore battell fought betwixt them: but the Scots first putting the wings of their enimies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselues. So that among other, their king named Nectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Nectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within thrée daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Taie, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Scots discomfit the Picts.

An other Nectanus king of the Picts dieth of hurts receiued in the fight with the Scots.

The Picts, perceiuing themselues not to be strong inough to match with their enimies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light incounterings (if it were possible) to kéepe them off from the winning of anie of their fensed townes, castels or strong holds. And to be the more able to mainteine themselues in this their purposed intention, they did choose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtill nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two slie fellowes Picts by nation, to counterfeit themselues for Scots, and for that they were cunning throwers of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus tooke great pleasure, they were appointed to make sute to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

Heirgust is chosen king of the Picts.

A pretended treason.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason whereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Picts, the same musician (hauing plaid in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asléepe) did let in those two Pictish traitors, who foorthwith slue him euen as he laie so sléeping: but the king groning gréeuouslie at the deadlie stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doore perceiuing what was happened, followed after the murtherers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mounteins, where they sought to defend themselues with hurling downe stones vpon them that came vp towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the déed, with the whole maner of the same, they were drawen in péeces with wild horsses: the musician also being apprehended and conuict of the treason, suffered semblablie the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

Fethelmacus is murthered in his bed.

In the fift yeare of the emperour Constantius.

In

369. *H.B.*

In this season (as in times past hath béene beleeued) certeine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought foorth of Achaia, a prouince in Grecia, into Scotland by a Gréekish moonke named Regulus Albatus, commonlie called S. Reule, a man in those daies highlie estéemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Reule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrews, standing in the abbie church-yard, where the chanons were woont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scotish chronicles, we will procéed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scotish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remaned, during the daies of the thrée last remembred kings, Romacus, Angusianus, and Fethelmacus.

Saint Reule commeth into Fife, then a part of Pictland, and now of Scotland.

The Scots send into the Ile of Man, for Fincomarke his sonnes.

EUGENIUS.

Eugenius is inuested king.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Maximus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scotishmen and Picts, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to inlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had béene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroied the other: for he considered it would be an hard péece of worke to haue to doo with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Picts, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Pictish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceiued by their continuall practise and vsage, euer séeking to disturbe their neighbors with rodes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them vtterlie destroied and extirped.

The practise of Maximus to destroy the Scots.

He sendeth vnto Heirgust king of the Picts.

Heirgust right ioifull of these newes, gaue hartie thankes vnto almightie God, that had mooued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people: & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Picts, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Maximus hauing receiued this answere, he found means also to come to a communication with Heirgust neere to Yorke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiudged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Picts. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Maximus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scotish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries doone vnto the Pictish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the K. of the Picts, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doo, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Heirgust his answere vnto Maximus his message.

Maximus and Heirgust ioine in friendship, and the Scots proclamed enimies to them both.

An herald sent from Maximus vnto Eugenius.

Eugenius for answere herevnto, declared that since he entred into the gouernment of the Scotish estate, he had doone nothing that might be thought preiudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Picts, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures doone on either part, according as

The answere of Eugenius vnto he herald.

should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Picts against those that had doone them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would doo what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scotish nation, trusting chieflie in the succours of almightie God, who vsed to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Maximus receiuing this answere from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserablie, taking diuers castels and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anandale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not beene seene in those parties.

Maximus raiseth a mightie armie.
He inuadeth the Scotish regions.
Cruell wars.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power togither, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and so ioining with his enimies neere vnto the water of Crée, his people were quicklie put to flight, and chased, by reason that they were much inferior in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase, happened to light amongest them of Argile, which had not beene at the battell, but were comming towards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire backe with some losse, whervpon the other Scots also (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset, so that if night had not come on the sooner, there had beene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine in that bickering than they themselues did thinke of. Herevpon the Romans, doubting what their enimies intended to doo, they fortified their campe that night verie stronglie; but Eugenius vnderstanding what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the battell, so that the verie streame of the water of Crée was stopped vp with dead carcases, he thought best (with the aduise of the peeres) to licence his people to depart to their homes, and not to fight with his enimies anie more for that time.

Eugenius gathering his power fighteth with his enimies, and is discomfited.
The Romans following too forewardlie the chase, receiue damage.

Eugenius breaketh vp his armie.

Which being doone, he himselfe repaired the same night vnto Carrike, where he remained for a season, making prouision for defense of his realme the best he could deuise. Maximus hauing knowledge in the morning how the Scots were quite gone their waies, he determined to haue followed them; but beeing certified of a rebellion amongest the Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and returned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare following, Maximus was so busied in the south parts of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the warres against the Scots, otherwise than in mainteining such garrisons as he had placed in their countries, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but also to inuade and destroie Pictland, so that they harried the countrie of Fife, with part of Menteth and Sterlingshire, burning & wasting townes, castels, and houses most cruellie.

A rebellion in Kent.

The Scots indamage the Picts.

Whereof Maximus being certified, made semblance as though he were sore greeued therewith, but inwardlie he could haue reioised at nothing more than to heare of the iniuries doon by the Scots vnto the Picts, supposing it to make chieflie for his purpose; and herevpon preparing an armie against the next summer, when he had disposed all things in a quiet order amongest the Britains, he set forward with the same towards Galloway, where being arriued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time vnderstanding the comming of his enimies, mustered his people, and appointed the assemblie to be made in the countrie of Kile, which way he heard that his enimies would trauell. Thither came also not onlie all the able men of the Scotish dominions, but likewise a great number of lustie & strong women apt to beare armour according to the old accustomed guise of their nation, so that there were numbred in this armie fiftie thousand persons

Maximus his feined griefe.

Maximus eftsoones inuadeth the Scots.
Eugenius prepareth an armie to defend his countrie.
Women vsed to the warres.
The number of the Scotish armie.

persons right fierce and hardie, desirous either to vanquish the enimie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in the place.

The approch of Maximus towards the Scots.

Maximus hearing that the Scots were thus incamped in Kile, marched towards them, and lodged the same night not far off from the riuer of Munda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Eugenius, that Maximus was come within fiue miles of him, with a greater armie than he had at his last incountring with him in Galloway. These aduertisements caused no small stir to be raised in the campe, some being striken with present feare: where other contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired nothing so much as to ioine in battell with the Romans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested. Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare at all, but incouraging his people with comfortable words, he brought them streight in order of battell, diuided into three wards, committing one of them to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second to Doalus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the third to himselfe. This doone, he made vnto them a pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being vanquished, their countrie was indangered to be brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to oppresse the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouerned at the will of the victorers, to the breach of all their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

Eugenius comforteth his people.

With these and manie other like reasons he went about to incourage the minds of his subiects, in such wise, that in maner the most part of them determined rather to die with honor, than to liue in such miserie as they feared would insue, if the victorie shuld rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in such talke togither, suddenlie commeth in one of their scouts with the newes, that Maximus with his armie was euen at hand. This was in the morning, anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not looked for till the euening following, insomuch that the same his sudden arriuall, chancing so farre contrarie to their former expectations, troubled all their heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that hereby they were constreined to change the order of their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as they had prouided at the first it should haue béene, if the enimies had not come vntill the after none. Yet notwithstanding, they had no sooner changed their place, and gotten themselues into arraie of battell againe, but that with great violence they preassed forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which Maximus perceiuing, made all the spéed he could to set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue his enimies comming thus to incounter him. So both sides beeing fullie bent to battell, and approched within danger of shot, they let flée the same most egerlie, albeit that through hasting foorth to ioine at hand-strokes, there was litle hurt doone with bowes or darts.

The sudden arriuall of Maximus.

The Scots giue the onset.

The battels ioine.

The Scots crieng vpon the name of their woorthie and famous ancestor king Gald, did laie about them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the ioining: and likewise the Romans, being incouraged with the cheerefull words of the lieutenant Maximus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doubtfull at the first whether part should haue the woorse end of the staffe. But shortlie there followed variable successe, for on the one part, they of Rosse and Mar, being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that wing of the enimies where the Picts were, fought so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easilie put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great number of them as they would haue passed the water of Dune, but streightwaies after falling to the spoile, they were slaine downe right, by a legion of such Romans as were sent by Maximus vnto the succours of the Picts.

Doubtfull fight.

Ethodius ouerthroweth the Picts.

The Scots hauing vanquished the Picts, are slaine by the Romans.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile, Cantire, Kile, and Coningham, who were matched with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their fame and glorie for euer, so that by this meanes the maine battell of the Scotishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Maximus perceiuing, he caused the same

to

to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must néedes be opened perforce, by meanes whereof Eugenius choosing rather to die in the place, than either to saue his life by flight, or by rendering himself into his enimies hands to liue in miserie, &c: was there slaine, togither with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather spéedilie with honor, than longer to liue with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdome, in the third yéere after his first entering to the rule, hauing inioied few good daies in rest during the said time.

The Scotish battell is ouerthrowne. Eugenius is slaine.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to kéepe the cariage and trusse of the field, séeing their lords and maisters thus slaine, rushed foorth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slea some number of their enimies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obstinate desire of reuenge, than by anie valiant actiuitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driuen backe, they were finallie slaine & beaten downe. Moreouer, the Romans that pursued in chase after their enimies, when the battell was doone, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinsfolks, whose slaughter when they perceiued, like people enraged they flue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easilie vanquished, and refusing to flée, they were also slaine and cut in péeces in a most miserable maner.

The furious rage of the Scotish carter.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enimies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and couetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloialtie of the Picts, procuring this murther and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Maximus the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodies to be gathered, & equallie diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed maner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeans to sée to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Romane princes.

The spoile diuided amongst the souldiers.

The buriall of the dead bodies by appointment of Maximus.

His brother Ethodius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in maner halfe dead, was also taken vp by commandement of the same Maximus, and surgeans charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus atchiued, Maximus surueieth the countries of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without anie further molestation. Heirgust king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented ther with, desirous to sée the vtter destruction of all the Scotish race. Wherevnto Maximus at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefits, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselues, and in no wise to spot the honour or maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

Ethodius sore wounded, is committed to the cure of surgeans.

Heirgust desireth the vtter destruction of the Scots.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuade him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue anie abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished anie quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to liue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namelie of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophesies spake) they were begotten and borne. Finallie when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked méed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not doo by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such

The earnest sute of the Picts to haue the Scotishmen banished and expelled out of the countrie.

Where words faile, gifts preuaile.

cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came foorth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scotishmen, should by a certeine daie auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Britain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer vp their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The proclamation for the auoiding of all Scotishmen foorth of the whole Iland of Britaine.

The Scots perceiuing themselues not able to make anie resistance, obeied this commandement, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Iles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got interteinment amongst the Romane souldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensigns. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to sée all the Scotish linage confined, that they would not consent that a certeine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Maximus, that they might be permitted to abide in their natiue countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruile estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in graues with their slaine husbands.

The Scots plagued for their beastlie crueltie.

The cruell dealing of the Picts.

Cartandis quéene of Scots.

Moreouer, where Cartandis quéene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Maximus, with two gentlewomen and a groome from the toome of hir husband, where she had remained euer sith his buriall in continuall mourning, forsomuch as she was a Britain, and descended by linage from the princes of Wales; Maximus lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certeine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictish riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne ease, for they did not onelie slea hir groome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Maximus being informed, caused them that had doone so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The quéene hirselfe being brought backe vnto Maximus, and honorablie intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so néere as it was possible.

The Picts offended with Maximus.

But the Picts being offended herewith, and speciallie for putting to death of their men, sundrie of their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring that the deserts of their nation had not beene such toward the Romane empire, as to haue their people put to execution for a womans sake, being both an enimie and a prisoner, therefore they required that she might be confined into Britaine, and according to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all hir goods. Here Cartandis being present hir selfe, began to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing hir most vnhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of hir wretched case and present miserable fortune, she should now be forced to turne againe into hir countrie: wishing rather than she should be inforced so to doo, that she might offer vp hir life as a sacrifice in the place of hir husbands buriall: and therefore holding vp hir hands vnto Maximus in most pitifull wise, she besought him instantlie, that it might please him, either to suffer hir to passe the residue of hir life after such sort as she thought best agréed with hir widowlike estate, or else to take the same from hir presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

Cartandis lamenteth hir infortunate estate.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that saw and heard hir at that instant, but lamented hir wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing liuing assigned hir for the maintenance of hir degrée, was licenced to depart into what place she thought expedient, there to liue as she thought best without let or disturbance. The same time the Scotish bishops and préests, being banished as well as the other sort of the Scotish people, a number of their moonks got them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, where they erected a monasterie for their owne habitation, the worthinesse whereof hath béene right famous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was afterward

The monasterie of Iona builded by banished Scotish moonks.

afterward indowed with manie faire reuenues by diuers of the Scotish kings, who had their burials there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as shall be hereafter expressed.

The time that the Scots were thus confined. 5547. *H.B.* 379. *H.B.* 710. *H.B.*

The yéere in the which the Scotishmen were thus vanquished by the Romans and Picts, and finallie confined out of their seats, was from the creation of the world 4319, after the birth of our sauior 352, from the beginning of the Scotish kingdome 679, and the third yéere of Magnentius. The same yéere before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, manie strange sights were séene in the furthest part of Albion, striking a woonderfull dread in manie mens harts. In the night season in the aire were séene fierie swords and other weapons mooving in a long ranke, after comming togither on a heape, and being changed into an huge flame as it had béen a firebrand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the riuer of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same riuer flashed oft times as they had béene all on a fire. There were seene also a number of small birds fall out of the aire so thicke, that it séemed it had rained birds, and incontinentlie came a great number of rauens that deuoured vp the same.

The second yeare of Iulian the Apostata. *H. B.* Strange visions. Swords and weapons séen in the aire. It raineth birds.

Certeine witches and soothsaiers, declaring that these things betokened the destruction of the Scotish kingdome, were commanded by the préests to hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their tales prooued most true. But to returne to our historie, Ethodius the brother of Eugenius being cured (as is said) by commandement of Maximus, was yet banished amongst the residue, and constreined to take an oth, that he should immediatlie repaire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch neerer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some new attempt that might be made by the Scots thorough his meanes, thereby to returne into their countrie againe, & to recouer their former state. But this staied not them of the westerne Iles, but that assembling themselues togither, and choosing one Gillo to their capteine, they passed ouer into Argile, where in the end they were incountred by such Picts as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine each mothers sonne. Their vessels were also taken and brought into sundrie hauens of the countrie, to serue for defense of the coasts vpon anie new enterprise which the Scots should chance to make: but the other Scots, perceiuing they were not able to furnish forth a new armie in the Iles by any aid they might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where presenting themselues vnto the king of that region, they declared vnto him from point to point all their infortunate chances and lamentable calamities, which were happened vnto them of late through the tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious enuie of the Picts, in such sort as nothing could be more miserable than their present estate, considering the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the finall banishment of the inhabitants from their houses and lands, which had béene in possession of them, and their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred yéeres.

Ethodius confined into Denmarke.

Gillo chosen capteine of the banished Scots in the western Iles comming into Argile is vanquished by the Picts. The Scots repaire into Ireland.

The Irish king with his nobles mooued with pitie to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap could not but touch them verie neere, considering they were descended both of one progenie, comforted these Scotishmen to the best of their power, and in the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand men, and to furnish them foorth with ships, vittels, and munitions to passe into Albanie for recouerie of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines, and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite for such an enterprise, they tooke the sea, and landing in Cantire, chanced to meet with Heirdorstane brother to Heirgust king of the Picts, accompanied with a great number of Picts and Britains assembled to defend the countrie, but being sharpelie assailed of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie put to flight, & such as were ouertaken died on the sword, to the great terror of all the new inhabitants that were planted on their parts.

The king of Ireland with his nobles lament the Scotishmens ease. The Irishmen conclude to aid the Scotismen.

The Scots and Irishmen land in Cantire. The Picts incounter with the Scots and Irishmen and are discomfited.

This victorie thus atchiued, there were that gaue counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, supposing it best to follow the victorie, and either to recouer againe their ancient seats, or else to die in the valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was followed as the best, though it prooued otherwise: for before they

they could come to any conclusion of that enterprise, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered themselues togither, and gaue battell againe to the Scotish and Irish companie, wherein they ouerthrew them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The Scots and Irishmen are ouerthrowne.

The king of Ireland séeketh for peace.

Maximus granteth peace to the Irishmen.

Maximus séeketh by his bountious liberalitie to win the peoples fauour.

The newes of this infortunate incounter being brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought it best with all spéed to send ambassadors vnto Maximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent at the first were sore blamed and checked by Maximus, for that they had aided the Scotishmen in the last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accepting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certeine conditions, whereof the most principall article was, that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, hauing got a quiet peace on each side, vsed all meanes possible how to procure the loue of his souldiors and men of war, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberall and frée, that his bounteous gifts passed all vnderstanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie neere hand as much in rewards, as the reuenues of Britaine yeelded to the empire in a whole yéere.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behauior he vsed not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so néere vnto their maners & fashions, that at his comming into Pictland, he laid awaie his Romane apparell, and araied himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this maner of meanes therefore he wan him such loue and fauor, as well amongst his souldiors, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yeere after Christ, protesting generallie, that they would owe onelie their obeisance vnto him as to their supreme gouernor. ¶ Here the Scotish chronicles somwhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Maximus was thus aduanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by anie meanes which he of himselfe vsed to atteine vnto the same. Where the said chronicles neuerthelesse shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to woorke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of fiue yéeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced vnto anie one man before his time, since the Ile was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient vnto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperouslie he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slaine at Aquilia in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

Maximus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

Maximus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yéeres.

The emperor Gratian is slaine by Maximus.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Octauius the sonne of Octauius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Ile of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains receiued him to their king: but shortlie after he was constreined to agrée with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their woonted tribute, and liue vnder such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Octauius should be reputed during his life for king. Immediatlie héerevpon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whome the one named Martius soiorned at London, and the other called Victorine at Yorke. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practise, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and vsed most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Victorine, the one of the Romane lieutenants hauing knowledge, gaue streight commandement vnto Heirgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be vsed anie longer amongst his subiects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Heirgust

Heirgust now perceiuing into what thraldome and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scotishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priuie chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile estate, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Victorine commanded that the Picts should not choose anie other from thencefoorth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeie anie other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agréed, as he alledged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Heirgust and Maximus, that after the deceasse of the same Heirgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a prouince. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the woords of Victorine, but by common agreement did choose one Durstus the second sonne of Heirgust to be their king.

Heirgust slaieth himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durstus is chosen king of the Picts.

Wherevpon Victorine being informed of their dooings, raised a power, and made such spéed towards them, that he was gotten so neere vnto the citie of Camelon, yer they had anie knowledge of his approch, that Durstus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being foorthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assalt, and the citie sacked, to the great inriching of the Romane armie, and vtter vndooing of the poore inhabitants. Durstus with other the chiefest prisoners were first had vnto London, and from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decrée of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie yearlie vnto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their reuenues growing of their corne and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig stones foorth of the quarries, and to make bricke to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

Durstus is besieged of the Romans.

Durstus is brought prisoner to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselues. For they were become so loftie, since the departure of the Scotishmen out of the Ile, that if they were not restreined in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortlie disquieted by their willfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Victorine, to charge the Picts in maner as is before specified; but to their further greéuance he deuised an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto vtter destruction, which was this: he constreined them togither with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remooue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late apperteined to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Maximus to possesse after that the Scots were expelled.

The Picts are commanded to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Victorine to the Britains, as subiects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast alongst by the same, from Abircorne, through the territorie of Glascow vnto Alcluth, or Aldcluch, now called Dunbreton, so running from the east sea to the west. Héereto proclamation was made, that if anie of the Pictish nation did enterprise to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilest the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scotishmen (as is said) being banished the land, liued in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poore liuing with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie woorthie capteins here and there, as occasion serued.

A wall made to diuide the Britains from the Picts.

The Picts forbidden to passe ouer beyond that wall.

The Scots liue in other countries.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was ioifullie

Ethodius brother vnto Eu-

genius, late king of Scotland. Erthus the son of Ethodius begot Ferguse.

ioifullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degrée, so that he liued there certeine yéeres in right honorable estate, and begat of his wife whome he brought thither with him foorth of Albanie, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wife called Rocha (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Rorichus, second person of the realme) a sonne named Ferguse, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scotish nation againe to their former estate and kingdome. In his yoong yéeres he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voiage which he tooke in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agréement they conspired together to the vtter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so ech of them sent foorth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

The Gotthes make an expedition against the empire of Rome.

Ferguse was sent to aid the Gotthes.

Ferguse being set foorth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scotishmen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the vsing of his ancestors so cruellie in expelling them out of their owne homes and natiue countrie. This Ferguse was present with the Gotthes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking whereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certeine chest full of bookes, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Iles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which bookes (as is to be supposed) were certeine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderstood of what matter they intreated.

Rome sacked.

Ferguse was a capteine vnder Alarike and Athaulfe kings of the Gotthes. Ferguse with leaue returned againe from Italie into Denmarke.

It is written moreouer of Ferguse, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licenced to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. ¶ About the same season, the bishops sée of Candida casa, otherwise called Quhitterne, was first instituted by one Ninian a preacher, that tooke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards reputed a saint, and the place of his buriall had in such veneration, that manie vsed to resort thither for deuotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were vsed.

S. Ninian.

But now to returne where we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanie; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as before we haue partlie declared) and doubting dailie of woorse to insue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Iles, in Norwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanie, they should be sure of all the aid that in them laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the iniuries which they dailie susteined at the Romans hands, whose continuall practise euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their vnsufferable gréeuance, looking for nothing else but shortlie to be expelled out of their countrie, and driuen to go séeke them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the maner of outlawes, as it had chanced alreadie to the Scots by commandement of Maximus, as before is expressed.

The Picts sent into forren countries to call home the Scots.

Ferguse sent vnto the Scots dispersed.

Ferguse, vnto whom amongest other this message was chieflie directed, reioised greatlie of the newes; and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Orknie, the westerne Iles,

and

and into Ireland, vnto such of the Scotishmen as dwelt in those places, to vnderstand their minds herein. And being certified that they were vniuersallie agréed, not onelie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former state and kingdome; but also had chosen him to be gouernour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he prepared partlie at his owne costs, and partlie at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and alies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer into Albanie to recouer his grandfathers estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him thereto, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge their owne iniuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themselues from such thraldome as they dailie felt themselues oppressed with, doubting withall shortlie to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had béene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof alreadie.

Ferguse prepared himselfe to warre.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British bloud, by consent of the Romane legat Martius (both of them going against their allegiance) vsurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but shortlie after, they two falling at variance togither, the one of them slue the other. And then the souldiers not staieng till they vnderstood the pleasure of Honorius the emperour, chose one Constantine to succéed in the place of Martius, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the capteins of the said Honorius. Victorine the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Martius and Constantine, remooued from Yorke vnto London, the better to prouide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperour Honorius his vse; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the fornamed Constantine, and not againe returned.

Gratianvsurped the gouernance of Britaine.

Marius slaine.

Constantine succéedeth Marius.

Constantine is slaine.

The lieutenant of the north commeth to London.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all spéed vnto Ferguse, requiring him to make hast, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euerie where being readie to moue rebellion. Ferguse vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hasted to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he tooke the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the firth of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Orkenie, and into the westerne Iles, all such of the Scotish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wiues, children, and whole families in most spéedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had béene alreadie recouered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts send spéedilie vnto Ferguse.

Ferguse arriued with his ships in Murrey firth.

The Picts also reioising greatlie at the newes of his comming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honor that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scotish nation, sith now they were readie for the aduancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Heirgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scotish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and sweete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischiefe which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scotish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

The Picts ioifullie receiue Ferguse.

The Picts craue pardon excusing themselues.

Ferguse by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, euen according to the tenor of the ancient agréement, and to ioine his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scotishmens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had béene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures doone to the Scotishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment inough for the same alreadie, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage,

Ferguse.

The Picts punished for their vntruthes.

bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vntruthes, vsed and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and alies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had latelie chosen since the time that the Scotishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had béene obserued on the behalfe of the Scotish and Pictish nations, with such solemne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisit and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scotishmen againe, out of the which they had beene expelled by the Romane power.

The ancient league renued againe betwixt the Scots and Picts.

The Scots restored to their countries.

FERGUSE.

Ferguse is conueied into Argile, and there inuested king.

AND Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and cõmons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclamed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him apperteined. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had béene driuen forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauiour 424, in the yeare after the death of Honorius the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scotish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castels also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessaries, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for currant coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots setled themselues to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine seats in the same till then: but that comming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Iles, where they before inhabited, they vsed to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuade my selfe, nor wish others to beléeue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doo make mention; & as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willinglie séeme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peraduenture are otherwise persuaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not mooued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Iles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scotish writers, but euen amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Gald, and some other happilie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they méere Britains, and had little to doo with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Iles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

422. *H.B.*

396. *Io.Ma.*

The 18 yeare of the emperour Honorius. *H. B.* 755. *H.B.*

When the Scots first got certeine seats here in this Ile of Britaine as some thinke.

Victorine prepareth an armie to go against the Scots.

Victorine séeketh to persuade the Picts from taking part with the Scots.

Victorine incampeth néere vnto Camelõ with 50000 men.

But now to returne where we left. After that Victorine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred dooings of the Scotishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leuied with all spéed, and hasted foorth with the same vnto Yorke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuade the Picts to forsake their confederacie latelie concluded with the Scots: but perceiuing he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so therevpon setting forward, he passed foorth till he came néere Camelon, where he incamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hereof, & hauing in like maner alreadie assembled a mightie huge host, both of Scotishmen and Picts,

came

came therwith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the night season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Victorine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being redie to receiue the Scots vpon their first approch, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (néere vnto the which their battels ioined) was well néere filled with dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into a ruddie hue, that it séemed as though it had run altogither with bloud.

Ferguse passeth the Forth. Ferguse purposeth to assaile his enimies in the dawning of the day.

The riuer of Carron runneth with bloud.

In the end (whilest as yet it was doubtfull to whether side the victorie would incline) there came such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great abundance of haile-stones, that neither part was able to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the violent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side was faine to withdraw from the other. There were slaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as well on the one side as the other, that they had small lust to ioine in battell againe for certeine yéeres after. For the Roman lieutenant vnderstanding what losse of people he had susteined, without attempting anie further exploit, appointed certeine of his companies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in Pictland, & with the residue he returned into Kent. In like sort the Scots with their confederates the Picts, perceiuing themselues not able as then to make anie further attempt against their enimies, brake vp their armie, and deuised onelie how they might defend that which they had alreadie in possession.

The battell seuered by reason of a tempest.

The lieutenant furnishing diuerse holds, returneth into Kent.

The Scots & Picts breake vp their campe.

And forsomuch as the Pictish nation was increased vnto a greater multitude of people, than those countries which they then held were able to find with sufficient sustenance (considering what a great portion of their ancient seates the Britains and Romans kept from them) it was agréed by the Scots that they should inioy the countrie of Athole, with other lands bordering néere vnto the same, lieng without the compasse of the mounteine of Granzeben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increased there woonderfullie, and builded manie faire castels and towers in those parties, to the great beautifieng of that countrie. In which meane while, Victorine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Britains to make hast with the wall (whereof ye haue heard) made of turfe, and susteined with certeine posts of timber, passing ouerthwart the borders betwixt them and their enimies, begining (as ye haue heard) at Abercorne, and so stretching foorth by Glasco, and Kirkpatrike, euen vnto Aldcluch, now Dunbriton, 80 miles more northward than the other wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to be made.

Athole assigned to the Picts.

The Britains by the appointment of Victorine make a wall.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed, they assembled themselues togither, & vnder the leading of a noble man called Graime, they set vpon the Britains, as they were busie in working about the same, and slue not onelie a great number of labourers and souldiers, which were set to labour and defend the worke, but also entering into the British borders, fetched from thence a great bootie of cattell and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe in this enterprise) was brother vnto the Scotish quéene, the wife of king Ferguse. He was borne in Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the Scotishmens banishment, and had a Scotishman to his father descended of a noble house, and a Danish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also maried a noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daughter, whome Ferguse by the persuasion of the king of Denmarke tooke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore his comming into Scotland) three sonnes, Eugenius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whome hereafter in their place mention shall be made, as occasion serueth. Other there bē, that affirme how this Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell gouernement, he fled foorth of his natiue countrie, and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer readie to doo what displeasures he could deuise against the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this Graime those Scots, which vnto this day beare that surname, are said to be descended.

The Scotish men & Picts interrupt the making of that wall.

Graime, otherwise called Graham, and his linage.

Ferguse maried a daughter of Graime.

Diuersitie of opinions touching the originall beginning of the Graimes.

But now to the purpose. Ye shall vnderstand, that after that it was knowne in forrein

The Scotish men returne into their countrie.

countries, how the Scots had got foot againe within those regions, in Albion which their elders in ancient time had possessed, there came dailie diuerse companies of that nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Italie (where during the time of their banishment they had serued vnder sundrie capteins) vnto Ferguse to aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient seats, out of the which they had béene most cruellie expelled. So that Ferguse now séeing his power thus not a little augmented by their comming, entereth into the borders of Kile, Carike, and Coningham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on euerie side: but shortlie therevpon commeth the armie of the Romans, with whome the Scots incountering in battell, receiued no lesse damage than they minded to haue doone vnto their aduersaries. Whervpon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew backe into Argile, where Ferguse wintered for that part of the yéere which yet remained.

Ferguse inuadeth the confines of the Britains.

The Scots put to the woorse.

When summer was come, he was counselled to haue éftsoones offered battell vnto Victorine, who as then was entered Gallowaie: and rather to trie the vttermost point of fortunes chance against him, than to susteine such displeasures and iniuries at the Romans hands, as by them were dailie doone vnto him and his people. But there were other that gaue other aduice, alledging how the danger was great to ieopard againe in battell with the Romans, being men of such skill & practise in the feats of wars, considering what losse had chanced in the two former battels. Againe, there was great likelihood, that if he could be contented to forbeare for a time, and seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as he might without giuing battell, it must needs come to passe that shortlie the Romane empire should be brought vnto such ruinous decaie, by reason of the multitude of enimies, which as then inuaded the same on each side, that in the end Victorine doubting his owne suertie, would conueie himselfe with his men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to recouer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

Victorine inuadeth Galloway.

Ferguse is dissuaded to fight with the Romans.

The Romane empire inuaded by barbarous nations.

This aduise was followed as the best and most likelie, so that making sundrie roads into the borders of their enimies countries so to kéepe them still occupied, Ferguse and the Scots refused vtterlie to come to anie foughten field with them. Shortlie after also it chanced, that Victorine was accused vnto the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against his maiestie, as to be about to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine, wherevnto he was compelled in déed by the souldiers (whose hearts he had woone through his bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared towards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of the said information made against him, they did moue him with such earnest persuasions to take vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to liue and die with him in defense thereof, as well against Honorius, as all other, that in the end he consented vnto their desires, and so was proclamed emperor, and clothed in purpure, vsing thereto all the other imperiall ornaments, as if he had beene emperor indéed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Victorine, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supréeme gouernor, began to feare the sequele of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they tooke Victorine, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Heraclianus, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortlie after sent for Heraclianus, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

Victorine accused vnto Honorius.

Victorine taketh vpon him the name and authoritie of emperor in Britaine.

Heraclianus is sent against Victorine.

Victorine is deliuered into the hands of Heraclianus.

Heraclianus is sent into Affrike.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romane armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiued of the Scots, gaue occasion to Ferguse their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durstus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioine with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting therevnto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enimies, ouer-

Placidus lieutenant of Britaine.

The warre renewd by the Scots.

running

running the most part of Kile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroieng all before them, which way soeuer they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdue the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same. The Scots and Picts inuade the borders of their enimies.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and commeth forward towards them, with whom incountering in battell, after long fight, his horssemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to breake their araie, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and ioifull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth vnto Yorke, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their couragious intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie mooued with this ouerthrowe, but also weieng with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortlie after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recouered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselues with the British confines, should not mooue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

Placidus gathereth a power.
He incountereth with his enimies.
Placidus receiueth the ouerthrow.
He fleeth to Yorke.
Placidus seeketh to haue peace.
A league concluded betwixt Scots, Picts, and Romans.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scotishmen and Picts indeuoured themselues to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Ferguse made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same foorth vnto his subiects the Scotishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enimies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gaue them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as Cornana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest end of all the countrie, tooke a new name of one Cathus a valiant capteine, and of the promontorie there shooting foorth into the sea called Nesse: so that being compound togither, that countrie was cleped Cathnesse. Also of certeine Irishmen called Rossians, the countrie of Rosse tooke that name, being afore named Lugia.

Ferguse diuideth the land in parts.
The names of diuers places in Scotland changed.
Cathnesse, whereof it is so named.
Rosse.

That part of the countrie ancientlie called Thezalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called Buthquhane, of the tribute vsed to be paied there for sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store in that prouince. For Quhane in the old Scotish toong signified tribute: and Buth, a flocke of sheepe. The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the landward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog, which runneth through the middest of it. Louchquhaber tooke the name of a great meare or water, into the which the riuer of Quhaber falleth, and passeth through the same, notable by reason of the great plentie of samons taken therein. Some other countries there be, which keepe their ancient names euen vnto this day, as Athole, and Murrey land. And some names remaine a little changed by length of time, as Argile for Argathile; Mar, for Marthea; and such like.

Buthquhane.
The signification of the name of Buthquhane.
Bogdale.
Louchquhaber.
Athole, Murrey land.
Argile, for Argathile: and Mar, for Marthea.

Ferguse also repared such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restored againe churchmen vnto their former liuings; and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certeine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning vnto them large reuenues for their finding. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbeie within the Ile of Iona, now Colmekill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certeine ordinances and customes to be vsed about the same. Moreouer, in the time of peace hee was not negligent in prouiding for the defense of his realme. Such castels as were decaied and ouerthrowne by the enimies in the warre time, he repared; and in those which

Ferguse repareth churches, and prouideth liuings for religious persons.
The first foundation of the abbeie within the Ile of Iona now Colmekill.

Ferguse repareth his castels.

which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their liuing now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to liue vpon.

Placidus the lieutenant of Britain dieth.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire dailie falling into decaie, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scotishmen and Picts tooke occasion to renew the warres, making as it were a claime vnto the countries of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into those countries, they take, spoile, and destroie all such of the British nation as went about to destroie them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their waies. Manie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villainous maner. The Romane souldiers, after the deceasse of Placidus, ordeined one Castius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scotishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Dionethus the sonne of Octauius sometime king of the Britains, in hope to atteine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now séeke to aid the Scotish king Ferguse, whose sister he had in mariage. Castius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent foorth a messenger at armes vnto king Ferguse, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power foorth of the prouinces, which were subiect vnto the same Romans, without procéeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, either else he should be sure to feele the puissant force of those people readie bent against him, by whom his elders had béene driuen out of their countries, and banished quite foorth of all their dwellings and places of habitation in Albion.

The crueltie of the Scots and Picts.

Castius ordeined lieutenant of Britaine.

Dionethus, or Dionotus, as some books haue.

Castius sendeth vnto Ferguse.

The answer of king Ferguse.

But herevnto was answer made with great indignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceassed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there was no cause why he should looke for anie, vntill the whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cumberland, were restored againe into the hands of the Scotishmen and Picts, according as of reason they ought to be. The like answer also was made by Durstus king of the Picts, vnto whom Castius had sent a like message. Wherewithall the said Castius being not a little mooued, assembleth an armie, and with all spéed marcheth foorth toward his enimies: but before his entering into Westmerland, where they were as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands laie in Wales) was alreadie ioined with the Scots.

Castius raiseth an armie.

Dionethus ioineth with the Scots against the Romans.

Which newes sore appalled the hearts of the Britains, but yet being incouraged with comfortable words of their capteins to procéed, forward they go togither with the Romans, and within thrée daies after, they came within sight of their enimies, béeing ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that streightwaies buckeling togither, there was a right fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till finallie the multitude of the Scotish archers and kernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans on each side, and speciallie on the backes, that in the end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Castius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of the middle ward being discomfited, brake their arraie and fled. Wherevpon the residue likewise followed: the Scots, Picts, and Welshmen, pursuing so egerlie without all order, that there was no small number of them distressed by the Romans, the which in their giuing backe, kept themselues close togither, readie to defend themselues, and to beat downe such of their enimies as followed more rashlie than warilie in the chase, not once regarding to kéepe any order of battell; but yet by other companies that pursued more orderlie togither for their most aduantage, there was great slaughter made both of Romans and Britains.

The armies ioine in battel.

The Romans giue backe.

The Scots follow in the chase too rashlie.

After this victorie thus atchiued, Dionethus was proclamed king of Britaine, and sore warres continued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen, Scots, & Picts, to the great hazard of the prouince, and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of the same. About this time also there remained in France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour Valentinianus,

Dionethus proclamed king of Britaine.

Etius lieutenant of the Romans in France or Gallia.

tinianus, who vnderstanding all these things by letters and messengers sent from the capteins which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one Maximianus being of kin to the emperor, to passe with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as still continued in their allegiance which they had promised vnto the Romane empire. Maximianus sent ouer into Britaine.

This Maximianus at his arriuall in the Iland was most ioifullie receiued by the soldiors and subiects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles of the countrie resorted also vnto him, shewing themselues most glad of his comming, & promising with what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with him against their enimies. Wherevpon, procuring them to assemble their powers, and to ioine the same with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he passed through the countrie vnto Yorke, and so from thence marched foorth towards the Scots, being alreadie assembled in campe to defend the countrie of Westmerland against him. There were both the kings of Scots and Picts, Ferguse and Durstus, with Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Britains, who had brought with him, beside the Welshmen, a great number of those Britains that inhabited in the countries now accounted the marches of Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Britains acknowledged him for king. Maximianus causeth the Britains to ioine with him to go against the Scots. The Scots and Picts assembled against the Romans.

When both the armies were come néere togither, they camped for that night the one in sight of the other, and in the morning following they prepared themselues to battell. Ferguse first making an earnest oration vnto his people, to incourage them the more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst other things how the right was on their sides, which alwaies ought to minister hope of good successe in them that enterprise anie thing in defense thereof; where contrarilie all such as attempted to disquiet other by iniurie and wrong dooing, could not but looke for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents and purposes. Neither were other of his capteins negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting their bands, they vsed most comfortable woords, and in disposing them in good order of battell, they shewed most readie and earnest diligence. The armies prepare to battell. Ferguse exhorteth his people to doo valiantlie. Right ministreth hope of good successe.

On the other side, Maximianus with his capteins and officers of bands were as busie on their side to array their battels most for their aduantage, as they saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most furious wise, the Romans being at the first sore annoied with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken from them, the skie séeming as it had béen couered ouer with a pentise. So that Maximianus perceiuing this disaduantage, he caused a fresh legion of his soldiors to aduance forward to the succour of their fellowes; by reason whereof the battell was foorthwith most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the Romans sore preasing vpon their enimies: so that in the end passing quite through their battels, they caused a great disorder and feare amongest those Scots and other their confederats, which were placed in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting themselues in a ring, they made great & stout resistance for a space, and at length a great number euen of the most valiant personages of the whole host, closed themselues togither, and with maine force assaied to haue broken through the thickest prease of their enimies, but being inuironed about on ech part, they were there slaine ech mothers sonne. Whilest the Romans drew togither to resist on that side, other of the Scotishmen, Picts, Britains, & Welshmen, found a waie to get foorth through their enimies on the other side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as fast as their féet might beare them: but a great number being notwithstanding ouertaken, were slaine and beaten downe right pitifullie. The onset is giuen. Maximianus perceiuing the disaduantage, prouideth to remedie the same. The Scots disordered.

Ferguse the Scotish king, and Durstus king of the Picts were slaine in this mortall battell togither, with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus being sore wounded escaped to the sea side, and there getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. This ouerthrow sore dismaied both the Scotish and Pictish nations, who looked for nothing more than present expulsion out of their countries, for Maximianus pursuing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruellie wasting and spoiling the same. And when he had made an end there, he entred into Anandale, and into the Pictish confines, destroieng all before him with fire and swoord. The two kings Ferguse and Durstus are slaine. Dionethus escapeth. Maximianus pursueth the victorie.

Camelon taken by force.

swoord. Camelon was besieged, taken by force, and miserablie put to sacke and spoile, with diuerse other notable townes and places, as well belonging to the Picts as Scots.

The Scots and Picts withdraw beyond the wall of Abircorne.

Neither was there anie end of these cruell dooings, till both the Scots & Picts for their refuge were generallie constreined to withdraw themselues beyond the wall of Abircorne, which (as before is said) a few yeeres passed was begun by the Britains, and stretched from Abircorne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land vnto Alcluth now Dunbreton.

Maximianus hauing thus driuen his enimies beyond this wall, caused them to make assurance by their oth of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or Romans. There were that counselled Maximianus either vtterlie to haue destroied both the Scots and Picts, either els to haue driuen them out of the whole Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was alreadie doone, thought good to returne vnto Yorke, and there to winter, that in the beginning of the next spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dionethus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in aiding the enimies of the empire. But when the time came that he should haue set forward on that iournie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond the seas, into what ruinous decaie the empire was fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that changing his purpose, he minded to vsurpe the crowne of Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to haue the more fauor of the British nation without anie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, being the elder of those two, which he onelie had without issue male, by the sister of king Ferguse. She that was thus coopled in mariage with Maximianus was called Othilia, & the other daughter named Vrsula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pretended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of Maximianus. Then was Dionethus made second person of the realme, aswell in degree of honor, as in publike gouernment.

Maximianus taketh vpon him the absolute gouernance of Britaine, with the imperiall title.

He marrieth Othilia the daughter of Dionethus.

Dionethus reputed for second person of the realme.

EUGENIUS.

Eugenius created king of Scots.

AND whilest these things were thus a dooing in Britaine, the Scotish lords had created Eugenius the sonne of Ferguse, king of their realme, as due to him by rightfull succession from his father, who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yéeres yer he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne (as we find) in the yéere of our Lord 440, after the first beginning of the Scotish kingdome 767. His fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried, as occasion suffered, whilest the Romans were yet in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conueied ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremonies it was intumulated, according to the ordinance which he himselfe had deuised in his life time, within the abbeie there.

430. *H.B.*

760. *H.B.*

The bodie of Ferguse is buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwise Colmekill.

In like manner Maximianus, to the intent to establish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains, which bordered vpon the Scotish dominions, from all trouble of warres, was contented to make peace with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for the same. After this also, he being once fullie established in the estate of Britaine, coueted also to atteine to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and therefore assembling all the forces of the British youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be proclamed emperor, and so vsurped that title; as in the English and Italian historie you maie find more largelie expressed. He left behind him in Britaine his father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernor there, with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for such Romans as Maximianus had left in Britaine, who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen vnto the same Maximianus, obeied Etius, as one that supplied the roome of their rightfull lord and maister the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise was Britaine dispurueied of all maner of able men for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts tooke good occasion to inuade the British borders,

Maximianus granteth peace to the Scotishmen.

The Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

not

not sparing to pursue with fire and swoord all such of the Britains as did yet continue in obeisance to Maximianus.

They first droue those Britains out of all the countries, which had béene taken from them by the same Maximianus, and by other of the Romans and Britains, as Pictland, Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This doone, they entered into Cumberland, Westmerland, and Kendall, not ceassing till they had spoiled and defaced all those countries, with the most part of all Yorkeshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiuing into what danger they were brought, if some good redresse were not found in time, sent ouer with all spéed vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperor Valentinians hands, for Maximianus was otherwise occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Britains from such cruell enimies as the Scots & Picts shewed themselues to be, least through their meanes all the whole Ile should reuolt from the obedience of the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenna, and as then soiorning about Paris in France, with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine, to driue backe the Scots and Picts from further molesting the subiects of the empire.

The prosperous successe of the Scotishmen.

The Britains require aid of Valentinian the emperor.

Gallio Rauennas is sent ouer into Britaine.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of this Gallios arriuall, drew backe into their countries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaughters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmishes he slue no small number of them: and for that he knew he should be sent for shortlie to returne againe into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous nations as warred in the same, for the better defense of the Britains against their enimies the Scots and Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to be newlie made vp betwixt Abircorne & the mouth of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane prouince from all sudden inuasions of the enimies. This wall was earst made of turffe, but now repared with stone, and strengthened with great posts or piles of wood, driuen in betwixt in places most néedfull. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in certeine turrets cast foorth vpon this wall, Gallio appointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the enimies approch towards the same, warning might be giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day, vnto such of the Britains as dwelled néere vpon those borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine of death for being found in the contrarie) that euerie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort immediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour and weapon as for him was requisit.

The Scots and Picts refuse to giue battell to the Romans.

Gallio pursueth the Scots and Picts.

Gallio causeth the wall of Abircorne to be repared.

The maner of the building of that wall.

The ordination of Gallio for watch to be kept of the wall.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the suertie of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present from the cruell hands of their enimies, he returned into France with the armie that he brought with him, according to the commandement which he had from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His departure out of Britaine was no sooner knowne of the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine force they determined to set vpon the Britains againe. So that assembling their powers togither, the kings of both those nations exhort their men to doo valiantlie. Eugenius the king of the Scotishmen incourageth them through hope of high rewards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his part promiseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an office of most honor amongest them) vnto him that first should passe the wall of Abircorne. Wherevpon the Britains being aduertised of their enimies intentions according to the ordinance before appointed, drew in defensible wise vnto that part of the wall, where they vnderstood the Scots and Picts were minded to assault.

Gallio returneth into France.

The Scots and Picts determined to inuade the Britains againe.

The Britains resort to the wall of Abircorne to defend it.

At length when the Scotish and Pictish kings were come to the wall, and had their people readie to giue the approch, they themselues stood apart somewhat out of danger of shot: and such bands as were appointed to assaile, aduanced forth of the maine battels vnder the leading of that Graime, the which (as ye haue heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains when they had first made the same wall by commandement of Victorine the Romane lieu-

The Scots and Picts approched the wall to assault it.

Graim assaulteth the wall.

tenant. Neither shewed he lesse proofe of his valiancie at this time than he had don before. For though the Britains made earnest resistance, so far as their power would extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was vndermined and throwen downe in sundrie places, so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts entered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the Britains on ech side that went about to make resistance, for none escaped their hands, but such as saued themselues by flight.

The wall is ouerthrowen.

There came also an other power of Scots and Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland, pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the kings did themselues. Both houses and people passed by fire and sword, insomuch that all such of the Britains as could get away, withdrew foorth of the countrie, not staieng till they came beyond the riuer of Tine; by reason whereof, all the countrie which lieth betwixt Twéed and Tine was deliuered by appointment of the kings vnto the souldiers, to spoile and vse at their pleasure, wherevpon followed manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, couetousnesse, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilest the Scotish and Pictish men of warre applied their market, the Britains with all diligence repared and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said) by the emperour Adrian, shooting ouerthwart the countrie from the riuer of Tine, vnto the riuer of Eske.

The Britains leaue Pictland and get themselues ouer the riuer of Tine.

The wall of Adrian is repared by the Britains.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter approched, made no further attempt against the Britains at that time, but diuiding those countries which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian, among themselues, according to the order in that behalfe appointed by their kings, they fortified certeine castels and holds for defense of the same countries, as it were to countergarison such Britains as continuallie kept watch and ward vpon the foresaid wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would inuade their countries which lay on the south part of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as they had doone the yere before through the other wall of Abircorne, they sent ambassadors vnto Etius the Romane lieutenant, gouerning Gallia now called France, vnder the emperor Valentinian, requiring to haue some aid and succour at his hands, whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enimies, as sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged themselues in anie maner of wise subiects vnto the empire.

The countries lieng north from the wall of Adrian diuided amongest the Scots and Picts.

The Britains require aid at the hands of Etius.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather because he conuenientlie could not (for that he was otherwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the French men) made a direct answere that he had no men of warre in store to send ouer into Britaine, and therefore willed them to doo what they could for their owne defense, for aid of him they might none haue. The messengers returned home with this answere, and made report thereof in a publike assemblie of all the British nobilitie, being as then gathered togither at London to consult there for the estate and order of their countrie. Where after long deliberation (notwithstanding that they perceiued they should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was yet determined, that to resist the enimies, the whole puissance of the British nation should be mustered, as well men as women, being able to doo anie feat of seruice auailable in defense of their countrie, & rather to trie the vttermost point of fortunes chance, than to suffer themselues to be ouerrun without resistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great authoritie amongest them, as one that was descended of the bloud of Octauius sometime king of Britaine, went about with earnest persuasions to remoue the residue of the nobilitie from this determination, aduising them to séeke for peace at the Scotishmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtfull chance of Mars his iudgement, considering the féeblenesse of their whole force now, euer since that the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt for seruice in the warres. But this aduise of Conanus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude that heard him, to be greatlie offended with his words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former ordinance (that is to say, to séeke an end of the wars by dint of swoord) was allowed for the best.

Etius refuseth to aid the Britains.

The Britains forsaken of the Romans, determine yet to make resistance.

Conanus Camber counselleth the Britains to séeke peace at the Scotish mens hands.

Britaine dispeopled of warlike men by Maximianus.

Conanus counsell is receiued.

Herevpon

Herevpon there were musters taken, armour and weapon prouided, and both day and place appointed, where they should assemble togither to march foorth towards the enimie. Conanus sore lamenting their dooings, called almightie God to record, that that which he had said, was spoken onelie for the loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & sithence his aduise might not be followed, he doubted greatlie least the ruine of the British state by some fatall appointment drew fast vpon them. The people hearing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons fell vpon him, and slue him there presentlie amongst them: wherewith other being sore moued to indignation, set vpon the murtherers, there to haue reuenged his death immediatlie. Wherevpon began taking of parts, and togither they went by the eares in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongest them being slaine, the magistrats had much adoo to appease the fraie.

The Britains make their apprests to go against the Scots.

Conanus is slaine amongest the Britains.

In this meane time, whilest the Britains were thus busied in sending of their ambassadours to the Romans, & consulting togither for defense of their countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of Abircorne, not leauing one piece thereof whole, so that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be séene at this day of all that huge and woonderfull worke, it is called now in these daies Graimsdike, because that Graime was not onelie (as ye haue hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same, but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground he was the greatest dooer. Which being accomplished, the Scotish and Pictish kings assembled their powers, and ouerthrew all such fortresses as had not béene destroied the yeare before, standing on the northside of Adrians wall, the which wall the Britains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that vndermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuersed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

The Scots rase the wall of Abircorne.

Graimsdike.

The Scotish and Pictish kings inuade the British borderers.

Adrians wall vndermined and ouerthrowen.

The entrie being thus woone, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderlie obeied; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scotishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnneath made they anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make shift to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuer of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord togither) they tooke new aduise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadors, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Etius the Romane lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Etius here insueth.

Crueltie of Scots.

The lords of Britaine take new aduise. *Sée more hereof in England.*

The tenour of the letters sent vnto Etius from the Britains, as is written by *Hect. Boetius.*

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thrise consull. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by woorthie proofes and notable examples, that the senate was a most safe refuge and hauen, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Maximianus, tending wholie to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of loosing both kingdome and liues, through the sore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romane empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroied, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almightie God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other forren nations. But if it be so, that the fatall force of the time pre-

sent dooth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken awaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose crueltie we hauing long since too too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our goods and cattell, which way to safe gard our liues, for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled vp with earth, which aforetime did somewhat staie them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie one kind of crueltie, they haue destroied our fields, burned vp our houses, townes & villages, beaten downe & raced euen to the ground our castels and towers, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decaied nation, they haue driuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passse ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And hereof proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging flouds, either else slaine most vnmercifullie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romane people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the empire of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humblie pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beastlie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succors and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruellie betraied of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set foorth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

But not so largelie as here is expressed.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Geffray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Etius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses susteined by the Britains were right displeasant vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romane empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, &. therefore he willed the Britains to make the best shift they could to defend themselues for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries prouided, as they should thinke themselues to be verie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadours returned with this answere vnto London from Etius, the other also came backe foorth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vnlesse the Britains would wholie submit themselues as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat tooke such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & hereupon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people togither with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue doone, & foorthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

The answere of Etius.

The Scots and Picts would agree vpon no reasonable conditions of peace.

The Scots and Picts prepare against the Britains.

The order of the Scots and Picts entring into the lands of the Britains.

In the fore ward went such as came foorth of Galloway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barwike. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came foorth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting neere vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choisest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trusse of the armie, next wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could choose foorth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath beene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the cõmons vp the back of the whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming foorth into the field with their whole puissance to incounter their enimies, when they vnderstood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they

they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought good therefore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending foorth their ambassadours vnto the confederat kings, to that end their answere was, that except the Britains would yéeld themselues, their wiues and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enimies, simplie without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowen abroad in the host of the Britains, what thorough kindeled ire on the one part, and foule despaire on the other, prouoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie vpon change of purpose required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

The Britains doubt to ioine with the maine armie of the Scots and Picts.

The Britains vpon the Scotishmens refusall to haue peace, require to haue battell.

Heereof insued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolued to die in defense of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths vpon their enimies, with more fiercenesse than is credible to be thought, gaue the onset, and ouerthrew a great number of their enimies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argile, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the woorse: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called foorth a number of the Iland-men, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the comming of these Iland-men to their succors, they tooke courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finallie the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enimies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to saue themselues in certeine bogs, mosses, and marish grounds neere vnto the place of the battell: but such coisterels, and other as remained with the Scotish cariage, séeing the discomfiture of their aduersaries, ran foorth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, aboue 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts néere hand foure thousand.

The fierce onset giuen by the Britains.

Graimes authoritie in ordering of the battels.

Those of the westerne Iles comming to the succors of the fore ward, restored the battell.

The Britains run awaie.

The number of them that were slaine on both sides.

The Britains hauing receiued this ouerthrow, saw no helpe which waie to recouer their losses, but onelie to sue for peace at the victorers hands. They sent therefore an orator vnto the Scotish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humblie to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not mooued onelie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthie personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie enimie of the Scotish and Pictish estats, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres without consent of the Scotish and Pictish kings, and further should be readie to serue them against all maner of enimies whensoeuer they should be sent for. Moreouer, they should remoue with their wiues, children, and whole families out of all those countries, lieng betwixt Tine and Humber, resigning the possession of the same vnto the Scotishmen and Picts.

The Britains make humble sute for peace.

Peace granted by the Scots with the conditions of the same.

Also they should giue threescore thousand peeces of gold then currant to the Scotish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their souldiors wages, and further should yéeld as a tribute twentie thousand peeces of gold, to be paid yeerelie vnto the seuerall vses of the victorers. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings shuld appoint, betwixt the age of eightéene and thirtie yeers. These conditions of peace though they séemed verie streict & greeuous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they vnderstood not how to make a better bargaine, they persuaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league therevpon was concluded amongst those people; and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had béene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scotishmen and Picts, about 500 yéeres after Iulius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne ouer the Scotishmen the seuenth.

60000 pound saith *Balantine*, after the rate of Scotish monie. 20000 pound saith the same *Balantine*, so that he esteemeth those péeces of gold to be of the value of French crownes.

The Britains tributarie to the Scots and Picts.

446. *H.B.*

In

The heresie of the Pelagians. Paladius sent into Scotland.

In this season was the Ile of Albion sore infected with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to preserue them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuesture from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them foorth among the moonks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scotish chronicles doo report. Paladius with right good and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentilish idolatrie, till those daies vsed amongst them, wherevpon he is named and reputed for the Scotishmens apostle. Hée lieth at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, where his relikes remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Of this Paladius looke more in Ireland. Paladius accompted the apostle of Scotland.

Seruan bishop of Orkenie, and Teruan archbishop of Pictland.

Moreouer he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were séene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Yorke it rained bloud: and trées in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheapeside in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finmacoell, a Scotishman borne of seuen cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and sore feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large limbs: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agréeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

Vnketh sights and strange wonders appered.

Finmacoell the great hunter.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecouerable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupieng sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yéers without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duelie paid their couenanted tribute, though sore against their wils, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yéers after the cõclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue mentioned Conanus, descended of the bloud of the Octauij, sometimes kings of the Britains, sore maligned to sée his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scotish nation, and deuising how to find some redres, called togither the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening vnto them a great péece of his mind, persuaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leuie warre against the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

Conanus a Britaine goeth about to persuade his countriemen to breake the peace concluded with the Scots and Picts.

Héere the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some awearied with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this councell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had beene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had béene made, and what was intended against them. Wherevpon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebels with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadors vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certeine articles, which the said kings required to haue performed without all delaies, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kinsmen lieng in hostage would not agrée to breake the peace. The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspiracie of the Britains, prescribe vnto them new articles to be performed. Impudent seruilitie intruded vpon the Bri-

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble togither in councell without licence of the Scotish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient laws they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Romane or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hos-

tages

tages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degrée, as was couenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadors, were in a woonderfull rage, and would haue made a great sturre if they had not béene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that looke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

tains by the proud and cruell Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre foorth against their superiors, that after the Scotish and Pictish ambassadors were returned home, with answer agréeable to their demandes, there arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring togither the vtter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two seuerall times with great slaughter and bloudshed, wherevpon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselues, making raises vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaie from the heards and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finallie through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceiued what néed the one had of the others helpe, and so they agréed. This ciuill warre sore decaied the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the auoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof insued a maruellous great scarsitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortlie after followed such plentie, that those that were left aliue forgetting the passed miseries, gaue themselues vp to all kind of vice, which tooke such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie maner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot liue without helpe of another.

Superfluous welth occasion of vice.

In the meane time liued the Scotish and Pictish kings in good quiet and rest, applieng their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, wherby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie forren power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finallie the Scotish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer doone before him, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, he ended his life about the fourth yéere of Leo, that vsurped the empire of Constantinople.

The Scots applie themselues to peace.

The death of Eugenius the Scotish king.

DONGARD.

Dongard king of Scots.

461. H.B.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succéeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yéere 470, and his chéefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of good orders and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of good fame and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligentlie forsée, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe tooke vpon him also to see to the reparing of such castels as were decaied, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, speciallie néere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long indure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of scornefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

The studie of Dongard for preseruation of iustice and good orders.

The reparing of castels by K. Dongard.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most excéedinglie set foorth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them

The bountious liberalitie of Dongard towards churchmen.

them to be highlie reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned foorth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeies with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

Sanctuaries.

About the same time also, and whilest these things were thus a dooing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their seruile estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and tooke aduise by what meanes they might best séeke to deliuer themselues from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armorike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Héerewith was the archbishop of London appointed as chiefe ambassador to go on that message, which archbishop vsed such diligence in the matter, that Constantine the sonne of the said Androenus was appointed by his father with a competent power of men to go ouer into great Britaine to the aid of the British inhabitants there. Héerevpon, when the men & ships with all necessarie prouision were once readie, he imbarked at Saint Malo, where the assemblie was made, and taking the sea, sailed foorth with prosperous wind and weather, which brought him safelie into great Britaine, where he landed at Totnes in Deuonshire, as you shall find in the chronicles of England. He was receiued with no small ioy, and foorthwith proclamed king of Britaine, wherevpon he promised to assaie to the vttermost of his power to recouer againe their whole lands and liberties, and to mainteine them in the same according to their wished desires.

The Britains send into Britaine Armorike for aid.

Aid sent into Britaine from the Armorike Britains.

Constantine proclamed king of Britaine.

For the more speedie accomplishment héereof, commandement was first giuen, that all able men should be in a readinesse, and come togither at a place appointed neere to the riuer of Humber within fortie daies after. Which order being taken by the aduise of the lords and nobles of the realme, the same was put in execution with such diligence, that few or none being apt to beare armor, withdrew themselues, euerie man in manner comming to the appointed place of the assemblie, and offering to go against the enimies, so that it was a woonder to consider the consent of the people now ioined in one mind and will to recouer their former libertie. When Constantine beheld such notable numbers of men, he supposed the same would haue sufficed not onelie to vanquish the Scots and Picts, but also vtterlie to destroie & race them out of all the confines of Albion.

The assemblie of the British armie.

The great earnestnes of the Britains to recouer their libertie.

When the newes of all this preparation for warres which the Britains made, was once signified to the Scots and Picts, they likewise made their apprestes to meet with them in the field, and therevpon raising their powers, came foorth with the same into Yorkeshire, and pitched their camps within foure miles where Constantine with his people was lodged, and the next day after, vnderstanding how néere vnto the enimie they were, they raised and marched forwards till they came within sight of him, as then incamped with his people aloft vpon certeine hils, néere to the aforesaid riuer side. Here both the kings of Scots and Picts lodging with their armies for that night, made readie for battell against the next day, and in the morning Dongard the Scotish king getting him to a little hill, called his men togither, & there exhorted them by sundrie comfortable means of persuasion to put awaie all feare, and to fight valiantly, assuring them of victorie if they would kéepe the order of battell by him appointed, and not rashlie breake foorth of the same in following vpon the enimies when they fell to retiring backe.

The Scots and Picts make their apprests.

The Scots and Picts approch néere to the Britains.

Dongard exhorteth his people to fight manfullie.

He had scarse made an end of his woords, but that diuerse of the standing watch came in, and declared how the Britains began to auale the hils where they had lodged, and that the Picts were got foorth alreadie in order of battell, and were marching forwards to incounter them. Dongard shewing himselfe to be right ioifull of these newes, commanded incontinentlie, that the standards should aduance foorth, and euerie man to attend the same according to his appointed order. Also that no man should presume to take anie prisoner before the end of the battell, nor to yéeld himselfe so long as life lasted. So that ioining

with his enimies, there followed a verie fierce and cruell battell. At length both the wings of the Britains gaue backe from the Scotishmen & Picts, the middle ward abiding the brunt verie stoutlie. Where Constantine himselfe stood like a valiant chieftaine, dooing his endeuour to the vttermost of his power, vpon whome Dongard earnestlie preassing, and entring into the thickest throng of his enimies, was there beaten downe amongst the Armorike Britains, and being about to get vp againe by helpe of his weapon, was againe felled to the earth, and slaine with manie a sore wound.

The wings of the British armie are put backe.

Dongard is slaine.

Diuers of the Scots discomfited with this great mishap, fell to running awaie: other kindled with more wrath laid about them more egerlie. The Picts also, for their part fought most constantlie, so that the battell, continuing vntill noone daie with doubtfull successe, at length the Britains were constreined something to giue backe, & after taking themselues to fearfull flight, declared that the victorie remained with their enimies. There died in this mortall battell néere to the point of 16 thousand of the Britains, and of the Scots & Picts aboue 14 thousand, with Dongard and the Scotish king. Constantine the day next after the battell, withdrew southwards. The Scots carried away with them the corps of their dead king, and conueieng it into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, there buried it in kinglie wise. Dongard was thus slaine, in the fift yéere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauior 475 yeeres, and about the second yéere of Zeno the emperor.

The Britains are put to flight.

465. *H. B.*

8. *of Leo. H. B.*

CONSTANTINE.

After him succéeded in gouernment of the Scotish kingdome Constantine the brother of the aboue rehearsed Eugenius, a prince vnlike in noble vertues vnto his brother the said Eugenius. For though in him there appéered some good tokens of commendable towardlinesse, as he séemed outwardlie to shew, yet was he giuen more vnto wanton pleasure and lust, than to the regard of the good rule and gouernment of his subiects, a deflourer of virgins, a rauisher of honest matrones, and aboue all, a fauourer of backbiters and slanderers; neuer shewing anie ioifull countenance amongst his nobles, but amongst scoffing iesters and other vile persons he was as pleasant and merie as the iocundest man aliue. Thus though he represented the British king Constantine in name, yet in manners he far differed from him: for the British Constantine studieng to aduance the commonwealth of his subiects, trained them in laudable exercises, & reduced them from their former euill vsages vnto ciuill order and good customs. Contrariwise, the Scotish Constantine did nothing woorthie praise at all, after he was once instituted king, but followed still his owne inordinate lust and sensuall appetite.

Constantine the first of that name is created king of Scots.

Constantine the Scotish king nothing like in noble conditions vnto Constantine king of the Britains.

He granted peace vnto the Britains they scarse requiring the same, releasing not onelie the tribute, but also deliuering vp into their hands by secret meanes diuers castels standing vpon the riuer of Humber. Manie other things he was about to haue doone to the great preiudice and hinderance of the Scotish estate, had not the nobles of the realme the sooner withstood his rash and vnaduised attempts. Such malice also was ingendred in the harts of the most part of the nobilitie towards him, that had it not béene through the wholesome admonition & persuasion of Dongall of Galloway, a noble man of right reuerend authoritie amongst them, they had leuied ciuill wars against him, but the foresaid Dongall declaring to them the great danger and inconuenience that might thereof insue, restreined their wrathfull minds from enterprising anie thing against him by force, so that for certeine yéeres they suffered and bare with this his misordered gouernment.

Peace granted vnto the Britains, and diuers castels deliuered into their hands.

The good counsell of Dongall.

In the meane while the Picts noting the want of all vertuous qualitiest hus in the king of Scots, and againe what tokens of valiant courage appéered in the king of the Britains, doubted least if he should séeke to reuenge old iniuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiencie of the Scotish king) they deuised a meane how to rid the British king out

The Picts stand in feare of the king of Britaine.

of the waie, and so appointing certeine slie fellowes to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their deuised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Pict that should woorke this feat, where the Scotish writers record of diuers, which neuerthelesse were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scotish writers it appéereth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yéere of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the westerne Iles, he was slaine by hir father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yéeres.

Constantine the Scotish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished. *Anno* 481.

DONGALL.

Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

THEN was Dongall his nephue, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclamed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisedome and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeuour, that peace and concord therevpon insuing, the people recouered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Constantius a moonke elected king of Britaine.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Vortigerne, Constantius the eldest sonne of the late deceassed Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbeie, where he was shorne a moonke, and aduanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne, Vortigerne had the whole rule committed to his hands, wherevpon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a gard of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murther the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the giltie as the vngiltie, and finallie made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

Vortigerns treason. Constantius murdered.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that their countriemen which had beene appointed to gard the person of Constantius king of the Britains, were maliciouslie circumuented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraies into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor swoord where they came. So that the said Vortigerne by a gréeuous report informed héereof, caused an armie with all spéed to be leuied, and appointed Guitellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enimies: whilest he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was knowen how he would haue made awaie Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go foorth in that iournie in his owne person.

Guitellus generall of the British army causeth fiue hundred of the enimies to be hanged.

Guitellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defense thereof, chanced vpon his approch to the borders to take the number of fiue hundred of the enimies, being aduanced from the residue to fetch a bootie. These Guitellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore anie ouerture of warre was denounced. Wherevpon such other as escaped by flight, and had séene their fellowes thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe héerewith, gather togither their people, and haste forward with all spéed toward the enimies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were sore afraid of the Scotish and Pictish power: wherevpon Guitellus their generall with comfortable woords willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt

The Scotish and Pictish kings gather their people to resist the Britains.

doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to anie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

Guitellus incourageth the appalled harts of his men of warre with comfortable woords.

With such and sundrie other the like woords the Britains being imboldened, as might well appéere by their change of countenances, Guitellus therevpon remooued his campe more néere vnto his enimies, so that at the first and for certeine daies togither, there chanced onelie diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being sore mooued against the other, they ioine in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was verie fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scotish king fought, the Britains shortlie began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Galanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiuing, foorthwith prouided remedie: for taking with him certeine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfullie, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had ouermatched the Scots.

The Britains ioine in a pight field with the Scots and Picts. The Scots are put backe. Galane king of Picts succoureth the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots incouraged afresh, assailed their enimies with more eger minds than they had doone at the first, so that maintenantlie both the wings of the British armie were vtterlie discomfited. And héerewith a certeine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make haste to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flée: so that in the end a great number of them throwing awaie their weapons, yéelded themselues, most humblie craúing mercie at their enimies hands. There were slaine in this battell aboue twentie thousand of the Britains, togither with their generall Guitellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts, néere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which doone, they marched foorth into the countrie to conquere castels and townes, such as stood in their waie.

The wings of the Britains put to flight. The campe of the Britains woon. The Britains, chased, know not whither to flée. Guitell with twentie thousand Britains slaine. Foure thousand Scots and Picts slaine.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what meanes they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Vortigerne as one giltie in conscience, doubted least through want of good wils in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enimies, whervpon he was minded to haue auoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the vttermost point of fortunes hap, than with dishonor so to yéeld at the first blow of hir froward hand, considering the abundance of treasure which he had in store, wherewith he might wage souldiers and men of warre out of Germanie & other places, in number sufficient to match with his enimies. This counsell as the best was followed, and messengers with commission & sufficient instructions sent with all spéed into Germanie, to reteine a number of Saxons, and to bring them ouer into Britaine, to serue against the Scots and Picts in wages with Vortigerne.

A councell holden at London. Vortigerne doubting the hatred of his people, would haue fled out of his realme. Vortigerne is counselled to send for aid into Germanie

At the same time there were amongst those Saxons two brethren, descended by rightfull linage of the princes of that nation, who being reputed for valiant capteins, appointed with the British commissaries for a certeine summe of monie to take vp their prescribed number of men, & to receiue charge of them as coronels, aswell for their conuaie ouer into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after their arriual. The one of these two brethren was called Hengist or Engist, and the other Horsus, who hauing their appointed numbers once filled, conteining about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, hoies, and plaits, and in the same transported them ouer into Britaine, in the 449 yéere after Christ, as our histories doo affirme: where they were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of Vortigerne, who trusted by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull enimies.

Hengist and Horsus reteine in seruice wit Vortigerne.

The Saxons together with a power of Britains are sent to the borders of the enimies countries.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselues somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent foorth with an other armie which Vortigerne had assembled of his owne subiects the Britains, to the frontiers of the enimies countrie, where at their first comming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, before the Scots or Picts had knowledge that anie such people were come in support of the Britains to bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made but sorie shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who to begin their enterprise with bloud, slaie all such as they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of person. Great was the slaughter by them committed in all those parties where they passed, namelie about the riuer of Tine. And when they had made an end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so into the dales aboue Berwike, next adioining vnto Pictland, destroieng all before them with fire and swoord.

The Saxons in hope of good successe begin the wars against the Scots with bloud.

The king of Picts sendeth for aid vnto the Scotish king.

The Pictish king in the meane time had sent vnto Dongall the king of Scots to come with all speed to support him against the dreadfull inuasion of the enimies, whose force being now increased with a power of Saxons, would woorke much mischeefe, if the same were not the more speedilie in the beginning repressed: but hearing that the Saxons and Britains dailie approched, he thought not good to tarie for the comming of the Scots, but hasted foorth with his owne power to incounter his aduersaries, and rashlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and thereby lost no small number of his people. In this conflict the Saxons wan them a great name for their high valiance, where contrarilie the Britains got them no small note of giltie cowardize, fighting so faintlie, that their capteins had much adoo to cause them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue run awaie: *which their faintnesse of stomach being noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small confidence that* it should be an easie matter for him to conquere them at his pleasure, when time and occasion might serue thereto.

The king of the Picts vanquished.

The Saxons won praise, and the Britains noted of cowardize.

The Pictish nation hauing receiued this grieuous ouerthrow at the hands of their cruell enimies, sent againe an other ambassage vnto the Scotish king Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation, what losse had happened to them by that most cruell people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie, and what mischiefe by the same people was intended, aswell against Scots as Picts, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of both nations, if the enimies in time were not resisted. They that were sent, declared all this matter unto king Congall, and as they had in commission, besought him of speedie succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harms and losses of the Picts his friends and alies, but also much more for the likelihood of the imminent danger and perill towards himselfe and his owne people, determined speedilie to go with all his power, and to ioine with the Picts, as fullie resolued to preuent that mischiefe which was like to follow, if the violent rage of the enimies were not the sooner resisted.

The Picts eftsoones solicit the Scots for aid.

Cogall promised to aid the Picts.

He sent word therefore to the Pictish king, that if he might keepe off the enimies by light skirmishes and incursions for a small time, he would come to his aid shortlie, with all the whole puissance of his realme. And herewithall he commanded by open proclamation, that all those within his dominions, which were able to beare armour should by the twentith day after assemble togither at the south side of Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them for two moneths. According to the which proclamation, there came togither at the day and place assigned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and meete for the warres. On the morrow after, when Congall had taken the musters & vew of his whole numbers, he set forward towards the place where he vnderstood that the king of the Picts as then lodged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in campe taried for the comming of the Scotish armie. On the fift day after, both the kings met togither, and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friendship the one towards the other. After this they go to heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout praiers vnto almightie God for their good speed and luckie successe in that iournie: which being doone, they march foorth toward the enimies, as then lieng in campe

Prouision made by the Scots to aid the Picts.

The Scotish and Pictish kings assemble togither with their powers.

campe not past ten miles from them. Here at the first sight of the enimies, diuers of the Scots and Picts being striken with feare to behold so great a multitude, as the like had not beene seene in those parties manie a day before, they stale away and secretlie hid themselues in the next woods. But the kings, to giue example to other, caused them that were thus stolne away, to be sought out, & brought againe into the campe, where they were hanged in open sight of all the armie.

The Scots and Picts come within sight of the enimies.

The Saxons & Britains also vpon the approch of their enimies gathered their companies togither, & maintenantlie herewith the Saxons incouraged with such comfortable speach as Hengist vttered amongest them, required to haue battell without delay: whose example the Britains following, shewed themselues also right willing therevnto. Congall the Scotish king perceiuing the enimies to make readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks, and exhorted them in best wise he could, to play the men. The like also did Galanus the Pictish king amongest his people, omitting nothing that might incourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the battell on both sides comming forward to ioine, the arrowes and darts flue freshlie betwixt them, but neither part minding to give place for all the shot, at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Britains in the right wing with the Scots in the left wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great shower of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fast vpon them, that one might vnneath see an other, so that the Scotishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

The Scots through comfort of Hengists exhortation desire battell.

The Scotish and Pictish kings exhort their people to fight valiantlie.

The battell is begun.

The Britains flee.

A great tempest.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of anie present danger, closed themselues togither and drew neere vnto their chiefeteins standard. Finallie the tempest no sooner began to ceasse, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had beene wholie theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare vp) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murther of them on euerie side where they found them, that pitie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staied till they were gotten into places farre inough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie ioifull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enimies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, withdrew to Yorke, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Tweed in the enimies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, alreadie hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

The Saxons close themselues togither.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assaile the Scots and Picts disordered in pursute of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

When summer then was well neere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counselled Vortigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countriemen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scotishmen and Picts, but also vtterlie to destroy both the nations, or at least wise to driue them foorth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Vortigerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also shewed by the maner of his interteinement, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not doo vnto him too much honor for such notable seruice as he had doone alreadie, and trusted he should doo hereafter. According to Hengists aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of fiue thousand, who shortlie after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaie in sundrie skirmishes and incounters

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germanie.

Hengists offers misliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honor shewed vnto Hengist by Vortigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortlie after was sent thither also an other companie, double in number to the first, to reuenge the deaths of their fellowes; but they finding fortune as froward vnto them as the former had doone before, sped much-what a like, for in sundrie conflicts diuers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselues deliuered captiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiuing in what danger they stood, sithence they might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether vnfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of fiue thousand Saxons, with their wiues and children, came ouer into this land, in eighteene hoies, and amongest other came Hengists wife and his daughter the ladie Roxena. Shortlie after king Vortigerne gaue vnto Hengist & his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lindseie, with a castell of great strength called Thongcastre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Vortigerne so much ground as he might compas with an oxe hide, and hauing that granted, he tooke a mightie oxe hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which tooke name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it tooke that name, certeine it is by record of all the Scotish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

A new power of Saxons commeth ouer into Britaine.

Thwang castell, or Thogcastell.

The Saxons first inhabited in Lindseie.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Vortigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecast, he tooke foorth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certeine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staieng for the comming of the Britains. Vortigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subiects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne *Vortigerne**, a yoong man of great force and valiancie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authoritie for the warres he commanded chieflie to be followed.

[* *sic. q. Vortimer.*] Vortimer generall of the Britains.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met togither, Hengist led them ouer the riuers of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enimies laie. The Scotish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with prouision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made streight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constreined to raise and come foorth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

The Saxons and Britains against the Scots and Picts.

60000 of Scots and Picts come to meet their enimies.

Hengist prolongeth time to giue battell.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a vallie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scotishmen & Picts must needes passe, yer they could find meanes to doo anie notable displeasure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires. Which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certeine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and British campes, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow or front of an hill so neere to the lodgings of their enimies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they tooke no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of heath or ling, which the Scotishmen call hadder. Of which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quantitie togither, and binding it in bundels like vnto fagots, in the night season

A policie of the Scots.

season they set the same on fire, tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the Saxons laie. The wind in that instant being somewhat aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies foorth, droue the flame so streinablie amongest the tents and cabins of the Saxons, that the fire catching in the straw and twigs which they had couched togither vnder them in steed of beds, increased the feare amongst the souldiors woonderfullie, by reason that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as though the same had fallen from aboue, and euen foorth of the heauen it selfe.

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons. *Hyperbole.*

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the whole campe, with such roring of beasts, and running vp and downe both of them and of the horsses which were there in the campe, that if heauen and earth had gone togither, there could not haue beene a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the souldiors had doone what they could to quench the fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some vprore and disorder raised on each side, they got them with their armor and weapons foorth into the next field, which Hengist himselfe perceiuing (hauing first doone what he could to stay them) inuironed with a companie of his choisest men of warre, he got him vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his people should draw thither vnto him. After this, when they were come togither, he disposed them in order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the spring of the daie, to vnderstand more certeinlie the meaning of his enimies.

Hengist calleth his people togither.

The Scots and Picts supposing the enimies to be farre disordered, by reason of the fire descended downe from the hilles, fullie determined to assaile them in their camps: but vpon their approch to the same, perceiuing how the Saxons were gotten foorth, and stood readie in good order of battell, minding to defend their ground, both the kings thought it best to tarie till the morning, yer they made anie exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof. In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst his people, exhorting them to remember their woorthie elders, and by their example to choose rather to die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties, than by cowardize to saue a dishonested life, which (if their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe in great thraldome and miserie. The Pictish king also with like words incouraged his men to doo valiantlie. Neither was Hengist slow in persuading his Saxons to plaie the men, that obteining the victorie they might deliuer themselues from terror of all enimies from thencefoorth in Britaine.

Congals exhortation to the Scots.

Hengist exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfullie.

Whilest he was thus exhorting his people, the Scots and Picts with great force and violence began to giue the charge vpon him, which whilest the Saxons and Britains went about to defend, they were beaten downe by heaps so fiercelie on ech side, that the discomfiture had light vpon them foorthwith, had not Hengist by sound of trumpet called foorth about three thousand fresh men to their succors, which he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readinesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer happened. These most fiercelie setting vpon the backes of the Scots, brought them streight out of all order: for they being occupied with the other Saxons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had vnneath roome for anie aduantage to turne their weapons. In the meane time the Picts being matched with the Britains did put them to flight, and chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which a great number of them were drowned, as they ieoparded to passe ouer the same, and to saue themselues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots being sore handled by the Saxons, both before and behind, were at the length constreined to giue ground and breake foorth by flight, & so to escape the cruell hands of the enimies. Manie were slaine in the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue getting away, fled streight to the Picts: but Congall himselfe, through helpe of his houshold seruants escaped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe all wounded as he was.

The Scots & Picts giue the charge.

The Saxons in danger to haue the ouerthrow.

An ambush of three thousand men.

The Britains put to flight by the Picts.

The Scots forced to flie.

Congall is wounded, but yet escapeth through helpe of his houshold seruants.

The Picts returning from the chase, and vnderstanding how the Saxons had giuen the Scots the ouerthrow, and that they were now marching forward to incounter also with them, determined

mined not to abide their comming at that time. And so night approching yer the Saxons had got sight of them, order was giuen by commandement of their king, that all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and fagots, should be placed and piled togither before them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire, which being executed according to the appointment, when the fire was once kindled, the Picts with the Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secretlie as they might, and staied not to make awaie, till they were farre inough out of the danger of the Saxons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and perceiuing no enimie abroad to bid him battell, mustered his men, and found that he had lost in this iournie as good as foure thousand of one and other. After this, hée withdraweth to Yorke, and leauing his armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where hée was receiued with ioy inough by king Vortigerne.

The policie of the Picts to escape out of danger.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter, the sonnes of king Constantine prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Armorike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to them from their father: the Saxons were sent for out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if néed were to resist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after, for a policie, Hengist caused it to be bruited abroad, that the Scots and Picts meant eftsoones to inuade the British confines, & therefore was there an other power of Saxons called into the land, and placed in the north parts, to defend the same against the Scots and Picts. Occa the sonne of Hengist had the leading of these Saxons, who brought them ouer, being ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and fiftie hoies. They brought with them also their wiues and children, and setled themselues in the north parts betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the Pictish dominions. And euen then it began to take the name of Northumberland, which is as you wold say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it dooth continue.

Aurelius Ambrose & Vter, sons to king Constantine.

The Saxons placed in Kent.

A new power of Saxons came ouer with their captein Occa.

Northumberland when it first began to be so called.

Shortlie after, Vortigerne forsaking his lawfull wife, maried the ladie Roxena or Rowen, Hengists daughter, to the high offense of God, and great displeasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, Occa not attempting anie exploit against the Scots and Picts, rather sought to get into his hands all the fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he greatlie aduanced, winning castels and fortresses there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betraie the countrie vnto the Scots & Picts, hée put diuerse of them to death, some secretlie, and others openlie, as conuict of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Vortigerne marieth Hengists daughter.

Yorke in possession of Hengist.

Herevpon the Britains for the stay of such mischiefe as they saw at hand, deposed Vortigerne from his kinglie seat, and placed his sonne Vortimer in his roome, which being doone, ambassadors were sent both vnto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onelie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to atteine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and vtterlie subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestlie desired the Scotish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enimies as had béene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the priuate commandement and ordinance of Vortigerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to represse all commotions of the Britains, which they might happilie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

Vortigerne deposed by his subiects.

Vortimer chosen to gouerne the Britains.

The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The Scotish king Congall (vnto whome first the ambassadors were sent) for answer declared, that he was sorie to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioine with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to doo the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnike generation, as not onelie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openlie among the christians, with dooing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the beholders

The answer of Congall K. of Scots vnto the British messengers.

holders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could deuise, how to destroie and quench vtterlie the faith of our Sauiour Christ in all places where they might get the vpper hand.

He promised therefore to imploie his whole puissance to recouer out of the enimies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the riuer of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to driue them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thencefoorth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said riuer of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scotishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadors had (amongest other things) alreadie promised in name of all the British nation, as a recompense or méed to haue the support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadors receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith vnto Vortimer, declared afore him and his councell how they had sped.

Vpon what conditions Congall couenanted to support the Britains.

Shortlie after, for the more and better assurance of all promises, couenants and articles passed betwixt the Scotishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had béene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agréement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge, or displeasure might bée thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprise put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Occa and his Saxons, which (as partlie ye haue heard) had nestled themselues betwixt the riuers of Tine and Humber.

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

The Scots inuade the borders of Northumberland.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castels and towers, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Occa commeth into the field with an armie readie to incounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enimies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staied a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiuing he could not retire backe but to his great disaduantage, he boldlie gaue signe to his people to set vpon their enimies: which they fiercelie executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Occa perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could doo, feare at length ouercomming regard to their capteins commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they tooke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

The Saxons incounter with the Scots. The Saxons vanquished by the Scots.

Occa yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and comming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed foorth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chase, for the Scotishmen calling to remembrance that they had to doo with infidels, and with the enimies of the christian faith, were so eger vpon them, that they saued few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Vortimer entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and incountring with them in battell, slue ten thousand of them, and chased the residue foorth of that countrie. Thus Kent returned vnto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards vnto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenour of the league before mentioned.

Occa fléeth by sea into Kent.

The Saxons vanquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

Hengist and his sonne Occa (who a little before this battell in Kent was come vnto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all spéed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countrie till they had recouered their strength by some power to be sent ouer vnto them out of their owne countrie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certeine vessels, they passed ouer into Saxonie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them dispersed

The Saxons flie out of Britaine.

Vortimer vseth the victorie modestlie.

dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Vortimer hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking onelie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapon, he suffered them to depart into their countrie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countrie with their wiues & children, as seruants vnto the Britains.

After this, Vortimer gaue order for the reparing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decaied, partlie through the euill example taken by dailie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partlie also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spred ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Vortimer through treason of his stepmother Roxena was poisoned, and died. Then was Vortigerne againe restored to the rule of the kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid anie forreine people into the realme. Vortigerne then restored thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in causing due administration of iustice without rigor to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting of all inuasions that might be attemted by anie forreine power, that his praise was great amongst all his subiects, who to shew their good willes likewise towards him as to their naturall prince, were not slacke in honoring him aswell by gifts and presents, as by all other maner of waies. He found meanes also to renew the league with the Scots and Picts, with like conditions and articles, as it was concluded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Vortimer. But notwithstanding his politike procéeding, thus to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; shortlie after Hengist returned, and what by force and subtill shifts, at length got possession of the more part of Britaine, so that the Britains were constreined to flie into Wales, whither also Vortigerne fled, and remained there a certeine time, till at length Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter, the sonnes of king Constantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besieging Vortigerne in a castell, burnt him with the house and all, when they could not otherwise come by him, according to that which Merline the British soothsaier had prophesied before. It is folishlie supposed that this Merline was got by a spirit of that kind which are called *Incubi*, that is to vnderstand, such as conueieng mans séed from him (and therewith by illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of man) doo lie with women, and vse them after the maner of carnall copulation.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

The league renewed betwixt Britaine, Scots and Picts.

Hengist returneth.

Vortigerne burnt.

¶ In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a like tale or two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought not long before his time in Scotland, which somwhat abridging the same we haue here infarced. In the yéere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scotish ship departed out of the Forth towards Flanders, there rose a woonderfull great tempest of wind and weather, so outrágious, that the maister of the ship with other the mariners woondered not a little what the matter ment, to sée such weather at that time of the yeere, for it was about the middest of summer. At length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still increased, in such wise that all those within the ship looked for present death, there was a woman vnderneath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and willed them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue by Gods grace might yet be saued: and therevpon told them, how she had bene hanted a long time with a spirit, dailie comming vnto hir in mans likenesse, and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his filthie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation. In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the maisters appointment going downe to this woman, and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate person, lamenting hir great misfortune and miserable estate, vsed such wholsome admonitions and comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at length she séeming right penitent for hir gréeuous offenses committed, and fetching sundrie sighs euen from the bottome of hir heart, being witnesse (as should appeare) of the same, there issued foorth of the pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea. And suddenlie thervpon the tempest ceassed,

Illusions of spirits.

A tale of a woman abused with a spirit.

About saint Barnabées day.

and

and the ship passing in great quiet the residue of hir iournie, arriued in safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap héereof, there was in like manner a yoong man dwelling in Gareoth, within a village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine, verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer saw the like, the which would come into his chamber at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him to haue to doo with hir, & that by no maner of means he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man aduised him to remoone into some other countrie, and to giue himselfe to fasting and praier, so to auoid his hands of that wicked spirit. The yoong man following the bishops counsell, within a few daies was deliuered from further temptation.

A yoong man haunted with a spirit.

About the same time also, there was in the countrie of Mar, a yoong gentlewoman of excellent beautie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir father, and other friends. At length she prooued with child, and being rigorouslie compelled by hir parents to tell who was the father, she confessed that a certeine yoong man vsed nightlie to come vnto hir, and kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir parents not greatlie crediting hir woords, laid diligent watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled their house: and within thrée daies after, vpon signification giuen by one of the maidens, that the fornicator was at that verie instant with their daughter, incontinentlie therevpon, making fast the doores, they enter the chamber with a great manie of torches and lights, where they find in their daughters armes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to behold. Héere a number comming hastilie in, to behold this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of them running their waies, began to recite the beginning of Saint Johns gospell, and comming to these woords, "Verbum caro factum est," suddenlie the wicked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring noise, flue his waies, taking the roofe of the chamber awaie with him, the hangings and couerings of the bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman was yet preserued, and within thrée or foure daies after was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the like before had not béene seene, which the midwiues and women, such as were present at hir labor, to auoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in a great fire, made in the chamber for the same intent. ¶ Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with more, he hath written to prooue that all is not feined which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius Ambrose. Ye shall vnderstand, that he hauing once subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Vortigerne, determined to make warres against Hengist and his Saxons, to prooue if his chance might be to recouer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore againe the christian religion. But first yer he attempted anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambassadors both vnto Congall the Scotish king, and also vnto one Loth a towardlie yoong gentleman, and of verie comelie personage, as then reigning among the Picts, requiring them both to aid him in so necessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the enimies of Christ and his religion. Wherevpon both these kings, weieng with themselues the dutie of all christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatrie, promised their helpe to the vttermost of their powers against the Saxons, who had in such tyranlike sort subuerted and abolished the christian profession within the British confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and couenants aforetime concluded betwixt the thrée nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by euerie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voiage.

Aurelius Ambrose purposeth to make warres against the Saxons.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Scots and Picts to require their aid against the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts promise to aid the Britains against the Saxons.

The league renewed betwixt Britains, Picts, and Scots.

First Aurelius Ambrose, with such power as he brought with him foorth of France, & ioining therevnto a great multitude of those Britains which had escaped the Saxons hands, either

by withdrawing themselues into Wales, or else by conueieng themselues into the countries of the Scots and Picts, setteth forward toward the Scotish armie. But first calling together those Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises vsed by Hengist, against the linage of king Constantine, and the whole estate of the British common-wealth: also of the horrible persecution made by him and his people the Saxons, against the professors of the christian religion. All which matter he handled in woords so pithilie, his talke yet sauoring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to atchiue some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be doone in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclamed him king. Which was by account of the Scotish chronicles, in the yéere 498, after that Vortigerne with his sonne Vortimer had reigned 17 yéeres in the whole.

Aurelius Ambrose maketh an oration.

Aurelius Ambrose proclamed king of Britaine.

Aurelius in this wise being established king of Britaine passeth foorth with his people, and within six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe in person. Loth the Pictish king was there himselfe amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be deuised, as well to the one as to the other of those two nations, promising to requite them with as much friendship when time and occasion should craue the like assistance. These three mightie armies therefore being thus assembled, marched foorth towards a place called Mahesbell, where they vnderstood that Hengist with his power as then did soiorne. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the first certeine light skirmishes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horssemen, wherewith at length being the more prouoked to displeasure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelie incountring ech other, so that (as it appéered) their force was not so great, but their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the histories saie right.

Conranus generall of the Scots.

Loth king of the Picts.

Mahesbell.

The Albions and Saxons incounter in battell.

The Armorike Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persing their battels, with their men arraied in certeine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewise. The Scots also & Picts bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of all the three nations, Scots, Picts, and Britains, were at point almost to méet, hauing made waie therevnto through the middest of their enimies. Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) began to giue backe; and finallie, notwithstanding all that Hengist could saie or doo to haue staied them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he throughlie saw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himselfe (in manner the last man that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field, with an ambushment of horssemen about him, but being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercelie, he was run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yéere of Christ, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. Howbeit the other of the Saxons conueied his sonne Occa (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp into the next mounteins, whither they fled for their refuge, leauing the dead bodie of his father Hengist in the field, to their high reproch, there to be spoiled and abused of his enimies.

The Armorike Britains.

The Saxons discomfited.

See more hereof in England.

Hengist is slaine by Aurelius, as the Scotish chronicles say.

Aurelius hasteth foorth to London.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the vpper hand of his enimies, hasted foorth with all spéed vnto London, where hauing both the citie and tower deliuered into his hands, he recouered the whole Iland from the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to serue in the warres, he commanded to depart foorth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellowes that were thus forced to depart, became subiects to the Britains, and couenanted to become christians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of the Scotish writers, but more héereof ye may read in the historie of England, where ye shall find this matter set foorth more at large. For that which we write héere, is but to shew in what sort the Scotish writers make

make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began first to set foot héere in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aurelius hauing thus recouered the land out of the Saxons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honor he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pictish king, and also vnto Conranus generall of the Scotishmen, acknowledging how that by their aid chieflie he had got the vpper hand of his enimies, and so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects. Héereto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Humber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scotishmen and Picts: also that the Saxons should be reputed common enimies to all the thrée nations, and that vpon inuasion made by anie forren power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

By support of Scots and Picts Aurelius confesseth he got the victorie of the Saxons.

The league betwixt Scots, Picts, and Britains is réneyed.

This league being concluded with these articles of couenants, was the more stronglie confirmed, by reason of such affinitie and aliance as then also insued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was giuen in mariage vnto king Loth, by whome certeine yeares after he had issue two sonnes, Mordred, and Walwan or Calwan, with a daughter called Thametes: Ada being the yoonger sister was maried vnto Conranus, generall (as is said) of the Scotish armie. Howbeit she liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which also died with the mother: and so ended the aliance of Aurelius and Conranus. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioied ioifull peace certeine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become christians, vsed neuerthelesse to make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the maner of the gentiles, whereof their priests being accused and condemned, suffered death by fire for that offense, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scotishmen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

Anne the daughter of Aurelius giuen in mariage vnto Loth king of Picts.

Ada maried vnto Conranus.

Diuers Saxons idolaters are burned.

The death of Congall.

CONRANUS.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with great reioising of all the Scotish nation was admitted K. in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperour Anastasius. This Conranus otherwise called Goranus, being established king, first tooke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & schoolemaisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouernement within his realme, he rode as it had béene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all maner of offendors, on whome he caused due punishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

Conranus created king of Scotland. 501. *H. B.*

The earnest diligence of Conranus for maintenance of good orders among his subiects.

And amongest other enormities which he vnderstood to be vsed in maner through all his countries, this (as he thought) was most grieuous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill intreated and misused at the gentlemens hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reason whereof, when they were oppressed, or suffered anie maner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offendors, with the maner of their offenses, should be secretlie registred in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisitours thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might afterwards be found

A goodlie ordinance deuised by Conranus for reliefe of his commons.

found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie prooued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

The king present at assises.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called inditements, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to sée the lawes duelie ministred, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forrest or chase, néere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; whereof Occa and Pascentius sonnes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

Aurelius Ambrose fell sicke of a consumption.

Occa and Pascentius returne into Britaine.

Vter the brother of Aurelius laie also at the same time sore sicke of a flix in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go against the enimies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so incouraged, that incountring with the Saxons they wan the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure moneths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Winchester, and sent ambassadours vnto the Scotish and Pictish kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things readie for the warres against the appointed time of their assemblie. Occa also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was driuen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men togither there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a mischéefous moonke, a Saxon borne, named Eopa or Copa (as some bookes haue) that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a moonke by profession. His death was sore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Saxons reioised greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Occa with his power inuadeth the Britains, vsing great crueltie in all places wheresoeuer he came.

Aurelius Ambrose departeth this life.

In the meane time the Scotish and Pictish armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinelie knowen amongest them, the capteins and leaders of both those armies, resolued to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongest the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambrose, his brother Vter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more fréelie, he ceassed not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he tooke within a castell into the which he was fled, & foorthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capteins called Nathaliod, in battell against the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Vter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succéed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictish king was not a little mooued, disdaining that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade Vter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe renewed betwixt Vter and Occa the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie doone to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Saxons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Auxer, as the Scotish writers make mention. Which battell

The Scotish armie returne home againe.

Vter begat Arthur.

as

as the same is set foorth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Saxons with the Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Saxons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongest them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, togither in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Finallie when both parties were readie to giue battell, saint Germane tooke vpon him to haue the leading of the fore ward, wherein he had all the préests and ecclesiasticall ministers, giuing commandement, that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all answere him with one intire voice.

S. Germane preacheth vnto the campe.
S. Germane leadeth the fore ward.
Their crie was Alleluia.

Thus procéed they foorth to the battell, saint Germane bearing the kings standard in the fore front, & vpon the approch to the enimies, he with the rest of the préests crieng with a lowd voice thrice togither Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, vttering and crieng the same crie so wholie togither, that the verie sound thereof caused such an eccho on each side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doubled noise, and doubting not onelie another power of their enimies to be hidden priuilie among the hilles which they saw on ech side of them, but also least the verie rocks & mounteins would haue fallen downe vpon their heads togither with the frame of the element, readie (as it séemed to them) to breake in sunder, they tooke them to their féet in such dreadfull hast, that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the desire they had to continue their course. Manie of them made such hast, that running to the next riuer in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein. To conclude, all of them generallie threw away both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man saint Germane, the victorie remained with king Vter and his Britains, without anie bloudshed.

S. Germane beareth the kings standard.
The Saxons miraculouslie discomfited.
Hyperbole.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, whereas Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Vter. But at what time soeuer this victorie thus chanced, certeine it is, the Britains waxing proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor tooke anie héed for prouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Seuerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excesse, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceassed not most earnestlie to reprooue, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people, leauing their wicked liuing and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

Beda dissenteth from *Hector Boetius* and his authour *Veremond.*
The Britains giue themselues vnto all kinds of vice and abhominations.
The threatning of vengeance to succéed vicious liuing.

Neither were they deceiued herein: for within few yeares after, Occa eftsoones began to make warres vpon the Britains againe, and gaue them a notable ouerthrow, sleaing of them to the number of fiftéene thousand, with their generall Nathaliod. But yet this victorie was not greatlie pleasant to the Saxons, for in the chase they lost their king the foresaid Occa, being aduanced a good way off from the residue of his armie, with fiue hundred horssemen and a few footmen, in pursute of his enimies, which was the onelie cause that as then the Saxons attempted no further exploit against the Britains. And yet for that they would not be without a gouernour, they created an other Occa to be their K. the nephue of the former Occa by his brother Oiscus: and then turned all their force to make warres against the Picts, for that Loth king of the Picts, contrarie to his oth of credence, had aided the Britains in the last battell, as by certeine prisoners taken in the same they had perfect vnderstanding.

The Britains receiue a great ouerthrow.
King Occa slaine.
The yoonger Occa nephue to the former Occa by his brother Oiscus.
Loth contrarie to his oth of credence aided the Britains against the Saxons.

Occa therfore being fierce of nature, to the end to indamage his enimies the more, sent into Germanie for one Colgerme or Colgerne, a man of great estimation and birth amongest the

Colgerne or Colgerme a Saxon is sent for by Occa.

the Saxons, to come ouer with a power vnto him into England, promising for recompense of his trauell and aid against the Picts, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay beyond the water of Humber, which might be recouered out of the hands of the Picts, to inioy vnto him and his for euer. Colgerne accepting the offer, landed shortlie after in Northumberland, putting the whole countrie vnto fire and sword. Which cruell dealing caused a great number of Scots & Picts, which held diuerse castels in that quarter, to come foorth into the field to defend the countrie, and ioining battell with their enimies were discomfited, their slaughter being much increased by the comming of Occa at vnwares vpon them. For he first taking truce with Vter king of the Britains, hasted with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, after he heard once that he was come on land.

Colgerne landeth in Northumberland.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Galloway and Pictland, caused both the kings, Loth and Conranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march foorthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within sight of them readie to giue battell, great was the feare and terror of both their hosts, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Saxons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they alledged, that they were able to put their enimies to flight euen with their grim lookes and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terror was spread through both the whole armies, that if shame had not partlie wrought amongest the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had béene attempted at all.

The king of Scots and Picts raise their powers to resist the Saxons.

The Scots and Picts are put in feare of the Saxons valiancie.

The kings perceiuing such discomfiture amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought méet for the purpose, to declare vnto them on their behalfes, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriours throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such gouernours and capteins, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victorie, before they had séene some triall and iust occasion of disaduantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no such men but that they might be ouercome well inough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by proofe of such victories as Vortimer the British king had obteined against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had vanquished them in such sort, that when they durst not eftsoones incounter with him in battell, they found means by poison to make him awaie.

The kings cause one to make an oration vnto their people to remoue all feare out of their hearts.

Then sith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts so often had subdued) had at sundrie times vanquished the Saxons, why should they feare in such wise to fight with them in common defense of their countrie, and reuenge of such iniuries as they had latelie receiued at their hands, sith the righteous God (as all good men ought to trust) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was bruted amongest them, that the Saxons were so huge of stature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withstand them, it was certeinelie knowen, that the Scots & Picts were indued with no lesse mightinesse and strength of bodie than the Saxons; so that if they were not of like stomachs, that rested in their owne sloufhfull cowardize, & not in natures woorke, hauing doone hir part in bestowing hir gifts vpon them touching bodilie force, in such plentious maner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

Manie other arguments were alledged and laid foorth to remoue feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallie required battell, offering to liue and die at their capteins féet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, foorth they march towards their enimies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Picts were put to flight, the Saxons

The Scots through comfortable words of an oration recouer new courages.

The Scots and Picts are put to flight.

Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scotish king with the residue of his armie hasted away with all speed towards Galloway, and the Pictish king withdrew into Pictland. The Saxons vsing the victorie most cruellie, slue all such of the Pictish and Scotish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Tine and Tweed. Then did Occa create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who reparing all such castels and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all maner of enimies. After this, Occa turned his power against the Britains, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Picts, as before is partlie touched. The Britains, receiuing a great ouerthrow in battell, Vter the British king was glad with such as might escape the enimies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leauing the residue of his countries vnto the Saxons, who therevpon recouered not onelie the citie of London, yeelding it selfe vnto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countries and prouinces which Hengist the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioied, and ceassed not after recouerie of the same, to vexe and disquiet the Scots, Britains, and Picts, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble Vter K. of the Britains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fonteine which the Saxons had inuenomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 521, and in the eightéenth of his owne reigne. After his deceasse, Loth king of the Picts sent his ambassadours vnto the lords, and other the states of the British dominions, requiring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, sith he had maried the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter, their two last kings, being as then both deceassed, without leauing behind them anie lawfull issue, by reason whereof their estate was fallen vnto him, to inioy the same during his life, hauing maried (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the deceasse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countries to descend vnto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Mordred, and the other Valuan, or Gawan, as some doo call him.

Colgerme created duke of Northumberland.

The Britains ouerthrowen in battell by the Saxons.

Vter withdraweth into Wales.

London recouered by the Saxons.

The death of Vter poisoned by drinking water of a well.

521.

Loth requireth the kingdome of Britaine.

Mordred and Gawan.

The Britains disdainfullie vsing the Pictish ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come vnder subiection of Loth, but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Vter, should haue anie rule or gouernement amongest them, as those that were no Britains borne, but strangers vnto them, being both borne and vpbread in a forren countrie. Those ambassadours then hauing their answere, and being sent home with reproch, the Britains contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclamed Arthur, being a bastard borne, king of their realme, and foorthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Picts (which was doubted would shortlie come to passe) should ioine with them.

The Britains refuse to receiue either Loth or anie of his sonnes to reigne ouer them.

Arthur proclamed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth foorth against the Saxons.

Therfore hauing procured aid of the Armorike Britains forth of France, they fought with their enimies within ten miles of London at the first, where the Saxons being at two seuerall times vanquished, were constreined not only to paie tribute, but also to receiue magistrates to gouerne them by the said Arthurs appointment, with other grieuous articles of agréement, to the great reioising of the Britains, for these so luckie beginings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London easilie woon by the Britains, wherin Arthur remaining for a season, tooke aduise with his nobles how to procéed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finallie hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determineth to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whome (as he had certeine knowledge) the Picts were ioined: for Loth comming to agréement with Colgerme, concluded a leage with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Britains, as common enimies and aduersaries to them both.

The Armorike Britains in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constreined to pay tribute to the Britains.

London is woon by the Britains.

Arthur raiseth a power against the Picts.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

The Britains at their comming into Yorkeshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enimies, who were alreadie ioined togither and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they should haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the

Howell leader of the Armorike Britains.

the Armorike Britains to incounter with the battell of the Picts, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met togither on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtfull whether part should haue the aduantage of the day, but at length the Picts were put to flight, which aduanced the Britains to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceiued how the Picts were discomfited, dreading to abide the whole brunt by themselues, betooke them also to their héeles, and made their race towards Yorke, as fast as their feet might beare them.

The Picts put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race towards Yorke.

York besieged.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths togither, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues foorth vpon the Britains, that till hunger began to constreine them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yéelded vp the citie, they had knowledge, how there was an huge armie of Picts and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forward to their succors; also that king Occa (escaping from the battell wherein he had receiued the ouerthrow at Arthurs hands, and fléeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arriued within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Britains should shortlie be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Occa returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like maner, and iudging it no wisedome to tarie the comming of his so puissant enimies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had alreadie in his host, by reason of their lieng abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdrew himselfe so spéedilie as was possible with his whole armie into Wales, where he appointed the Armorike Britains to soiorne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilest he tooke the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to prouide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries neere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host togither againe, and with the same went foorth against Colgerme and Occa, who being issued foorth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrie with their accustomed crueltie.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

Arthur returneth to London.

Wherevpon incountering them twise in battell, he obteined the victorie, and then besieging Yorke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murther of the enimies, which were content to yéeld themselues, but vsed them very gently, therby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his woorthie victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Yorke, manie feats of armes were dailie practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrie thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselues to banketting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

Arthur discomfiteth the Saxons twise in battel & then againe laieth siege to Yorke and winneth it.

Arthur vseth the victorie with gentlenesse.

The Britains soiourning for the winter time within Yorke, giue thēselues vnto banketting & voluptuousnesse.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excesse of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banketting and reuell for the space of thirteene daies togither, according to the custome vsed still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vsed to kéepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beastlie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vre. But whence soeuer, or by whome soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almightie God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselues in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessiue filling of their bellies, with such maner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather ce-

Christmasse bankets resembling the feasts Bacchanalia.

lebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all maner of such excesse.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led foorth his Britains against their enimies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilest they soiourned in Yorke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was doone of certeine yéers after, till finallie Arthur ioined in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Mordred and his issue, if he chanced to haue anie. That the Picts should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recouered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt them and the Scots, they should dulie obserue. Mordred should marrie the daughter of Gawolan a noble man amongst the Britains, and of highest authoritie next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Gawan the brother of the foresaid Mordred, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large interteinment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

The Britains through rest and ease became vnapt to susteine the paines of warres.

A league concluded betwixt Arthur king of Britains, & Loth king of Picts.

Mordred marieth the daughter of one Gawolan a Britaine.

Gawan or Gawen in seruice with K. Arthur.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enimies of the christian faith, he sent vnto the Scotish and Pictish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they owght vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to méet him at Tinmouth, whither he would repaire to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march foorth against the Saxons.

Arthur sendeth ambassadors vnto the kings of Scots and Picts.

Loth king of the Picts, and Conranus king of the Scotishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agréeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be alreadie in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Occa, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approched néere togither, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell right stoutlie, and there vttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted shortlie to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enimies against their most trustie friends and stedfast alies.

Scots, Picts and Britains ioine togither against the Saxons.

Colgerme reproueth Loth.

The Pictish king not greatlie mooued héerewith, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise hasted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Picts let flie their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in araie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so soone as he perceiued that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in semblable wise cõmandeth the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there insued a sore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & sleaing Cheldrike one of the chiefest capteins amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is said) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enimies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first incounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie therevpon two Pictish horssemen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

Colgerme is run through by his aduersaries

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieued by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recouered from amongst the throng of his enimies, his men were so discomforted therewith, that streightwaies therevpon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiuing,

The Saxons are put to flight.

Occa constreined to flée.

perceiuing, the more earnestlie preassed foorth vpon them, so that in the end Occa being constreined to flée, and receiuing a sore wound, had much adoo to be conueied awaie by some of his horssemen, the Britains pursued so fiercelie vpon him. At length being brought vnto the sea side, he got vessels, and escaped ouer into Germanie. This victorie being thus atchiued, constreined the Saxons to yéeld vnto king Arthur, simplie submitting themselues vnto his mercie, who of his clemencie was contented to pardon them of life and goods, vpon condition they would become christians, and from thencefoorth neuer after to make anie warres vpon their neighbors the Britains, Scots, or Picts. But if they would not agrée héerevnto, then leauing their goods, armor, and weapon behind them, they should auoid the land, & that within 13 daies next insuing.

Vpon what condition Arthur receiueth the Saxons vpon their submission.

Manie of the Saxons that could get passage, sailed ouer into Germanie. Other feining themselues to become christians, remained in the land, looking one day for better hap & fortune. Diuerse that were not able by meanes of pouertie to get awaie within the time appointed, and yet refusing to be christened, were put to death, according to the proclamation set foorth for the same purpose, so that in comparison verie few amongst them receiued the christian faith sincerelie, and with a true meaning mind. Things being thus quieted in Northumberland, Arthur tooke order for the reparing of churches abroad in the countrie, which the Saxons had ouerthrowne or defaced; & namelie in the citie of Yorke he bestowed great cost, where the cruell infidels had doone much hurt vpon churches, and other religious houses.

Arthur caused churches to be repared.

In the yéere following, Arthur had newes how the Saxons which held the Ile of Wight, ioining with the Kentish Saxons, had doone great displeasures vnto the Britains, on that side of the Thames, killing & sleaing an huge number of them with great crueltie, wherewith being sore mooued, he drew towards London with his armie, purposing vtterlie to destroie all the east & south Saxons, since otherwise he could not prouide for the suertie of his subiects, being still in danger to be murthered and robbed, so long as anie of that wicked generation of the Saxons remained heere amongst them.

Arthur purposeth to destroie the whole race of the Saxons in Albion.

By meanes also of the league, he had with him in this iournie ten thousand Picts, & as manie Scots: Eugenius nephue to king Conran by his brother Congall being generall ouer the Scots, and Mordred the sonne of king Loth by his wife Anne, gouerning the Picts, a lustie yoong gentleman, verie wittie and towardlie in all his dooings. Furthermore, Arthur vnderstanding what hurt rest and ease had doone amongst his men of warre, caused them to keepe the field in all this iournie, and passing by London, lodged them a little beside the riuer of Thames. But he himselfe with some of his nobles, entred into the citie, causing supplications to be made vnto almightie God three daies together, for good successe to follow against the Saxons. On the fourth day hearing diuine seruice celebrated by the bishop of London, and causing a sermon to be made in the market place, he committed himselfe and his whole armie vnto the tuition of Christ, and his mother the virgine, whose image in stéed of a badge he bare in his shield continuallie from that day forward, as diuerse héeretofore haue written. After this, issuing foorth of the citie, he willed all his men to be of good comfort, as they that fought in a iust quarell against Pagans, and enimies of the faith. Mordred and his father in law Gawolane passed on before the battels with fiue thousand horssemen, and being come within fiue miles of the Saxons, who likewise were assembled in campe, there came from them vnto Arthur ambassadors, requiring him to staie his iournie, for they were readie (if they might haue libertie so to doo) to depart out of the land with their goods and substance, without further molesting the Britains, either by one meanes or other.

The opinion which men had conceiued of Mordred for his wit & towardlinesse.

Arthurs badge.

Arthurs exhortation to his people.

An offer made by the Saxons vnto king Arthur.

Arthur would neither consent heerevnto, nor yet grant a truce for thrée daies, for the which they made earnest sute, but bad them depart for that time, onelie assuring them that he would not come passing two miles forwards for that day, so that if they thought good, they might returne to him in the morning, and haue answer what the chiefest gouernors of his host thought touching their request, by whome he would haue the matter more throughlie debated. In the meane time, whilest the Britains were busied with hearing of these ambassadors, and taking aduise what was best to doo touching their demand, the Saxons marched foorth

foorth with all spéed, and comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan at vnwares, they gaue the onset freshlie vpon them, and that verie much to the disaduantage of the Britains and Picts, who notwithstanding, through the earnest exhortation of their capteins, receiued their enimies verie fiercelie, in dooing that which was possible for so small a number to doo, howbeit in the end oppressed with multitude, they were forced to flée, and so did, not resting till they came in sight of the whole armie. In which flight, Mordred and Gawolan by helpe of their souldiers, being mounted vpon their horsses, escaped without hurt, though they lost no small number of their companie, as well in the fight as in the chase.

The Saxons comming vpon Mordred and Gawolan put them with their people to the woorse.

The Saxons ambassadors being not yet departed out of the British campe, were héerevpon staied till the next morning, and then had answer giuen them, that from thencefoorth the Britains were not minded to heare anie messengers of the Saxons comming to intreat of peace, since it was manifest enough, they ment nothing but falshood, as well appéered in that they had against the law of armes, whilest their ambassadors were in communication, distressed part of the British armie, and therefore they should assure themselues, to haue at Arthurs hands nothing but cruell war to the vttermost of his power, in reuenge of such their great vntruths and cloked dealings. They had scarse receiued their answer, but that there came from the Saxons fortie other ambassadors, being men of great authoritie amongst them, to excuse that which had happened ouer night, in laieng the fault vpon a sort of vndiscréet persons, nothing priuie vnto that which the gouernors of the armie had doone, touching the sending of their ambassadors, and therevpon had without their aduise made that skirmish.

What answer the Saxons ambassadors had at Arthurs hands.

The excuse of the Saxons.

But Arthur iudging that there was some new subtill practise in hand, vnder pretense of this new ambassage, commanded as well these that came last, as the other which came first, to be kept in the marshals tent, that in no wise they should escape, whilest he himselfe in the second watch of the night departed out of his campe, with all his puissance, which he diuided into thrée battels, and hauing marched thrée miles forward, he was vpon his enimies yer they vnderstood anie thing of his comming, insomuch that the Britains had slaine and chased the watch of the Saxons campe, before it was certeinlie knowne what the matter ment. Héereof also insued such a tumult and noise amongst the Saxons, running vp and downe, calling and crieng one to another, as it happeneth in such cases of extreme feare, that the best aduised amongest them wist not well what to doo. Wherevpon Mordred desirous to reuenge his last ouerthrowe, brake in also vpon his enimies verie fiercelie.

The sudden inuasion made by the Britains vpon the Saxons.

The great tumult in the Saxons campe.

Mordred desirous to be reuenged.

But some of them hauing gotten them into their armor, stood at their defense awhile amongst their carts and carriages, and so resisted the Britains on that side for a season: other of the Saxons hauing no leasure to arme themselues, nor to draw into anie order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of the Britains, brake foorth of the campe on the contrarie side, & fled so fast as their féet might beare them. But being pursued by the British horsse-men, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next riuer, and there were drowned, choosing rather that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murthered by the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed no mercie that day, for so manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this bloudie battell made an end of such an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they should neuer haue recouered againe anie puissance able to haue indamaged the Britains in anie manner of wise.

The Saxons are put to the flight.

The crueltie of the Britains in sleaing the Saxons.

Arthur hauing thus vanquished his enimies, gaue licence vnto those nobles which he had deteined (as is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambassadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the residue of such Saxons as were men of no defense, to remaine still in the land, yéelding a yéerelie tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition that they should become christians. The Scotishmen and Picts which had aided the Britains in this iournie, soiorned a while after at London, where Arthur feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shewing them all the honor that might be deuised, and afterwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whilest such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Scotish common-wealth was gouerned by great wisedome and policie, without anie notable trou-

Arthurs munificence.

ble

ble or disorder. But finallie, when king Conrane began to wax aged, and that such as had the chiefe dooings vnder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

A conspiracie practised against Conrane.

It chanced that there was one Toncet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the administration of the lawes in Murrey land, a person passing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the inriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent dooings of this Toncet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Fores in Murrey land (as then the chiefest towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, bicause they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and namelie of the towne of Fores, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were sore offended with this act, and héerevpon they first came vnto Toncet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull woords, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murthered him, getting them foorthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew vnpossible for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

An euill officer.

A presumptuous act.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous déed and bold enterprise with an other farre more horrible and notable, which was to slea the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischiefe that then reigned in the realme through the vnworthie gouernment of his vniust ministers and couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obteine the fauor of some of the noble men, whome they knew to maligne the king and his councell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald also gouernor of Atholl, a man in great fauor and trust with the king, had vnderstanding what these outlawes intended, and therevpon practised with them by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Enuerlochtée, where the king soiorned, promising them by most assured meanes of oths and vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could deuise towards the atchiuing of their enterprise.

The determination of the murtherers to dispatch the king also.

Donald gouernor of Athol conspireth with the outlawes to murther the king.

Héerevpon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Enuerlochtée, and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waie when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betraied, and that his enimies were got into his chamber readie to murther him, stept foorth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knées besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the bloud of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had béene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, streightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king Conranus, in the 20 yéere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the fift of the emperor Iustinianus, and in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 531. But his corps was buried in the abbeie of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill, with such funerall pompe and exequies, as in those daies were vsed.

The outlaws enter into the kings bedhamber.

Conrane is murthered within his bedchamber by traitorous meanes.

35. *H. B.*

20. *H. B.*

535. *H. B.*

EUGENIUS

Eugenius is inuested king of Scotland.

After him succéeded his nephue Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned iournie against the Saxons.

There

There were that counselled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in anie wise the authors of his vncles death dulie punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgiue the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murtherers into his seruice, and made them of his priuie councell, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had beene of councell with them in committing that murther. The talke whereof was so common in all mens mouths, namelie amongst the common people, that the queene Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the suertie of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Reginan, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Reginan: the other Aidan was honorablie brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degrée.

Regicides or kingquellers ought chieflie aboue all other to be punished. Eugenius is suspected of his predecessors death.

The queene Dowager fled with hir two sonnes into Ireland.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his procéedings, dooing nothing that tasted in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least anie man had wrong, he would licence them to plead their case anew. And such as he perceiued were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasurie. He ordeined also, that no orphane should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vexed by sute of law. Moreouer, that no widow should be constreined to come past a mile foorth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore anie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, théeues, and their receiuers he caused to be dulie punished, to refraine other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Picts, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

The humanitie and fauourab friendship of king Eugenius towards his people.

Commendable ordinances.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did atchiue all those woorthie victories, which are ascribed vnto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreouer it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit héereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperor, about which time the Gotthes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did inuade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, pitifullie wasting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set foorth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. ¶ Therefore letting all doubtfull things passe, I will procéed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scotish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it woorthie to be noted héere, to the end that euerie man maie iudge thereof as to him séemeth best.

The victorious conquests ascribed to Arthur.

This causeth no small doubt to arise of the great victories ascribed vnto Arthur.

Geffrey of Monmouth.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terror of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to wax wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Picts, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and héerevpon comming vnto Arthur, required of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succéed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his deceasse. Arthur not gainsaieng their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselues, being descended of the bloud roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceiued some towardlie proofe of wisedome and valiancie: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioising of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agréed vpon Constantinus, the

The Britains repent themselues of the league concluded with the Picts.

The request of the Britains to haue one of their owne nation appointed to succéed king Arthur.

sonne

sonne of Cadore duke of Cornwall, a goodlie yoong gentleman, both for his person and other his woorthie qualities much to be commended. Who being brought by the péeres of the realme into the councell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most méetest to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladlie, and caused the same Constantine foorthwith to be proclamed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorablie, and with such a shew of gentle demeanor, that he wan him much praise, with an opinion of high woorthinesse amongst all the British nation.

Constantine proclamed heire apparant & prince of Britaine.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Picts deceassed, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Pictland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his woorthinesse, hath béene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Mordred, succéeding him in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclamed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agréed amongest other things, that there should none succéed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs deceasse, but the children begot betwixt K. Loth and his wife quéene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the Pictish people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the Pictish king.

Mordred succeedeth Loth in the kingdome of Pictland.

Mordred complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created his heire apparant.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightlie to agrée vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was méerelie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnelie taken vpon him, and to mooue his subiects to doo the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almightie God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to ceasse by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had doone nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his deceasse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Picts loued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselues contented with their owne bounds, least if they sought for other mens liuings, they might happilie within short time perceiue, what dooth insue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnaduised attempts.

The answere made to the Pictish ambassadours.

The Pictish ambassadors returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdaine therewith, that immediatlie they resolued to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scotishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like maner latelie receiued at the Britains hands. Moreouer, repenting themselues, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now mooue the same Saxons eftsoones to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to mainteine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Mordred vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scotish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also mainteined to make rodes and incursions into the Scotish borders.

The Picts purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Picts solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scotish king agréeable to the request of the Picts.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enimies (the warres being first proclamed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie inuasion. That doone, he passed foorth with

the

the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were alreadie assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the riuer of Humber, néere to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Britains to be vanquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certeine bishops of those thrée nations that tooke great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings vnto peace and concord, considering what mischiefe and great bloudshed should insue, if vpon wilfullnesse they would séeke to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendlie agréement. Againe, they could not doo the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enimies to christian religion, than if by their incountring togither in battell, they should so infeéble their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might haue readie means and occasion offered to execute their gréedie desires to conquere the whole Ile. Mordred and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest trauell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might haue assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euerie point be obserued. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would haue béene contented for his part to haue agréed herevnto; but other of the Britains, namelie those that were of kin and aliance vnto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded therevnto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their vntimelie sute, séeing the enimies readie ranged in battell at point to giue the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, vnlesse they went about to betraie the armie, vnder pretense of a cloked treatie for an vnprofitable agréement. These or such like words were vttneth ended, when suddenlie the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed togither right fiercelie. The Britains had the disaduantage of the place, being so incumbred with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselues, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the riuer Humber (néere vnto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with bloud, that the water thereof being all coloured red, caried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the middest of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British toong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted therevnto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer vpon victorie, but rather were it wisdome for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

Arthur setteth forward toward the Scots and Picts.

Humber a fatall place for the Britains to be vanquished in.

Bishops trauell betwixt the parties to bring them to communication for a peace.

Mordred and Eugenius were persuaded vnto peace.

The Britains would not consent to haue anie peace talked vpon.

The battell is begun.

A cruell battell.

A craftie policie.

This was one of the Picts.

This voice woonderfullie incouraged the Scotishmen and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediatlie herevpon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtill practise of the enimies deuised of purpose, as it was in déed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had doone of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being vanquishers, there died in that mortall battell aboue 20000 men, togither with Mordred, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whome was Arthur himselfe, with Gawan or Galuan (as some bookes haue) brother vnto Mordred, who bare such good will and intire loue vnto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Mordred. Also there were killed Caime and Gawolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from flieng anie way foorth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

The Britains put to flight.

Twentie thousand Scots and Picts slaine.

Mordred is slaine.

Arthur with 30000 Britains slaine.

Gawan is slaine.

Caime and Gawolan are slaine.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found quéene Guainore Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equallie diuided by lots betwixt

Quéene Guainore taken.

The spoile of the Britains camp diuided.

betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certeine faire charets laden with rich stuffe and iewels, also horsses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Vnto the Picts fell for their portion quéene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and diuers other of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines therof. In which castell they were deteined vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witnesse wherof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captiue Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Megill, not past 10 miles from Dundée: but amongest the residue, that of Guainore is most famous.

Dunbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing foorth anie issue more than the said Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certeine it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come néere that graue, not onelie eschuing it themselues, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recouer againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountred thus cruellie togither, was after the birth of our Sauiour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scotishmen.

The fable of quéene Guainores graue buried in Angus.

542.
8. *H. B.*

In the same yere before the battell, were séene manie strange sights in Albion. Grasse and hearbs in Yorkeshire appeared to bée all stained with bloud. Néere vnto Camelon, a cow brought foorth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought foorth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about noone daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies togither. In Wales there was a battell betweene crowes and pies on the one side, and rauens on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not beene heard of.

Strange and vnketh woonders.

But to procéed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and néerest kinsfolke of such as were slaine, he also aduanced to sundrie preferments of lands & liuings, that they inioieng the same, might be a witnesse in time to come of the good seruice of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same vpon their issue and progenie. By which noble benevolence, he wan him such loue amongst his people, that afterwards it séemed how he gouerned the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by anie rigour of lawes. The Britains immediatlie vpon knowledge had that Arthur was slaine, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them aliue to make anie claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruellie murthered Mordreds children, in most pitifull wise running vnto their mothers lap, beséeching hir to saue their liues, according to hir motherlie dutie. They were brought vp in Gawolane their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made awaie, the familie and linage of their father the foresaid Mordred was vtterlie thereby extinguished.

Eugenius rewardeth his souldiers.

Eugenius gouerneth his people with clemencie.

Constantine crowned king of Britaine.

The crueltie of the Britains in murthering the innocent children of Mordred.

The linage of Mordred clearly extinct.

The Saxons at the same time hauing aduertisement what losse the Britains had susteined, not onlie by the death of their most valiant king and chiefteine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepare a mightie nauie of ships, and passe ouer the same into England, where being landed, they easilie beat downe the Britains, and driue them with their K. Constantine into Wales, so recouering all that part of the land which Hengist somtimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. ¶ Some haue written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certeine

The Saxons returne into England, and driue the Britains into Wales.

yéeres

yéeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whervpon waxing wearie of this world, he forsooke his earthlie kingdome, in hope of that other aboue, and secretlie departed into Ireland, where applieng himselfe for a time in ministring to the poore, at length being knowne, by the persuasion of a moonke he became one of his cote and profession.

Constantine forsaketh his earthlie kingdome in hope of the heauenlie kingdome.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocesse ouer into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countrie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdome by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yéeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be séene euen vnto this day) built and dedicated vnto him in Scotland by authoritie of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was driuen into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the fift (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scotishmen and Picts, kept the same inuiolate during his life time most sincerlie. The Scotish king Eugenius also liued in peace the residue of his life, without anie trouble either by forren enimies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Sauiour 569.

Constantine entereth into religion.

Constantine sent foorth of Ireland into Scotland is there murthered.

Irmirike or Iurmirike king of the Englishmen.

Iurmirike concludeth a peace with the Scotishmen and Picts.

Eugenius the Scotish king dieth.

568. *H. B.*

CONUALL.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colmekill, where he lieth buried amongest his ancestors, his brother Conuall was chosen to succéed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may iustlie woonder thereat. He bare such zealous deuotion towards the worshipping of the crosse (a thing to put men in remembrance of Christs passion as he tooke it) that which way soeuer he rode (as it is reported) hée had the same borne before him, and at his getting vp and lighting downe from his horsse, he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, knéeling downe, & reuerentlie kissing it. This crosse was of siluer with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the staffe, conteining these two words: *Christianorum gloria.* He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set vpon the tops of stéeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of castels & townes. Moreouer he forbad the crosse to be grauen or painted vpon anie pauement, least anie man should vnreuerentlie tread vpon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to haue the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yéelded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the gréeuous punishment of all such as in anie wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should loose his hand for it: and hée that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and bée burned quicke. Againe, he bestowed manie rich iewels, and gaue diuers great gifts vnto churches, prouiding the ministers of sufficient liuings, and appointed that they should haue their houses néere vnto their churches, to be readie to execute that which apperteined vnto their offices, when anie néed required.

Conuall elected king of Scotland.

Conuals deuotion to the crosse.

Crosses set vpon the tops of stéeples.

Conuals deuotion towards church men.

Conuals liberalitie toward churches.

The king being thus vertuouslie disposed, caused the whole number of his subiects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the aduancement of religion. The report and fame whereof mooued that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come ouer foorth of Ireland (where he had the gouernance of sundrie houses of moonks) with twelue other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering togither a great number of moonks, being here and there dispersed abroad in the countrie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Conuall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most conuenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelue, which he brought ouer with him from Ireland, placing themselues to inhabit in the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill, tooke great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Saint Colme commeth ouer forth of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Pictland.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by meane that diuerse of that nation hauing dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countrie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it vnto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthian vnto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie trauelling to instruct both him and his people in the right beliefe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erronious opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigerne, otherwise called Mungo, gouerned the church of Glascow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

Kentigerne bishop of Glascow, otherwise called Mungo bishop of Vasco.

Thamew or Thametes rauished by Æugenius king of Scotland, of which rauishment she bare the foresaid Kentigerne.

This Kentigerne was descended of the bloud roiall of the Pictish kings, as son vnto that vertuous woman Thametes or Thamew, daughter vnto Loth king of the Picts, whome a yoong lustie gentleman, or (as some haue written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scotish king rauished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigerne. He was greatlie in fauour with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king, as one that was néere of his bloud. For the same Brudeus was nephue vnto the foresaid Loth by his brother called Melethon, and therefore succéeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Mordred was slaine, as before is expressed. Kentigerne went with saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths in a monasterie there, builded by king Conuall, teaching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Calidon, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto them, to heare their godlie instructions. There is in the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood, a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of faire square stone, being at this day a bishops see, commonlie called Dounkeld, indowed with manie faire reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons.

The castell of Calidon now Dounkeld.

The bishops sée of Dounkeld.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous persons taking their leaue each of other, not without shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigerne returning into Glascow, and saint Colme into Ireland, where reporting manie things, touching the great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with what deuotion he had béene receiued both of him and his people, he mooued manie to woonder greatlie thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of diuine meditations and godlie exercises. In the yere following, saint Colme prepared to returne into Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugenius, fled ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bée made away by the same Eugenius. Saint Colme taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there arriued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the king was dead, being the yeere of his reigne the 10, and after the birth of our Sauiour 579.

Saint Colme returneth into Ireland.

Saint Colme cõmeth againe into Scotland, bringing with him Aidan sonne to king Conran.

The death of Conuall. 578. *H.B.*

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of his death, and that the corps was forward on the way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, hée thought it a péece of his dutie to go thither to be at the funerall, and so dooing, was as one of the chiefest there in executing of the obsequies. Which being ended, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Conuall was inthronized king in Argile, by the free election of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his former purposed iournie, and came vnto Kinnatill, bringing Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if he had liued) they were both receiued with all beneuolence of the said Kinnatill cõtrarie to most mens expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he bad him be of good cheere, for it should shortlie come to passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scotish common-wealth.

Saint Colme present at the buriall of king Conuall.

Kinnatil elected king of Scotland.

Saint Colme and Aidan receiued by Kinnatill.

The prophesy of Kinnatill.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttred these words, it is vncerteine, but sure it is that his purpose was to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the kingdome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a right therevnto. Howbeit being preuented by death, he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for within

within twentie daies after his coronation, being surprised with a grieuous disease of a catarrhike rheume, and the squinancie, he was constreined to keepe his chamber, committing the publike administration of the realme vnto Aidan. Herevpon followed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike humor bred by long rest, that after 14 moneths space vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint Colme, being present with him at the houre of his death, he rendred in most deuout wise into the hands of his redéemer; appointing his kingdome as it were by deliuerie of seisin, euen there vpon his death bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

The death of Kinnatill. Kinnatill lieng vpon his death bed, surrendereth his kingdome into Aidans hands.

AIDAN.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was interred, according to the maner, in Colmekill, Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon the kings head, and in his left hand holding his crosier staffe, made a briefe exhortation, as well to the king as to his people, admonishing them of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all things to remember to walke in the waies of the Lord, for in so dooing they might hope for wealth and prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either the people forgot their duties towards God, or that the king regarded not dulie to execute or fulfill his office, in giuing God thanks for his bountious liberalitie and high benefits bestowed vpon him, it should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspiracies, and other mischiefes should rise among them, to the irrecouerable losse of the realme, by bringing the same into danger to be ouerrun with some forrein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to God for his fauour, that it might please him to reduce them againe into the right path of his lawes & ordinances, whensoeuer they should so fall from the same. When saint Colme had made an end of these or the like his wholsome aduertisements, all the people reioising thereat, promised with one voice, and therewith vowed to follow the same, and to be euer readie to obeie the commandement of their prince, and the holie instructions of their bishops and other the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemblie being once dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and there deliuered the countrie of certeine British robbers that had inuaded it. After this, studieng to mainteine good orders and quiet rule through his dominions, he appointed an assemblie of the chiefest péeres of his realme, to be holden yéerelie in three seuerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Louchquhaber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all sutes and quarels of his subiects, & to giue order for the administration of the lawes and all publike affaires, as they should sée cause and occasion. He required also S. Colme to be present euer with them, that matters touching religion might be the better prouided for, and that the people might take all things doone in those publike sessions in right good part, bicause such an holie and vertuous father of the church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefest authoritie.

Aidan receiueth his inuesture of the kingdome at the hands of saint Colme. S. Colmes exhortation to the king and the people.

The promise of the people.

The kings iournie into Galloway.

Aidan appointeth sessions to bée kept yéerlie in three parts of his realme. Saint Colme present at assises and sessions.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for certeine yeeres togither, till it chanced that diuers of the nobles being togither on hunting, fell at variance, and therevpon making a fraie, sundrie of them were slaine. The beginners and such as were most culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to haue béene had to ward, but they in disobeieng the arrest, stroke and beat the officers verie sore, and immediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the Picts, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King Aidan according to the maner in such cases accustomed, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto him, that he might doo iustice vpon them accordinglie as they had deserued. Brudeus taking pitie of the yoong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length hee procured warre to himselfe and his countrie. For Aidan the Scotish king, offended in that hée might not haue those rebels and publike offendors restored vnto him,

A fray among the nobles being a hunting.

King Aidan requireth to haue certeine Scotish outlawes deliuered at the hands of Brudeus king of Picts.

Brudeus by denieng to de-

I iuer the Scotish outlawes, procureth warres to him selfe and his countrie.

him, caused a number of his people, first to fetch a great bootie of cattell and prisoners out of Angus.

The breach of peace betwixt the Scots and Picts.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a field, which was foughten in Mentieth, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkeld, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlie at the gaine.

A field fought betwixt Scots and Picts.

Saint Colme reproueth K. Aidan.

The repentance of king Aidan.

That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grieuouslie he had offended almightie God, in procuring such mischiefe as had insued of this warre, and reciting in particular the branches thereof, he mooued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasse, that he wholie submitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance sore offended, the king got him by the sleeue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience.

Saint Colme goeth vnto the king of the Picts.

An agréement betwixt the Scotish and Pictish kings by the sute of saint Colme.

At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffered himselfe to be intreated, and therevpon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of diuerse godlie aduertisements to incline his affection vnto peace. At length he did so much by trauelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agréement, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subiects.

Saint Colme returned vnto the westerne Iles.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Iles vnto his woonted home, where he did by wholesome documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and commandements.

England diuided into seuen seuerall kingdoms.

In this meane time the Saxons hauing driuen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and countries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, ordeining seuen seuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.

Edelfred K. of Northumberland.

Ouer that of Northumberland, adioining next vnto the Picts, one Edelfred reigned, a man of excéeding desire to inlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to persuade Brudeus the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make against them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue béene euer enimies vnto the Saxons, but also for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathyrses, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were also come.

Edelfreds purpose.

But the cause why he wished that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purposed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the first gaue no eare vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, corrupted by bribes receiued at Edelfreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged informations of the Scotishmens dailie attempts against the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons against them, and caused thervpon warre to be proclamed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subiects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitié betwixt them.

A league concluded betwixt the Scots & Britains, with the articles of the same.

The Scotish king Aidan perceiuing the practise of the Saxons, and togither therwith the vntruth of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioineth in league with the Britains: this article being the chiefest in the whole couenant: that if the enimies first inuaded the Britains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the countrie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable maner come ouer to their aid.

The Picts & Saxons enter into the land of the Britains.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appointment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots foorth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, entred into the British confines. Aidan according to the couenant came streight vnto the aid of the Britains. Edelfred and Brudeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, therby to wearie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked dailie to haue

Ceuline king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge therof, first thought it best to incounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus vnderstanding that their onelie refuge remained in their armor and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Saxons, that at the first, sleaing Cutha Ceulines sonne, with a great number of other, they easilie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Ceuline or Ceolin.

The Scots and Britains put the Saxons to flight, and slue Cutha the sonne of Ceuline king of the Westsaxons.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled heerewith about their standards, made such ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dansing, singing, and plaieng on pipes and other instruments, according to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the middest of their chiefest mirth, suddenlie appeered the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelfred and Brudeus, approching towards them in good order of battell, with whome were also the residue of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Wherevpon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight heereof, were suddenlie striken out of countenance, insomuch that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhorted them to remember how valiantlie they had alreadie put to flight the other of their enimies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Manie other woords he vsed in admonishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset giuen by the enimies caused him to make an end.

The triumphant ioy made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Saxons and Picts.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great ioy & triumphing.

Aidan exhorted his men to manfulnesse.

The Saxons laid about them so stoutlie in the beginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelfred faile in that occasion to incourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Brudeus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incountred; so that finallie the same Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and sore distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running awaie. There were slaine in this battell on the Scotishmens side, Brennius lieutenant or (as they termed him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungar the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen beside. The king himselfe scaped by helpe of his sonne, who staieng to get his father out of the preasse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Saxons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelfreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great number of other. Edelfred himselfe lost one of his eies. Brudeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people.

The Saxons fight stoutlie. Edelfred.

Brudeus K. of the Picts maketh slaughter of the Scots.

The Scots run awaie.

Edelfred lost one of his eies.

Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

Thus Edelfred hauing got such a notable victorie at Deglastone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but eftsoones assembling his people, and ioining againe with Brudeus and his Picts, the next summer after inuaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either inforce the inhabitants, with other the countries next therevnto adioining, to yeeld vnto him; either els to bring them into extreme pouertie in wasting all afore him. But Aidan being aduertised heereof, sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and comming forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, ouerthrew certeine companies of his enimies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for preies: then passing by their maine armie, he commeth into Anandale, where he ioineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Picts hauing knowledge of their enimies dooings, wan such a place of aduantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to distresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping vp the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come foorth on that day. These passages laie through certeine quicksands, and by a riuer which had but a few foords passable.

Deglastone the place where this battell was fought.

Galloway inuaded by Edelfred.

Certeine companies of Saxons ouerthrowne.

Passages thorough Sulleway sands.

The Scots and Britains, perceiuing how they were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their campe about, raising certeine bulworks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to haue continued. Aidan himselfe tooke such pains in seeing euerie thing doone in due order, that his people mooued more through his example than

The diligence of king Aidan in prouiding to resist his enimies.

than by anie exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to haue occasion ministred, to shew some proofe of their woorthie valiancies. At length, when the enimies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leauing a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenlie dislodged, and passing the water by secret foords, they entred into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they wasted and destroied with fire and swoord all that came within their reach: the report of which their dooings brought Edelfred and Brudeus backe into that countrie to resist their inuasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enimies.

The Scots and Britains dislodge.

The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. Too much hardinesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather choosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to giue backe neuer so little ground to the enimie. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scotishmens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Callan and Mordacke Scotishmen. Ech of these taking a seuerall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their vttermost indeuors therin, incouraging their bands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to sticke to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and aduancement to the commonwealth of their countrie; where otherwisē they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie mishaps, as shame, rebuke, and importable seruitude. So that the Scotishmen and Britains incouraged héerewith, preassed vpon the enimies so fiercelie, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so egerlie in the chase, that more of their enimies were thought to die in the flight, than before there had doone in the battell.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts discomfited and chased.

S. Colme as yet being aliue, and within his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by diuine inspiration (as the Scotish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battels were in sight together, he had assembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making intercession for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flée (as they which had the oūerthrow) that holie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enimies were discomfited, willing them therevpon to giue vnto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Ceuline king of the Westsaxons, with other two woorthie capteins of that nation, made the slaughter more sorowfull on that side, the one of them was called Cialine, and the other Quhitelline.

S. Colme indued with the spirit of secret knowledge.

Ceuline king of Westsaxons slaine.

Quhitelline or Whiteline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to haue béene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The residue which remained was diuided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, there to remaine as perpetuall monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yeere next insuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost wasted through age, and héereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekill; but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Iland called Heu; where againe the Irish writers affirme, that he decessed in a towne in Ireland called Dune, & that his toome is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are these Latine verses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

The diuision of the spoile.

S. Colme departed out of this life.

Hitres

Hitres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.
Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure,
Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Which verses *Bellenden* translateth.

Neither did Aidan the Scotish king liue long time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme was dead, shortlie therevpon, morethrough griefe than by force of sickenesse, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement ouer the Scotishmen, he died about the yeare of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons was baptised with all his people. The British priests nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide, because (as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other. The South and Eastsaxons moued with the example of the Kentish Saxons, shortlie after also renounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and likewise receiued the christain faith. Edelfred king of Northumberland moued vnto displeasure herewith, sent word vnto these Saxons of the south parts (as then all of them generallie knowen by the name of Englishmen) that sith they had forsaken the old institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers, he would suerlie from thencefoorth be no lesse enimie vnto them than vnto the Scots and Britains. There liued in these daies that holie man Valdred a Scotish man borne, but dwelling amongest the Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He departed out of this life within the Iland called the Basse, lieng about two miles off from the maine land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie betwixt the same Ile, and an other called the Maie. There were three parishes fell at contention for his bodie, as Aldham, Tiningham, and Preston, so far foorth, that they were at point to haue fought about it, but that by counsell of some discréet persons amongest them, it was ordeined that they should continue in praier for that night, and in the next morning stand to th' order of the bishop of the dioces, who was come thither the same time to be present at the buriall. The next day in the morning there was found three beires with three bodies decentlie couered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no man might perceiue anie difference. Then by commandement of the bishop, and with great ioy of all the people, the said seuerall bodies were caried seuerallie vnto the said three seuerall churches, and in the same buried in most solemne wise, where they remaine vnto this day, in much honor with the common people of the countries neere adioining.

Aidan king of the Scotishmen, departeth this world.

606.

Augustinus and Mellitus sent into Albion.

Ethelbert is baptised.

The Saxons hatred toward the British préestes.

Sussex and Essex receiue the christian faith.

Edelfred his displeasure.

Valdred otherwise called Baldred doctor of the Picts.

A miracle if it be true.

KENETHUS KEIR.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried in Colmekill, the nobles of the realme assembled togither in Argile, about the election of a new king. Where, by the generall voices of them all, Kenethus Keir the sonne of Conwall (sometime king of the Scotishmen, as before is mentioned) was now proclamed king, and crowned according to the maner; but he liued not past foure moneths after, but died of a catarrhike rheume falling down into the windpipe, and so stopping vp his lights and lungs. He deliuered as it were the possession of his kingdome, by way of surrendring the same, into the hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it was knowen he had a right therevnto after the deceasse of Kenethus.

Kenethus Keir crowned king of Scots.

Kenethus Keir dieth of the cough of the lungs.

Eugenius the fourth of that name.

EUGENIUS.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name, which had ruled ouer the Scotishmen. As it is said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king long before his fathers death; for when

S. Colmes prophesie of Eugenius the fourth.

when all the sonnes of king Aidan were brought before him, and that Aidan demanded of him which of them should reigne after him, he ouerpassing the residue (which he vnderstood by secret knowledge should die in the wars) appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also Brudus, declaring that it should be onelie he. This Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie seat, forgot not such holsome lessons and vertuous precepts, as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his youth, so that studieng how to defend rather that which was his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to séeke anie waies or means how to inlarge it, by wrongfull incroching vpon other mens possessions, he grew into such fauour with all good men, as greater could not be deuised. Unto all offendors he was a sharpe iusticer, not sparing anie transgressour of his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or otherwise, but rather those gentlemen which misused themselues in breach of good orders, he chiefelie gaue order to sée them punished; where if they behaued themselues worthilie, and according to their calling, there was no prince more glad than he to aduance them vnto honor.

A louer of peace and quietnessse.

A sharpe iusticer.

By these and the like his princelie dooings, he was both beloued of his people and also feared. He neither fauoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northumberland, for that the one nation being ethniks, persisted in their infidelitie, and the other ceassed not by all maner of means to support them; but yet taking a truce with them both, he firmelie caused the same to be obserued. In the tenth yeare of his reigne Cinigell king of Westsaxons & Elfred king of Northumberland, with aid of the Picts, vanquished Cadwallo king of Britains, and chased him into Scotland, where he remained not long, sailing from thence into Britaine in France, and purchasing aid of the king there named Cadoall, returned into Wales, where vanquishing his enimies the Saxons, and sleaing manie thousands of them, he was restored againe vnto his kingdome. About the same time was Edelfred king of Northumberland slaine in battell, at a place called Wintringham, not far from the riuer of Humber, by Redwald and Ethelbreth, the one being king of the east Angles, and the other of the middle Angles; in reuenge of such iniuries as the same Edelfred had doone vnto the Saxons of the countrie called Mercia, conteining (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare) all those shires from the riuer of Thames vnto the riuer of Mersée in Lancashire. Then was one Edwine a right christian prince appointed to reigne in his place, by the assignement of the two forsaid kings Redwald and Ethelbreth.

Cadwall vanquished.
Cadwall is restored vnto his kingdome.
Sée more herof in England.
King Edelfred slaine.

Edwine.

Whilest these things were a dooing, there were seuen sonnes of the aforesaid Edelfred, that detesting the vntrue dealing of the Picts, which refused to aid their father in his necessitie, and doubting to fall into the hands of Edwine, got them to Eugenius the Scotish king for more suertie of their liues. Their names were Eufreid, Oswald, Oslaws, Oswin, Offas, Osmond, and Osike. Ebba the onelie daughter of Edelfred being taken amongest other prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculouslie got a bote in the riuer of Humber, and with the same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe (as hath béene reported) she sailed foorth, & at length safelie arriued at the point of land which stretched foorth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called euen vnto this day after hir name, saint Ebbes head, where being receiued by the bishop of that diocesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing in great perfectnesse of obseruing that profession, she was instituted abbesse of hir house, shewing still in trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to follow.

S. Ebbes head.

Eugenius the Scotish king did louinglie receiue the sonnes of Edelfred, though their father had euer béene a cruell enimie against the Scotish nation; and within a while after their comming into Scotland, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and preachings of the bishops and moonks (who in those daies continuallie gaue themselues vnto that exercise) they finallie abhorred their superstitious idolatrie, and receiued baptisme, that salutiferous signe and sacrament of our christian religion. Those churches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had ouerthrowen and destroied in Galloway and other countries thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be repared; moreouer also he reedified sundrie castels in those marches, and placed in them garisons of souldiers, to defend them against all inuasions that might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space of fiftéene yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace, to the great aduancement

aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, he lastlie died in the yeare 620, and was buried amongest his elders in the Ile of Iona, within the monasterie of Colmekill. 620.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Quirinus came foorth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning vp the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Sauinianus, it is not certeinlie knowne; but certeine it is, as the Scotish writers affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arriued in the water of Taie, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which diuideth the countrie of Gowrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongest the Scots euen vnto this day, for that he trauelled through the most part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to their confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almightie God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, an other at a village called Tulline, not passing three miles from Dundée, and the third at Restennoth, where afterwards an house of chanons of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Rosse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Rossemarken. Bonifacius a godlie preacher.

There was also at the same time amongest the Scots an ancient godlie man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceassed not to exhort the people of Mar and Argile (in which countries he was most resident) to flée and forsake their vicious liuing, and to indeuour themselues to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finallie died also in Rosse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name. Molocke a preacher. Moonks wer preachers in those daies.

FERQUHARD.

After the deceasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succéeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald. These being appointed by their father to be brought vp with Connane bishop of Sodore (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogither follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladlie gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much apperteine vnto their birth and degrée: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents déepelie in his heart, determined to forsake all worldlie pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more fréelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. Thus being disposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where séeking a solitarie place, Pharao the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a péece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion. Ferquhard king of Scotland. Fiacre giueth himselfe for to liue a solitarie life in France.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doo, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wits, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scotish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet inough, & without trouble of outward enimies; but his subiects among themselues fell at such diuision, that euerie part of the realme was full of murther, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reuing, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any suertie either of life or goods: all the which misorders sproong, were nourished and mainteined through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus readie one to kill an other, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongest them, than tooke order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongest them, Ferquhard mainteined ciuill discord.

so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agréement, all matters in controuersie were taken vp & ended betwixt them, the king not once made priuie therevnto.

King Ferquhard infected with the Pelagian error.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erronious opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he vsed to haue sundrie British priests in his companie: the which nation had béene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection.

The king is summoned by an herald.

The nobilitie of the realme mooued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a councell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled togither, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe, and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediatlie therevpon committed him to safe kéeping.

He is taken prisoner.

This doone, they consult togither for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agréement, to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

Ambassadors sent into France to Fiacre.

Fiacre his praier.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were diuers of the Scotish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his praiers desired feruentlie of almightie God, that it might please him so to woorke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue life still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the heremitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusall to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldlie preferment of kinglie gouernement, they were content to returne with that answere, sith his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publike gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sira, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in hir purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leauing in those parties a woorthie memorie not forgotten amongest them there till this day.

The foresaid ambassadours returning foorth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had séene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scotish nobilitie herevpon assembling togither, chose foorth foure of the ancientest peeres amongest them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things as séemed them good in all points.

The desperat end of king Ferquhard.

In the meane time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and vexed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such miseries, slue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne; and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which had béene the occasion of the losse of so manie other mens liues in time of the ciuill discord, that he had euer nourished. After this wretched

632. end of Ferquhard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632, the lords of the land assembled themselues togither in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with great ioy and triumph.

DONWALD.

Donwald K. of Scotland.

THIS Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall administration, transforming himselfe into his fathers maners, restored againe into the former estate such things as apperteined vnto the common wealth, and had béene anie wise decaied and misgouerned by the slouthfull negligence

of

of his predecessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie grew into great fauor of his subiects. In the meane time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part of England ancientlie called Mercia, ioining their powers togither against Edwin king of Northumberland; depriued him both of life and kingdome. After this, passing through the whole countrie, and entring into the confines of Pictland, they tooke a great part of the same by force of arms from Brudeus king of the Picts, who in vaine had sued for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that his vntruth had beene notified more than inough in times past. But Donwald being certified of Edwins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of the Britains by his ambassadours, that Eufred the son of Edelfred might be restored vnto his fathers kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

King Edwin is slaine.

This being granted, Eufred leauing his brethren still in Scotland, came into Northumberland, where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie which is now called the marches. For at the same time they had diuided the kingdome of Northumberland into two kingdomes, appointing Eufred (as is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and one Osrike ouer the other called Deira, a man of great wickednesse, as by his woorks most plainelie appeared. For certeine yeares after his aduancement to that dignitie, he found means to marie one of his daughters vnto the foresaid Eufred, persuading the same Eufred to consent with him in restoring againe the hethenish religion throughout their whole dominion, & vtterlie to renounce the christian faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline. But they inioied not long felicitie after so wicked and most diuelish a purpose, for the princes of Albion vnder the leading of Cadwallo K. of the Britains, and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie assembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring into Northumberland, and incountring in battell with Osrike and Eufred, discomfited their power, and tooke them prisoners, who being put into a common prison, slue each other to auoid sharper tortures, which by due execution they dailie looked for.

Eufred.

Osrike an infidell.

Then was the kingdome of Northumberland giuen vnto Oswald brother to Eufred, both in respect of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale which he bare to the aduancement of Christes religion, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an earnest enimie to his brother Eufred, and all his partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell, he was one of the forwardest capteins against them. Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scotishman called Corman, to instruct the Northumberland men in faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie ye may read more at large: finallie he was slaine by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of Donwald the Scotish king, who sore lamented the same, as of that prince whome he loued right intirelie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long time after the death of his deere friend; for that in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a bote to fish in the water called Lochtaie for his recreation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason the bote sanke vnder him. Certeine daies after, his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare of our Lord 647.

12. *H.B.*

Donwald the Scotish king drowned.

645. *H.B.*

About the same time there liued in France three brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto Philtan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his wife Galghetes, descended of the linage of the kings in Scotland. The names of which three brethren were as followeth, Furseus, Foilanus, and Vltanus. Furseus professing himselfe a moonke of saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there to set foorth and inlarge that profession, and being receiued of king Clowis, began the foundation of a monasterie there called Latinie, in the which he placed moonks of that order, and began to sow in those parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the darnell of mens traditions, as Iohn Bale saith in the 14 centurie of the British writers. His two brethren Foilan and Vltan followed him ouer into France, and both by word and example instructed the Frenchmen to imbrace the faith of Christ, and to renounce the religion of the gentiles.

So

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed themselues to be moonks, and men of religion (as they were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords vineyard, spending their time in reading the scriptures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise praier and thanksgiuing: so as no small number by their wholesome doctrine and good example were conuerted to the christian faith. Foilan at length was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded in France called Fosse. About the same time there was also a contention amongst them in Albion for keeping of the Easter day, the Scotish bishops and some of the Britains varieng in their account from all other prelats of the west: but at length through persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that feast according to the account of other nations. These things chanced in the daies of king Donwald.

Anno 854.

Sigebertus.

Fossense monasterium.

Strife about the celebrating of the feast of Easter.

FERQUHARD.

AFTER the deceasse of Donwald, his nephue Ferquhard the sonne of his brother, the other Ferquhard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuerthelesse rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie after he had atteined the crowne, insomuch as it was commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie changed into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Before he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond measure. There was no gentleman that wanted monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to bestow in dower for the mariage of his daughter, but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might account himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other deuout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieued to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthie of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but woonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well desposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now foorthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affections. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vncourteouslie demanded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now & then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as hee vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had piked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

Ferquhard the second of that name created king of Scotland.

Ferquhard being king was couetous; before he was king, he shewed liberalitie.

Gifts are required as a loane.

Lo, what a pretense couetousnes hath.

For their goods sake prelats are troubled.

The bishops of the realme, namelie those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiuing such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length bicause they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He vsed also, contrarie to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not beene vsed at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedie appetite, togither with theirs that followed his companie.

The king is excommunicated.

The king is hunting.

He was a glutton.

Of wines & other strong drinks he would participate abundantlie at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedinglie giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse.

A drunkard he was also.

nesse. He customablie vsed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banketting dishes and cuppes to come in one after another, till he were so mistempered, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such heauie gorges, as he had in suc most gluttonous wise receiued. Herevnto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dissuade him fror such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certein yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuise a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, prophesieng as it were by diuine inspiration, that Ferquhard sore detesting his owne wicked dooings, should shortlie be punished by the hands of almightie God, according to his deseruings. A prophesie.

And sure his words proued true: for within a moneth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a woolfe, the beast being all inraged by the pursute of the hounds, flue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right sore in one of his sides; immediatlie wherevpon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occasion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and wast his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, féet, and priuie parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that vnneth might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had beene infected with the dropsie, and therto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundantlie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid or cleansed of them. The king is sicke.

At length, when he had béene vexed in this sort for the space of two yéeres togither, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to consider how this punishment was worthilie fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioising hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almightie God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiuenesse of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humblie receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackecloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, hée there yelded vp the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholie to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to atteine the same. Thus Ferquhard ended his life, in the 18 yéere after he began his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, and in the yéere of Grace 664. He sent for his confessor. The king being excommunicated is released. Ferquhard yéeldeth vp the ghost. 664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan departed this world, and then was Finnan sent for foorth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, where the bishops of Northumberland as then had their sée. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowmed for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died anon after the deceasse of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remooued vnto that sée of Lindesferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of holie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And amongst other was Penda sonne to the former Penda, king of Mercia. There be that write how Penda the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting foorth the word of life amongest the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthie merits. He came to the church of Lindesferne in the daies of Maldwin that succéeded the last mentioned Ferquhard. Finnan bishop. Holie Iland. Bishop Colman couerted the Saxons. Penda king of Mercia.

MALDWIN.

MALDWIN.

Maldwin inuested king of Scots. A louer of peace & iustice.

THIS Maldwin was the sonne of king Donewald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Saxons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offendors to be punished, that other harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennox and Argile: for first through bralling among the heardmen, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such deadlie enimitie betwixt the parties, by reason that the inhabitants of the westerne Iles aided them of Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Lennox: that if the king had not come into those parties to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the offendors, there had insued much manslaughter, vnto the great danger of the vtter ruine of those countries.

Lennox and Argile are at variance.

The westerne Iles take part with Argile, Galoway with Lennox.

Maldwin went about for to punish the author of this commotion. The capteins becam friends togither, and fled into the Iles. The Ilandmen apprehend the capteins of the rebels.

The king at his arriuall amongst them minded not to pursue the people that followed their capteins, but rather the capteins and authors of this tumult themselues. Whereof they hauing knowledge, made an attonement togither, being inforced thereto of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment deuised by the king against them. And foorthwith they fled ouer into the Iles, but the inhabitants doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent to succour them, but contrariwise tooke them and deliuered them to the kings officers, whervpon they were safelie conueied to the places where they were borne, and there suffered their deserued execution. Thus that commotion vnaduisedlie begun, was speedilie appeased, and the name of Maldwin by reason heereof so feared amongst his subiects, that during his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part of all his dominions.

He buildeth the church of the abbeie of Colmekill.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill, where perceiuing the abbeie church, wherein his ancestors had their sepultures, to be in decaie, he caused it to be pulled quite downe, and woorkemen foorthwith set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed about this woorke, that before he departed out of this life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our Sauior Christ, and saint Colme.

A great pestilence & death vpon earth.

About the same time there reigned throughout the most part of the world a sore and greeuous pestilence, consuming a greater number of men (before it ceassed) than there were left aliue: for it continued the whole space of three yeeres togither. At length, through common praier, fastings, giuing of almes, & other vertuous woorks, the wrath of almightie God was pacified, so that such great mortalitie by his mercifull appointment did staie and giue ouer.

Scotland was free of the pestilence and plague. Riotousnesse the mother of sicknesses.

The Scotishmen were free from that infection as well at that time, as also for manie yeeres after. Neither were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient and wholesome sparenesse of diet, which their fathers in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banketting and excessiue feeding, whereby they became subiect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious humors growing thervpon. Colman bishop of Lindesferne seeing woonderfull numbers of Englishmen perish dailie of that contagious sicknesse, by licence of the king, to auoid the present danger of death, which by tarieng there he saw no meanes how to escape, returned into Scotland with his disciples, and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne Iles, he erected a monasterie there, wherein he remained during the residue of his life.

Colman erected a monasterie.

After the departure of Colman foorth of Northumberland, the people of that countrie ioining with the Picts, made sundrie roads into the Scotish borders: which iniurie when Maldwine reuenged with more displeasure doone to them of Northumberland, than the Scotishmen had receiued, it caused the Picts and Northumbers to prepare themselues with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against the Scots: but in the meane time Maldwin

died, being strangled in his bed one night by his owne wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull companie keeping with an other woman. The next day after she was apprehended with those that were priuie to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, according as she had most iustlie deserued. Maldwin was thus murthered in the yeere after the birth of our Sauior 684, and in the 20 yeere of his owne reigne. Maldwin the Scotish king strangled in his bed.

EUGENIUS.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fift of that name, nephue to Maldwin, as sonne to his brother Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto Egfred king of Northumberland, to mooue him vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadors which were thus sent, feined as though he had beene willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing more than to haue warres with the Scots, so soone as his prouision should be once readie, and heerevpon granted to them a truce for the space of 11 moneths, in which meane time he might make his preparation. Eugenius hauing some secret knowledge of Egfreds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on his part: but for that he would not seeme to giue the occasion, he streictlie commanded that none of his subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing sounding to the breach of the truce. Eugenius the fift. Egfred king of Northumberland. A truce granted. Eugenius his commandement.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his preparation readie, sent a companie of his men of war into the Scotish borders, to fetch some bootie, whereby the peace might be broken. Those that were thus sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number of cattell, but also slue diuers of the borderers that went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. Immediatlie herevpon were sent ambassadors from Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not without much adoo, after certeine daies attendance, got audience, and boldlie declaring vnto Egfred their message, receiued for answer a plaine publication of warre. For he alledging how the Scots, since the truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched booties out of the confines of his dominions, and therefore had well deserued farre more damage than as yet they had receiued, wherevpon he minded not to continue friendship with them that knew not how to keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from their neighbours: so that he commanded them to declare vnto their king, that within eight daies after, he should looke for open warre at the hands of him and other his alies. The truce broken. Ambassadors sent by Eugenius vnto Egfred for restitution. Egfreds answer.

Eugenius receiuing this answer from Egfred, besought God, sith the other onelie sought to violate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion. Heerewith gathering his power togither, he repaired into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge that his enimies would first enter. But before he could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen were come alreadie into that countrie, and had besieged a strong castell called Downske, the chiefest fortresse in those daies of all Galloway. And yer Egfred might winne the same, he was constreined to raise his siege, and to march foorth to incounter with Eugenius, who hasted fast towards him. They met neere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen, where they fought a verie sore and bloudie battell: for the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the enimies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts. Eugenius gathereth an armie. The castell of Downske besieged.

At the first there was no great aduantage perceiued on either side, the kings, according to the duties of valiant capteins, exhorting their people to sticke to it manfullie: but in the meane time, certeine bands of Egfreds part getting themselues to the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without comming downe at all to aid their friends: which manner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of some treason deuised against them, and therevpon began to shrinke backe. Egfred aduised therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enimies: and for that daies

seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be anie waies able to shew or doo them. But whilest he was thus busilie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie therevpon put to flight and chased, a great number of them tooke the riuer so to escape the enimies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the floud, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbred in mires and mosses, also amongst streicts, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were ouertaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foresaid Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie aboue six thousand. By this ouerthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie sore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come vnto Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

King Egfred slaine. Sée more héere of in England.

Twentie thousand Saxons slaine.

Brudeus king of the Picts.

Inuasion into Northumberland.

Cuthbert bishop.

A slaughter amongst the Picts.

Brudeus the Pictish king hauing knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing sorie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, sore afflicting th' inhabitants, insomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie vnto his dominion, either els vtterlie destroied it, had not the deuout praiers of S. Cutbert (who then held the sée of Lindesferne) preserued the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselues for parting of the spoile, and buckling togither by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselues with those countries about Berwike, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they absteined from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recouer their former forces againe, of manie yéeres after insuing.

Egfred slaine by Picts and not by Scots. Eugenius the fift died 688.

Eugenius the sixt succéeded Eugenius the fift.

A league betwéene the Scots and Northumberland men.

Truce taken with the Picts.

Warre without anie notable incounter.

The death of Eugenius the sixt. 697.

Héere is to be noted, that whereas the Scotish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, vnto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the fift, succéeded Eugenius the sixt, who was the sonne of Ferquhard, and by persuasion of bishop Adannan (with whome he was brought vp) & of S. Cutbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclamed, and sent them his defiance by an herald. Howbeit, through the earnest praiers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cutbert and Adannan, (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable incounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloudshed chanced) euen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yéere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried togither with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessors.

Woonderfull visions séene.

Manie woonderfull visions were séene that yéere in Albion, as the Scotish chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appéered in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had béene furnished foorth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noise, as it had béene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into bloud in diuers places in Pictland, and chéese conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Corne, as it was gathered in the haruest time appeered bloudie.

In

In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained bloud. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a woonderfull feare in the peoples harts, imagining some great alteration to insue.

AMBIRKELETH.

AMBIRKELETH the nephue, or (as some say) the son of Eugenius the fift, succéeded Eugenius the sixt in the gouernment of the realme; who after his atteining to the crowne, shortlie changed therewith his manners and good disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defendor of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue prooued a patrone of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, deligthing in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking excesse of meats and drinks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be briefe, when he tooke nothing in hand woorthie of his estate and degrée, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must néedes thorough his negligent slouthfulnesse fall into decaie and ruine: wherevpon Garnard king of the Picts, supposing he had conuenient time to reuenge all former iniuries receiued at the Scotishmens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scotish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

Ambirkeleth succéedeth Eugenius the sixt.

The king turned from vertue vnto all licentiousnesse.

Garnard king of the Picts inuadeth Scotland.

At length Ambirkeleth (being sore blamed of his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroied) gathered an armie togither, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, doo euer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appéere) foorth he goeth without anie great good order (God wot) for what might be looked for at his hands, which was so ouerwhelmed with all kind of excessiue gluttonie, immoderate surfeting, insatiable lecherie, and deliting altogither in slouthfull ease, and sluggish idlenesse, the root from whence all such filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & mainteined.

Ambirkeleth gathered an armie against the Picts.

Idlenesse the bréeder and nourisher of sensuall lusts.

To conclude, he liued as one that tooke no maner of regard to that which chieflie apperteined to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to sée things doone as was behouefull, of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be doone. Neuerthelesse marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and neere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to go foorth of his lodging to doo the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he was suddenlie shot through the head with an arrow, but from whence it came, or who shot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Howbeit, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yéeres. He was buried in Colmekill amongst his noble ancestors.

The death of Ambirkeleth.

EUGENIUS.

THE lords and peeres of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of such a monstrous person, bicause the armie for want of a gouernor should not fall into anie danger, they elected Eugenius the seuenth, being the brother of the late foresaid Ambirkeleth, to succeed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & personage, neither destitute of honorable qualities and good disposition of mind. Being once proclamed king, he caused generall musters to be taken of the whole armie, and perceiuing by surueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enimies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictish king, pledges being deliuered on either side, for redresse to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had beene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the Scotish armie dissolued,

Eugenius the seuenth is elected king of Scots.

A peace concluded.

dissolued, Eugenius with the most part of the nobilitie went into Argile, where he receiued his inuesture of the kingdome, sitting vpon the stone of marble, according to the custome and maner.

The king is crowned.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more stronglie confirmed by meanes of aliance, Spontana the daughter of king Garnard being coopled in mariage with Eugenius: she in the yéere following being great with child, was murthered one night within the kings bed-chamber, in stéed of the king himselfe, by two brethren of the countrie of Athole, who mooued to displeasure for their fathers death, had conspired to murther the king, and had slaine him in deed, had he not through his good hap laien foorth of his owne chamber the same night. Eugenius being suspected of the murther, and euill spoken of for the same amongst his subiects, was at length with great danger of life and honor inforced to make answer by waie of arrainment for clearing of himselfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that case: so greatlie beloued was Spontana amongst all the degrées of the Scotish nation. But in the end being found giltlesse of the crime (for at the time that iudgement should haue passed, the offendors were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioising of all honest men. Those that had doone the déed, were condemned and hanged vp naked on gibbets by the héeles, togither with certeine cruell mastiue dogs, the which might so déuoure them.

The quéene slaine in stéed of hir husband.

The king is suspected of the murther.

The murtherers are hanged.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former suspicion, minded to haue béene reuenged on those that had falslie accused him. Howbeit through the godlie admonishments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his displeasure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and politike gouernement of his subiects, he ordeined that the histories of his ancestors should be written in bookes and volumes, that posteritie might haue to read the same for example sake. These monuments he also appointed to be kept and reserued in the abbeie of Iona, now called Colmekill, for a perpetuall memorie: and such as should write the same, to remaine and haue liuings there in the abbeie. Moreouer, such spirituall promotions as he perceiued to be too meane and slender for the maintenance of the minister that should serue the cure, he caused to be augmented in such wise as was thought sufficient. He concluded a league with the Saxons and Picts, and obserued the same during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yéeres, whereof the last fell in the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauior 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons, as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and most princelie qualities.

An example of a good prince.

The king causeth his ancestors histories to be written.

Eugenius the seuenth departeth out of this life.

716. *H. B.*

MORDACK.

Mordacke succéedeth Eugenius the seuenth.

A louer of peace.

A LITTLE before his death, he betooke the possession of his kingdome vnto Mordacke that succéeded him. This Mordacke was the nephue of Eugenius the seuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; so he shewed himselfe to be the verie same man during the whole course of his naturall life, after he had atteined to the same. Aboue all things he wished a generall peace to continue amongst all the princes of Albion, and therevpon for his part establishing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the English kings, he firmelie kept euerie article therein conteined. In those daies (as S. Beda dooth testifie) foure seuerall people liued in peace and quietnesse within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Saxons whome he called Englishmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His woords are these that follow.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The testimonie of *Beda*.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Englishmen, and gladlie is partaker of the vniuersall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Those Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, go about to practise no deceitfull traines, nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains, though for the most part through a familiar hatred doo impugne the English nation, and the state of the whole catholike church,

church, obseruing not rightlie the feast of Easter, besides other naughtie vsages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vtterlie resisting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to atteine vnto their purposed intentions; as they which though partlie frée, yet in some behalfe are thrall and mancipat to the subiection of the Englishmen: which Englishmen now in acceptable peace and quietnesse of time, manie amongest them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, laieng away armour and weapon, applie themselues to the reading of holie scripture, more desirous to be in houses of vertuous conuersation, than to exercise feats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth shall perceiue and behold. ¶ With these words dooth Beda end his historie, continued till the yeare 734, in the which yeare Mordacke the Scotish king ended his life. 734.

Mordack ended his life the same yeare that saint *Beda* made an end of his historie.

He repared sundrie churches and religious houses, which being defaced with violence of the enimies inuasions in time of warre, had not béene reedified by his ancestors. But amongest other, he bestowed much cost vpon the church where the bodie of S. Ninian lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Casa, & now Whitterne or Qhuitterne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictiminia, and the bishop which at the same time held the church there, he nameth Acta, auouching how he was the first that was bishop thereof after the daies of saint Ninian. Which if it be true, it must néeds be that afterwards some vacation happened in that see for a time, sith it is notified in the Scotish histories, that the westerne Iles, Galloway, and other regions néere adioining, were subiect vnto the bishop of Sodor (whose sée is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the third, who restored rather than ordeined the bishops sée in Candida Casa againe, after such vacation as before is specified.

Candida Casa now called Whitterne.

ETHFINE.

But now to returne touching the gouernement of the Scotish kingdome, I find that after the deceasse of Mordake last remembred, his nephue named Ethfine, the sonne of the seuenth Eugenius, succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vnto peace and maintenance of iustice. The league which his predecessors Eugenius and Mordake had kept with their neighbors the Britains, Englishmen and Picts, he duelie likewise obserued. His chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as were knowen to be open barrettors and offendors in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable examples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill dooers, he was had in such reuerend dread amongest his subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so to doo, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

Ethfine succéedeth Mordake.

A peaceable prince.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appointed foure péeres in his realme to haue the chiefe gouernance vnder him; as Donald the treasuror of Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway his lieutenants, and Conrath the thane of Murrey land. These hauing the procuration of all things touching the gouernement of the realme, vsed not themselues so vprightlie in manie points as they ought to haue doone; but winked now and then at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks and alies, permitting the nobilitie to liue according to their old accustomed maner of licentious libertie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other inferiour states. Donald of the westerne Iles, a man of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to all naughtinesse, mainteined a great number of robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onelie vpon rauine. For looke what they wanted, they would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place abroad where they might laie hands on it: so that all the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in which countrie they most haunted, were brought into woonderfull thraldome and miserie.

Foure gouernors vnder the king.

Uniust gouernement.

Donald of the Iles mainteineth robbers.

The oppression of the commens of Galloway.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there, go about to chastise such insolent misdemenors, either for that he was of Donalds aliance, either else priuie to his dooings, and partaker of the spoile. The people hereby vexed with continuall iniuries, brought manie pitifull complaints before Mordake, who nothing regarded their lamentable sutes and supplications, but

Mordake the kings lieutenant beareth with offendors.

but the more they complained, the woorse they were handled. Neither was there anie hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the eight was admitted to the kinglie administration after the death of king Ethfine, who in the latter end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased, could not attend to take order for the publike gouernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misorders insued. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, after he had continued his reigne ouer the Scotishmen the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being buried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

The deceasse of Ethfine. 762. *H. B.*

EUGENIUS.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight that was the sonne of king Mordake, was inuested king in Argile with such pompe and ceremonies as in that case apperteined, and immediatlie therevpon he hasted foorth to catch Donald of the Iles, not resting till at length he had caught him, though that came not to passe without some losse of his people. After he had taken both him and his chiefest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as were laid to his charge for mainteining of the foresaid Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his goods being valued and diuided into parts, were bestowed amongest the commons of Galloway, in recompense of such losses, as through his contriued falshood they had susteined. Also he did put Donald, Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Eugenius the eight inuested king of Scots.

Donald of the Iles aprehended.

Donald and his complices put to death.

Mordake lieutenant of Galloway is put to death.

The commons recompensed.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be executed, in reliefe of his commons, he wan him woonderfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through out all his realme; and therewith were offendors put in such feare, that they durst in no place commit anie such misorders against the simple and meaner people. And for the more increase of his subiects wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts, Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his late predecessor had doone. But yet, as the nature of man through licentious libertie is euer readie to offend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this woorthie prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is before expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse amongest his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile lust to accomplish his vnsatiable fleshlie concupiscence, seeking all means he could deuise to defloure yoong virgins and honest matrons, and that as well those of the nobilitie as other. And such companions as could best further his purpose in that behalfe, and deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie, those he set by, and greatlie made of, deliting altogither to haue them in his companie.

A righteous king.

Offendors put in feare.

Eugenius is peruerted with sensuall lust and concupiscence.

A filthie delight.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthie concupiscence, he fell dailie in more greeuous vices, as into excessiue couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie, consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to the end he might inioy their goods. This wickednes remained not long vnpunished, for the lords and péeres of his realme, perceiuing how he procéeded dailie in his abhominable and tyrannicall dooings, not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertisements either of God or man, they slue him one day amongest them as he sat in iudgement about to haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie in the crime whereof he was accused. They caused also a great companie of those mates to be apprehended, which had béene of his councell, and prouokers vnto all his wicked and vile dooings. Which to the great contentation of the people were hanged, as they had well deserued. And such was the end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the kingdome about thrée yeares: his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongest his ancestors, though the people thought it little woorthie of that honor, which had misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

Couetousnesse linked with crueltie.

Eugenius is murthered.

The end of Eugenius the eight.

FERGUSE.

After him came th' administration of the realme vnto Ferguse the third, the sonne of king Ethfine, in the yéere 767, who being established in the same, began frélie to practise all

767.

kinds

kinds of vices, which most abundantlie reigned in him, howbeit till that day woonderfullie dissembled and kept couert. He séemed to striue how to passe his predecessor in all points of wickednesse. He tooke no regard at all to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe to excessiue gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a number of vile strumpets in house with him, whome hée vsed as concubines, that his wife was no better estéemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchenmaid. Who being a woman of great modestie, and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take sore gréefe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie times assaied by way of wholesome persuasions, to turne his mind from such sinfull vsages and filthie trade of liuing.

Ferguse the third created king.
A wicked prince.

Finallie, when she saw there was no hope to conuert his depraued mind, nor by anie meanes to reforme him, but that the more she laboured to doo good vpon him, the woorse he was, through verie displeasure of such iniuries as she dailie susteined at the hands of his concubines, shée found meanes to strangle him secretlie one night as he lay in bed, choosing rather to be without a husband than to haue one that should deceiue hir of the right and dutie of mariage; and that in such sort, as she must be faine to suffer the reproch dailie before hir face, being misvsed of them whom he kept as paramours in most despitefull maner. The day after she wrought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funerall wise, and brought foorth vnto the place of iudgement, where inquisition was streictlie made what they were that had done so heinous a déed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet some of his friends were verie earnest to haue the matter tried foorth, that such as had committed the murther might suffer due punishment.

K. Ferguse the third strangled by his wife.

Manie were apprehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confesse it. The quéene was void of all suspicion, as she that had béene taken for a woman at all times of great temperancie. But yet, when she heard that a number of innocent persons were tormented without desert, sore lamenting (as should appéare) their miserable case, she came hastilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the presence of all the companie, she had these or the like words vnto the whole assemblie. "I know not (good people) I know not what god mooueth me, or what diuine reuengement vexeth mée with sundrie thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and morning preceding, I haue had neither rest in bodie nor mind. And verelie when I heard that certeine guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place, partlie vnto modestie, whereof I must confesse there is left but a small portion in me, I had foorthwith rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conscience constreineth mé (setting apart mine owne safegard) to confesse the truth, least the guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therfore vnderstand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue examined are priuie to the offense. I verelie am she, that with these wicked hands haue strangled this nigh last past Ferguse, about whose death I sée you in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe pricks as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient forbearing of carnall lust, & irefull wrath. Ferguse by his continuall vsing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the husband oweth to the wife: wherevpon when there was no hope to reconcile him with often aduertisements, vehement force of anger rising in my hart, droue me to doo so wicked a déed. I thought rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than (being destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quéenelie honor) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall iniuries of such lewd women as he kept & vsed in my stead. Loose yée therefore those that be accused of the kings death, & as for me ye shall not néed to procéed against me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accordingly doo execution vpon my selfe euen here incontinentlie in presence of you all: what honor is due to the dead, looke you to that." ¶ Hauing thus made an end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke hirselfe to the heart with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All such as were present woondered greatlie at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerslie thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of these hir monstruous dooings. The bodie of Ferguse was caried foorth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried

Suspicious persons are racked.

The quéene confessed the murther.

She giueth hir owne sentence.

The quéene aketh execution of hir self.

buried in the third yéere after his entring into the gouernement, and in the yéere of our Lord
767. H. B. 769. The quéens corps was not buried in sacred ground, for that she slue hirselfe.

SOLUATHIUS.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

SOLUATHIUS the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scotish estate next after the death of Ferguse: a prince suerlie borne to the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through hap of froward destinie he had not béene hindered. For in the third yéere of his reigne he began to bée vexed extréemelie with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so continuing with him during his life, staied him from manie woorthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as abroad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his lims, there were some commotions and misorders the more boldly attempted; and first amongst them of the out Iles. For Bane Makedonald, gouernor by the kings appointment of the Iland called Tire, got all the castels and fortresses of the Iles into his owne hands, & strengthened with a rout of vnrulie and mischefous youthfull persons, tooke possession of all the said Iles, causing himselfe to be proclamed king of the same.

Soluathius an impotent man.

A rebellion. Makedonald proclamed king of the Iles.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ships togither, wherein transporting himselfe with a great armie ouer into Lorne and Cantire, made great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duthquhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argile, being sent with a chosen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to incounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased them to such a streict, as where there was no way to get foorth, saue onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Lorne, with a streict passage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large and broad, inuironed about with craggie mounteins, chained togither with a continuall ridge, a déepe riuer compassing them in beneath in the bottome, with such steepe & sidelong banks, that there is no way to passe foorth of the same, but by that through which ye must enter into it. The said Bane with his folks being entred at vnwares into such a streict, and perceiuing there was no way to issue foorth, but by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the passage closed from him by his enimies, he was in a woonderfull maze, not knowing what shift to make to escape. Finallie, falling to counsell with the chiefest of his armie vpon the danger present, and so continuing for the space of two daies without anie conclusion auailable, on the third day driuen of necessitie through hunger, they required of their enimies to be receiued as yéelded men vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onelie hauing their liues assured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they rushed foorth vpon their enimies, to trie if by force they might haue passed through them. But such was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take example by such their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

He inuadeth Lorne and Cantire. A power from the king is sent against him.

The kings power passeth ouer into the Iles. Gillequhalme the sonne of Donald.

The kings captains after this passing ouer into the Iles, brought all things there into the former state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway: for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered togither a great number of vngratious scape-thrifts, & did much hurt and mischéefe in the countrie. But shortlie after, being vanquished by the same capteins that had suppressed the other rebels of the Iles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death for their offenses. In this meane while, the Englishmen & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprise against strangers. Neither were the Picts frée of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceiued against another, so that the Scotishmen were not troubled at all by anie forreine enimies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yéeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yéere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius departeth this life.

788.

ACHAIUS.

ACHAIUS.

THEN after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, Achaius the son of king Ethfine (a man highlie renowmed for his earnest zeale to iustice and vpright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstood what grudge and secret hatred remained in their harts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the common-wealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and thervpon calling them togither, he handled the matter with such wisedome and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on ech side, and promised in his presence so to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, hée was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arriued in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Iles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

Achaius created king of Scotland.

He maketh the nobilitie to agrée.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation purposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Iles. But Achaius hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vsed: alledging how there was no cause wherfore warres should be mooued for such a matter, where the occasion had béene giuen but by a sort of rouers on either side, without commandement or warrant obteined from anie of their superiors. Howbeit the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongest them at that time as it chanced) mooued altogither with indignation for the slaughter of their countrimen, made a direct answer, that they would suerlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilest the Scotish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Ila, where getting togither a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning homewards, they were soonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bring tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The Irishmen will reuenge.

Irishmen take a preie in Ila.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to séeke for peace shortlie after vnto Achaius. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Enuerlochthée; where hauing declared their message, & confessed how iustlie they had béene punished by the righteous iudgement of almightie God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserued it; Achaius answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborne, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged: and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mooving warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuerthelesse, setting apart all iniuries past, as well new as old, to shew himselfe to be the follower of Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set foorth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scotish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselues, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing inioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

Irishmen doo séeke peace.

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by dailie rouing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then comming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his péeres to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Picts, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprise or inuasion into France, the Scots and Picts should be readie streightwaies to inuade them here at home; and when they should make

Carolus Magnus in league with the Scots.

anie warres against the Scots or Picts, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

Ambassadors sent into Scotland.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certeine ambassadors to bring this matter to passe, who arriuing in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectuallie the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should bee no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restreined from such bold and iniurious enterprises, as they dailie tooke in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian common-wealth, whereas otherwise through their insolent dooings, such force as was alreadie prepared against the Saracens (the common enimies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

The ambassadors are honorablie interteined.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselues being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the cheere and honorable interteinment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scotish common-wealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doutfull, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his councell: and therevpon calling them togither, and appointing diuerse of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilest he consulted with the residue (bicause he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scotishmen for his approoued wisedome) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who therevpon standing foorth, began as followeth.

"No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achaius, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are persuaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant to almightie God, than to ioine in league and friendship with a nation of greatest power and wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scotish name be highlie renowmed and spoken of through the whole world. But trulie these considerations contenting so well at the first, are not so much to be regarded as the euils which hereafter may grow therevpon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though too late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of reason in establishing this league, if we once consent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in societie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expedient for vs) than euen to haue from hencefoorth a neere and in maner a domesticall enimie at hand, whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and large sea, at whose plesure also we must make wars against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safegards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing neere vs; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome, goods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruction? I would thinke it good therefore to take better aduisement and deliberation herein, least whilest we seeke for vaine glorie and counterfeit honor, we doo not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much trauell by our elders, for the which they so often fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and finallie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more pernicious vnto a free nation, and people borne in libertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and pleasure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were) into bondage? For the auoiding whereof, not onelie men, but also all other liuing things are readie to fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in the chiefest heat and most earnest brunt of the warre

Due considerations.

An enimie at hand. Friends farre off.

Good counsell of Colman.

(which

(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league with our enimies, leauing vs in all the whole danger; shall we haue anie iudge afore whome we maie bring them to answer for their default, and by whose authoritie they may be constreined to see vs satisfied for such losse and iniuries as we shall happily susteine at the Englishmens hands? Are we of that force and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter confusion by those warres which we shall enter into for their cause? If euer we be brought vnto that point (as God forbid we should) that through want of substance, and decaie of force, the Frenchmen shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall not bée able to resist the English puissance: afore whome (I beséech you) shall we accuse them for breaking of this league? We shall dailie haue to doo with our enimies after the conclusion of the league (if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with our friends. In the midst of our enimies we shall be still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to our friends, in case anie néed shall inforce vs therevnto: commodities are brought vs out of Spaine, France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but onelie such as the Englishmen doo permit. Againe, when our merchants shall passe into France, what hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such as vse sailing? Either must they perish and be cast away through rage of seas, either else fall into the hands of our enimies togither, with all their goods and fraught. What discommodities hereof shall rise; your grace (most prudent prince) and you right circumspect councellors, doo well inough perceiue. I therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should continue in the former peace concluded with the Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the custome of our late predecessors, who saw well inough what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Scotish nation, and not to couet a new amitie with an vnknowne people, hauing deserued little or nothing as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue in suspicion, sith they séeke for amitie so farre off) except we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to imploie and ieopard both life and libertie for the safegard of the French, without regard of our owne." ¶ Manie in that assemblie shewed themselues sore offended with Colmans wordes, supposing the league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable and necessarie. Colmans counsell is misliked.

Then one Albian, a man of great nobilitie (whome the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant in the Iles) spake in this manner. "If it were possible that there might be one sure and inuiolable consent amongst those foure people, which at this daie haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion, or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we would not denie but that those considerations and aduises which Colman hath héere vttered, ought to be followed; bicause that then there should be no occasion at all, why we should conclude anie league with anie forren nation. But forsomuch as there was neuer man that found more vntruth and breach of promise in anie nation, than hath béene found in these Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and Britains haue by triall sufficientlie prooued; I suppose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with such alies and confederats, as by their support we maie be the better able to withstand the malice of such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I praie you? The Saxons in times past being requested of the Britains to aid them against their enimies, were most louinglie receiued, and highlie rewarded for their seruice: but they contrarilie in recompense of such kindnesse, shewed themselues in steed of aiders, enimies; in stéed of defenders, destroiers: turning their weapons points against the Britains, by whome they had béene so sent for to their aid; and now haue not onelie destroied a great number of them by fire and swoord, but also they haue spoiled them of their kingdome & libertie. What league or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either they saw Albian his oration. The English Saxons breakers of promise.

occasion to vex their neighbors, or hoped to gaine anie thing by falsifieng their faiths, as they that haue neuer béene ashamed so to doo, where hope to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie hand béene offered. Into what sundrie and most miserable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons brought the sillie Britains? How oftentimes haue they broken the peace established with vs, and also with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon anie such thing? Yea and that more is, amongst them selues at this season the Englishmen warre one against another, more with craftie traines than with open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so manie kings, and so manie noble men haue béene traitorouslie murthered and made awaie, that scarse may there be anie found that will take vpon him the supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yéeres ago, since Oswin king of that countrie was rid out of the waie through treason of Oswie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Osrike, whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Mollo, and Mollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betraied by his owne subiects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murthered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises doo the Englishmen maintéine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting foorth of Gods woord hath béene committed, wearie of and abhorring this wood madnesse, rage and wicked misdemeanor of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remooued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen doo absteine at this présent from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now dooth reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceasseth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or couenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To represse therefore and abate their subtill practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outragious furie of this wicked nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. Fortune hath offred vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion héere vnto. For héere be at this present the French kings ambassadors, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarse wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie doo acknowledge for their souereigne. Ought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Ought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the vttermost parts of the earth, the same being fréelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Héerevpon also frée passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandize and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euerie one of you (so that he weie the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (verie puissant both by sea and land) and thereto of approoued faith and stedfastnesse in promise, ought more to be estéemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scotish commonwealth, than the vnstedfast promises and great dislóialtie of the Saxons. To which of you is it vnknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they doo the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wils? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enimies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian religion, for the which the Frenchmen are continuallie in armor, if we set more by vertue and constancie than by vnfaithfulnesse

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the aduantage of casuall haps, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onelie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namelie on this side the riuer Rhene.

nesse and breach of couenants and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne rest, and quietnesse; and to be briefe, if we passe vpon life and libertie, the most déerest things that may happen to man, let vs with ioifull harts establish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmelie continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confidence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowme to vs, both for the safegard of our realme, & restreint of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which héereafter they either shall or may at any time enterprise against vs." ¶ By this oration Albian drew the multitude easilie vnto his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of all his subiects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the same place againe the next day. And so breaking vp their assemblie for that time, the king made the French ambassadors that night a costlie supper with a banket, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lords of the councell, it was agréed by generall consent amongst them, that for the solemne ratifieng of this league with king Charles, according as he had required, there should go with his ambassadors at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable and learned personages, being men of perfect knowledge and skill, and such as were estéemed most meet for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure thousand men ouer with them to serue against the infidels and enimies of the christian religion, where and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

The league with the Frenchmen agréed vpon.

Héerevpon the next day going first to church, and there making their common supplications vnto almightie God, according to the rites and ancient customes, they after resorted vnto the councell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French ambassadors all that was concluded by him, and other the estates of his realme, touching the message which they had brought from king Charles. Who reioising (as should appéere) greatlie héereat, gaue most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue for their beneuolent wils héerein shewed towards king Charles their maister, and all the French nation. After this, remaining certeine daies with Achaius, who made them all the chéere that might be imagined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Picts, vnto whome at their comming to his presence they made the like request on their maisters behalfe, which they had made before vnto Achaius.

The league is concluded.

Hungus king of the Picts.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most hartie thanks for their good wils, but yet he would not grant to conclude anie league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no small time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution therein. The ambassadors héerevpon returned vnto Achaius without spéed of their purpose with Hungus, and the second moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the passage of those that should go with them, the lord William the kings brother, togither with the same ambassadors, & such foure persons as the king had chosen foorth amongst all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names were Clement, Iohn, Raban, and Alcuine) and also hauing with him those foure thousand men of war, which were at the first appointed to go with him, passed foorth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At their comming into France Charles the emperor receiued them in most gladsome wise, dooing them all the honor that might be deuised, and the souldiers which were come to serue him vnder the leading of the foresaid William, he reteined in wages, vsing them after the same sort and rate as he did his owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

Hungus refuseth to conclude anie league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadors returne home.

Claudius, Clement, Iohn Maesbell, Raban, Alcuine.

The Scotishmen are honorablie receiued of Carolus the French king.

Shortlie after also at the request of the Scotish orators, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnelie published by heralds at armes, according to the maner in those daies vsed, the same to indure betwixt those two nations and their posterities for euer. The chiefest articles comprised in this league were as followeth. [The amitie and confederation betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme, to indure betwixt them and the

The league is published by heralds.

The articles of the league.

the posterities of both nations for euer. The iniuries and warres which the Englishmen should attempt against either nation, should be accounted as common to them both. The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of souldiers, hauing their charges borne by the Frenchmen as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise aid the Scots in time of wars against the Englishmen at their owne proper costs and charges. Whatsoeuer he were, priuat person or publike of these two confederat nations, that against either of them should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell, vittels, or in anie other maner of wise; the same should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their princes and countries. Neither might either of them conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the consent of the other. These were the principall articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and faire ingrossed in parchment, and reserued as a monument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such as should come after of this friendship thus begun, as the Scotish chronicles affirme.] And for further memorie of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes, being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby, that the lion from thence foorth should be defended by the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scotish kings should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie, liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are represented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds doo interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement, and Iohn, remained still with king Charles, but Rabane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards made against anie of his enimies, the said lord William was a chiefe dooer in the same, so that his fame and authoritie dailie grew in all places where he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable stead in his expeditions against the Saxons, Hungarians, and other; but namelie his estimation in Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appointing this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan, and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that within short time the same was not onelie fortified with new wals, repared and replenished with great numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citizens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen being called thither out of euerie citie and towne thereabouts for that purpose.

The armes of Scotland.

The valiantnes of William.

Florence is reedified.

William lieutenant of Tuscane.

The citie being thus restored to hir former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew themselues thankefull, deuised for a perpetuall memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France giue, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their citie (after the destruction therof by the Goths) was reedified and restored to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the treasurie within the citie certeine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognisance) and therevpon as the Scotish chronicles affirme, those beasts grew to be had in such honor amongest the Florentines. Thus this valiant capteine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and woorthie feats of chiualrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelue martiall warriours, which are called commonlie by the Scotishmen, Scotesgilmore.

The armes of Florence.

Alion crowned.

Lions kept at Florence.

Scotesgilmore.

William vnmaried maketh Christ his heire.

Monasteries of Scotishmen in Germanie.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in warres, he was neuer maried, wherevpon growing in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he builded diuers abbies and monasteries both in Italie and Germanie, richlie indowing the same with lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such number of moonks, as he appointed to be in the said abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he were a Scotishman borne. In witnesse of which ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remaining in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing changed from the first order

or

or institution. Before the accomplishment of these things, by the foresaid lord William, brother (as is said) to the Scotish king Achaius, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and Pauia were instituted by king Charles, chiefelie by the helpe and means of these two foreremembred Scotishmen, Iohn and Clement, insomuch that Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the students at Paris, and Iohn of the other at Pauia. The vniuersitie of Paris and Pauia.

But now to returne to the other dooings of Achaius, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelstane the sonne of Ethelwoolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to inlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Pictish dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and conteined the marches about Berwike, alledging how the same apperteined to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had béene fraudulentlie taken from his ancestors by the Picts: but forsomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and herevpon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, sauing such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Pictish king sore stomaching this iniurious enterprise of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast, and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who had maried his sister) to haue his aid against them. Adelstane entereth into Deira. Deira wasted by fire and sword. Hungus aided with Scotishmen inuadeth Northumberland.

Achaius of his owne accord minding to doo the Englishmen a displeasure, sent foorthwith vnto Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With which, and with his owne power, king Hungus inuaded the borders of Northumberland, fetching from thence a great bootie of goods and prisoners; but yet he forbare slaughter of men, and burning of houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawen into their countrie, he followed them so néere at the héeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs, where they lodged by a brooke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had anie knowledge of his approch. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enimies according to his wished desire, and herewith comming vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie foorth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword. He warred without slaughter and burning. Athelstane pursueth Hungus. Athelstane his cruell proclamation.

The Picts thus séeing their enimies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were woonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to doo. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifieng of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceiued how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enimies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put foorth amongest them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come foorth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was doone; the Picts kéeping themselues still within their campe. The Picts are amazed. The Picts enter the campe. Athelstane dooth chalenge his enimies.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongest them, it was agréed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselues for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enimies with fierce willes, speciallie incouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approch and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their sore impression; so that beginning somewhat to swarue, at length they were forced to flée vnto the place, where ye heard how they tooke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe The Picts prepare themselues vnto battell. The Englishmen are put to flight.

downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellowes, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than anie of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

Athelstane is slaine.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped fiue hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans foord. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sléepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enimies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people togither, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sléepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from aboue against their cruell enimies.

Ailstone foord.

A dreame.

The crosse of saint Andrew.

Saint Andrew the Scotishmens patrone.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie séene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrew to be patrone and protector of the Scotish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of ioining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obteined, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the relickes of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accustomed maner. They vowed there also at the verie same time (as the fame goeth) that from thencefoorth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognisance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in writing that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, where being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterprise.

Saint Reule.

Why Scotishmen vse saint Andrews crosse in warfare.

Athelstan his buriall.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new bildings & néedfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and costlie ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the relickes of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritualtie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of corne, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme: and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answere before anie temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongest the Picts after Hungus, tooke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuileges, that they should answere for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus had so fréelie bestowed vpon them.

Hungus repareth saint Andrews church.

Images of gold and siluer.

Tenths to be giuen to the cleargie.

Feredeth taketh from the cleargie their priuileges.

And why not. Priests to be tried afore secular iudges.

The

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his dooings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortlie after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogither about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certeine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume wholie to derogat the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissented from him, but rather followed him in most places, leauing such doubts as may be woorthilie put foorth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, sith it is not our purpose to impugne, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vnlikelihoods (as the same dooth seeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achaius king of Scots, after the ouerthrow and death of Athelstane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achaius, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the sixt yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the maner of kings amongest his predecessors. In the daies this of Achaius (beside Clement and others, of whome before ye haue heard) liued bishop Geruadius a notable preacher in Murrey land, also bishop Glacian with Modan and Medan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect whereof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

Achaius departeth out of this life. 819.

CONUALL.

After the deceasse of Achaius, Conuall that was his vncles sonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethfine, succeeded in gouernement of the Scotish kingdome. Betwixt this Conuall and Hungus the Pictish king, there was woonderfull loue and amitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and aliance betwixt their people, whereupon insued great wealth and quietnesse vnto both their kingdoms. Finallie Hungus wasted with a continuall consumption deceassed, deliuering vp his kingdome into the hands of his sonne Dorstolorgus, and that in the presence of king Conuall, who likewise liued not long after him, for in the fift yeare of his reigne he likewise departed out of this world, by force of naturall sickenesse.

Conuall succeedeth Achaius.
Loue and amitie.
Hungus falleth in a consumption.
Conuall deceasseth also. 802. *Io. Ma.*

DONGALL.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathius was receiued to succeed by the common consent of the states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdome and great knowledge. But for that he was somewhat seuere in punishing the misordered behauiours of the nobilitie, & misgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing one Alpine the sonne of Achaius to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or else to be murthered amongest them, consented to go with them into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Howbeit, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from amongest them, least through his means the quiet state of his countrie should be brought into trouble: and foorthwith being escaped out of their hands with a few other that were priuie to his intention, he maketh all the hast he could, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receiued him in most ioifull wise, promising hat if it should be thought necessarie by the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne vnto him his whole crowne

Dongall succeedeth after Conuall.
A seuere punisher of malefactors.
Alpine constrained by the nobles, taketh vpon him to be crowned king.
Alpine vnwilling to receiue the crowne fled.
Alpine was ioifullie receiued of Dongall.

crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to sée the aduancement of the house of Achaius. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preseruation of the Scotish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, drawing God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within three yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselues also, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such spéed towards the place where he vnderstood the said rebels were assembled togither, that he was vpon them yer they had anie knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to doo, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Dongall maketh an armie against the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorstolorgus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he atteined to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fathers treasure amongest his lords and chiefest péers of his realme, and tooke to wife Brenna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorstolorgus had maried, that thereby he might asswage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happilie haue conceiued for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorstolorgus. His feare was great on ech side, and therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should séeke to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies foorth abroad without a gard of men of warre about him, whome he had woone & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge hir former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asléepe, hauing droonke a little too much in the euening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Eganus liueth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his quéene.

Thus both Eganus & Dorstolorgus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, forsomuch as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succéed in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephue to the said Hungus, by his sister Fergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime therevnto, and thervpon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peeres of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well vnderstood: and that if they throughlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouision of almightie God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succéed in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall warres, as by discord and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their vtter ruines.

An ambassador sent vnto the Picts.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortlie come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should séeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scotish ambassadors, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed anie further therein, but

The ambassadors come into the court.

began

began to make such an vprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe tooke vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadors: and thervpon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them; for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpose the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordenance decréed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therfore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephue of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet bicause he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclamed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

King Feredeth his answer vnto the Scotish ambassadors.

Vpon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall shewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtill arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And therevpon the second time he sent his ambassadors vnto them, requiring them either to doo him reason without anie further surmised cauillations; either else within thrée moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scotishmens hands. These ambassadors passing foorth on their iourneie, at their approching vnto Camelon, certeine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

Dongall his displeasure with the Picts answer.

Ambassadors sent againe.

Ambassadors are not receiued.

The ambassadors being terrefied with such maner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to méet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scotish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time laie in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongest them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minding to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilest Dongall goeth about to prouide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be drowned in the riuer of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a bote. This mishap chanced him in the sixt yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funerall obsequies. 930.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themselues vnto the war.

ALPINE.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the crowne and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefest studie was vpon his first entring into the estate, to follow his sute touching his title to the Pictish kingdome: and herevpon with all diligence preparing a mightie host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed foorth towards Angus, not staieng till he came to the castell of Forfair, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subiects aranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, whervpon immediatlie néere vnto the towne of Restennoth they met, and ioining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scotish armie was néere hand ouerthrowne; but Fenedocht lieutenant of Athole came spéedilie to the succors with 400 of his countriemen, and restored the battell on the Scotish side; whereby insued a right sore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes whereof it séemed doubtfull for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

Alpine crowned king of Scotland.

Alpine with an armie inuadeth Pictland.

Fenedocht the thane of Athole.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrinke, speedilie preassed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to at-

tend him: but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enimies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that hee could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by anie other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiuing their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselues into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, whervpon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, togither with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as anie daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small ioy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had beene made on both sides.

Fered'eth is slaine.

The night parted the armies.

The Picts fled by night.

The capteins of the Picts weieng with themselues the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherefore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Wherevpon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certeine horssemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laieng of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horssemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioising thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselues according to their accustomed order.

The Scots diuide the spoile.

Feredeth is buried.

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his enimie Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre from Forfair. After this causing the musters of his people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and thervpon brake vp his campe for that time, licencing those that were left aliue to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the first yeere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weakned the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of vtter ruine (if they should commit their whole puissance eftsoones to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to pursue the warre by making of incursions and inrodes onelie vpon their enimies, so to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if it were possible. And so much verely the Scotishmen did by such their continuall rodes & incursions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and desolate of all the inhabitants.

The Scots determine to warre onlie with incursions.

Brudus succeedeth his father Feredeth.

Neither did Brudus the sonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his father in the kingdome) find anie speedie redresse to withstand those dailie inuasions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was but a slouthfull person, and verie negligent in his office; wherevpon he was had in derision of his owne people, who in the end slue him amongst themselues before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yeare. Then succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering togither an armie of his subiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no sooner within sight of his enimies, but that casting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leauing his people in the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour. His people seeing themselues destitute of their head capteine and gouernor, retired from their enimies, keeping themselues in order of battell without anie further attempt.

The Picts slue their slothfull king.

Keneth king of the Picts.

The king casting off his armor fleeth.

He was slaine by a plowman.

Brudus king of the Picts.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts chose to their king one Brudus, a man of a stout and manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waste) catched there certeine Scotish robbers, and foorthwith hanged them vp vpon gibets. After this, he sent foorth his ambassadors

vnto

vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ancient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scotish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to answer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadors plainelie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire. Brudus vnderstanding by this answer, that the Scots would still follow the warres against the Picts; to be the better able to withstand their malice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots. He sent therefore his ambassadors with a great summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue some number of his people for his wages to serue him against the Scots.

Brudus sent vnto Alpine for renewing their league.
Alpine refuseth anie treatie of peace.
Brudus sendeth an ambassador vnto Edwine king of England for aid, with a summe of monie.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Brudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in defense of him and his subiects the Picts. Manie of the Picts reioised greatlie, that they should haue aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrusted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mounteine of Granzebene vnto the riuer of Taie, whereof Brudus being certified, sendeth a post with all spéed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to send to his aid a power of Englishmen, to helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inuaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made against him by other Englishmen, but also had béene requested by Lewes surnamed Pius, as then French king, in no wise to indamage the Scots his confederats, so that for that yéere present he might not conuenientlie send to him anie succours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yéere, he should haue the best helpe that he were able to shew him.

The monie is receiued and aid promised.
The Picts some doo reioise, and some mistrust the Englishmens assistance.
The Scots take Angus.
Brudus sendeth vnto Edwine for aid.
Edwine defereth his aid.

Brudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and deluded by the Englishmen, commanded by solemne summons, that all such of his subiects, as were able to beare armor, should assemble in nether Calidon within eight daies after, with conuenable prouision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His commandement was obeied: so that a mightie armie of men at the day and place appointed came togither, which being mustered, they streitwaies remooue vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld, where they passe the riuer of Taie, and so enter into Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march foorthwith towards the place where they vnderstood their enimies did lie. Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the horses that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and coistrels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to speares and iauelins. Amongst them also he ordeined an hundred horssemen to be placed, whome he made priuie as then to his intention, by whose leading that feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to be atchiued. These he caused to lie couertlie within a wood néere vnto the place where the battell should be fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew themselues till the battell were begun.

Brudus being deceiued of the Englishmen, called his owne subiects to the warre, assembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.
Brudus entreth into Angus with an armie.
A woonderfull policie vsed by Brudus.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundée, being now decaied, so that little thereof remaineth to be séene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, there lieth a great large plaine, compassed on ech side with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the most part bare and without anie trées or bushes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Alpine beholding foorth of the castell, how the Picts approched to giue battell, got him into the campe, & exhorting his people to shew themselues valiant, placed them in araie. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wished them, began the battell before they had commandement, with such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was sore disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came spéedilie to their succours, greatlie reproouing them for their faintnesse

The incamping of Alpine his armie.
Rashlie the Picts begin the battell.

faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that those which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enimies verie fiercelie.

The Scots being deceiued with a counterfet troope of horssemen fled.

But heerewith did the counterfet troope of horssemen, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come foorth, and shewed themselues vpon the backe halfe of the Scotishmen, appéering in sight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in déed: with which sight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enimies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and tooke them to their féet so to escape and saue themselues by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were beaten downe on ech side as they were ouertaken by the Picts.

King Alpine taken by his enimies and after beheaded.

Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Pasalpine. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this sorowfull ouerthrow, got them with all spéed into Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yéere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yéere after Alpine entred first into the estate.

Kenneth the sonne of Alpine inuested king of Scotland.

834.

The Picts giue thanks vnto God for their victorie.

They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counsell of graue men is despised.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and ioifull victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where causing a solemne procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almightie God for their good successe in their passed iournie: they take a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from thencefoorth they would not ceasse to make the Scots war, till they had vtterlie destroied the race of them: and herewith ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certeine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled.

The Scots are animated.

The Scots being certified héereof, were nothing héerewith discouraged, but rather put in good hope of better successe, sith the enimies abused themselues thus in time of felicitie.

The Picts fall at variance within themselues.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their power togither, and setting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselues, and fought with such hatred togither, that the king was not able to appease the fraie, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue agréed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iournie for that time.

Brudus died.

Brudus liued not past three moneths after, for through griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a grieuous disease, and finallie thereof died.

Drusken K. ouer the Picts.

After whose deceasse, the Picts chose his brother named Drusken, to succéed in gouernment of the kingdome, who applied his whole indeuour vpon his first entring into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

The head of king Alpine is stolne, and solemnlie buried with the bodie.

But whilest he was thus busilie occupied about the same, there were certeine Scots, which sore disdained to vnderstand that the head of their late king should remaine vnburied, in such reprochfull sort amongst their enimies. Wherevpon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictish toong, they feined themselues to be merchantmen of that countrie, & comming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night season to steale to the wals, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recouered, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth himselfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colmekill, where he buried it in the abbeie, amongst the sepultures of his elders, togither with the residue of the bodie in verie solemne wise, as apperteined. And further, those persons that had put their liues in ad-

uenture

uenture to fetch the same head from the wals of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuitie, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his subiects, furnished all the holds and castels on the frontiers of his enimies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreouer tooke order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go foorth against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuasions. Kenneth fortified the realme.

But the Scotish lords had no great lust to take anie enterprise in hand eftsoones against the Picts, remembring how infortunatelie they had sped the last time: so that for the space of three yéeres there was no great exploit atchiued, saue certeine roads and incursions, which both the nations continuallie vsed to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion serued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them doone and attempted against the Scotish nation, in the fourth yéere of his reigne, he assembled the peeres and chiefest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuade them to aid him in all such enterprises as he ment to take in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to pursue with open warres, till he had them at his pleasure. But calling his lords and peeres thus assembled on a day before him, and going earnestlie about to mooue them to the warres, he could stir them no more to his purpose, than if he had beene in hand to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise had apperteined vnto their duties: which their lacke of stomach, Kenneth perceiuing, he began to deuise a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord. Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemblie for the same day, he commanded that they should come togither againe on the next morow, to consult further for the state of the realme, as they should sée cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were soone brought into a sound sléepe. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments pretilie deuised and made of fish skins vnskaled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as shineth in the night, and in their other hand a great oxe horne, to the end that vttering their woords through the same, the sound of their voices should séeme farre differing from the vsuall spéech of man. A pretie shift deuised by the king to persuade the nobilitie.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to ech of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords laie fast asléepe, who being at the first as it were halfe awakened, were woonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or some true and vnfeined vision.) Héerewith also were heard certeine seuerall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almightie God vnto the Scotish nobilitie, to command them to obeie their king, for his request was iust: the Pictish kingdome due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recouered from that people, which for their great offenses and sins towards almightie God, should shortlie come to vtter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie, against the which might neither counsell nor puissance of man be able to resist. Of such sights there were manie in those daies: and oftentimes no doubt estéemed to be heauenlie visions indéed.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus made an end of their woords, they slilie hid their staues vnder their innermost garments, and therewith quicklie conueied their vppermost vestures made of fish skales (as I haue said) into their bosoms, in such slight and nimble wise, that it seemed these visions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that had séene these sights, laie still for that night, greatlie musing on the matter. In the morning being got vp, and assembled in the councell chamber, they declared to ech other what they had seene and heard in the night passed. And for that all their visions which they had seene by ech others report, were in euerie behalfe like, and nothing differing one from an other, they beléeued verelie it was some celestiall oracle & message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had béene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars with all their forces against the Picts. The lords declare their vision vnto the king.

The

The answer of king Kenneth.

The king told them he had séene the like vision, but they ought to kéepe it close, least by glorieng too much in the fauour shewed by almightie God toward them, they might happilie displease his diuine maiestie, which otherwise they might perceiue was readie in their aid. Then finallie might the vision be published, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of the king was well liked of them all, and commandement giuen, that all maner of prouision should be prepared with all spéed for an armie to be set foorth into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to prouide themselues of all things necessarie, mustered their men in all parts, so that there was leuied a greater host than had béene seene in those parties of long time before. When the whole power was come togither, Kenneth marched foorth with the same, entring by great violence into the Pictish borders about Sterling.

Kenneth entred into Sterlingshire.

Drusken hastilie inuaded his enimies.

Drusken the king of Picts aduertised héereof, and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts and such Englishmen as he had reteined, to serue him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and passing by the Scotish armie in the night, incampeth betwixt them and home, insomuch that the day did no sooner appéere, but the one part desirous to be in hand with the other, without token of trumpet, or commandement of capteine, they rushed togither most fiercelie. The hastie spéed of the Picts to ioine, put them to no small disaduantage; but the departure of the Englishmen, withdrawing themselues aside to the next mounteine, most of all discouraged them: for the Scots therwith giuing a shout, declared themselues to be highlie recomforted with that sight. Drusken in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a messenger, willing them with large promises of reward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen answered, that their vse was not to fight without order and commandement of their generall, and that the Picts like vnskilfull men had cast awaie themselues to be slaine by the enimies hand, where it apperteined vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when no hope of victorie appéered.

The Englishmen fled.

Drusken sendeth to the Englishmen.

The middle ward of the Picts séeing themselues left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs; whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their ground and defended them, they began to shrinke: which the Scots perceiuing, stroke on the more fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to withstand their force, fell to running awaie. They made their course towards the water of Forth, which was not farre from the place of the battell, where being ouertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The Englishmen whilest the Scots and Picts were thus occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward with all spéed; and by reason of the mounteins which they had to passe, that tooke awaie the sight of them from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie without anie pursute. Drusken himselfe so soone as he perceiued how the field went against him, got him to his horsse, which he had appointed to be readie for him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of danger with a few other in his companie.

The Picts are vanquished.

The Englishmen escape.

Drusken escaped by flight.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in the place of the battell all night, kéeping strong watch about their campe, for doubt least the Englishmen had béene lodged in some secret place néere by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might haue séene anie aduantage; but in the morning when it was knowne how they were quite gone their waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pictish campe gathered and bestowed amongst the souldiers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in this iournie so manfullie imploied. Within few daies after, the Pictish king Drusken sent his ambassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Kenneth was contented to heare him, and promised to grant a peace, so they would surrender into his hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto him by right of inheritance. But this condition being vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that the warre was eftsoones renewed with more crueltie than before.

The Picts sue for peace.

The

The yeere next insuing this battell, Kenneth got Mernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing all the castels and holds with men, munition, and vittels. But whilest he went about to subdue the countries about Sterling, woord was brought him that such as he left thus in garison in those countries, were betraied by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie mothers sonne. Kenneth woonderfullie kindled in wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he had in hand with the people of Menteth and Sterlingshire for their submission, and returned in great hast towards Fife, where being arriued, he put all to the fire and swoord, not leauing one aliue of the Pictish nation within all those quarters. The like crueltie was shewed through the whole countries of Mernes and Angus, for an example to other to beware how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of allegiance.

Kenneth getteth Mernes, Angus, and Fife.

Fife is put to the fire and swoord.

Mernes and Angus is cruel lie punished.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots raged in such wise through those countries, Drusken assembling all the power of his countries, came foorth into the field to méet the Scots, meaning either to put them backe out of the confines of his dominion, either else to die with honor in the attempt thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a famous abbie of chanons of saint Augustines order, and here he found Kenneth with his armie alreadie incamped. The next day, when both parties were redie to haue giuen battell, Drusken wishing rather to aske peace whilest his power was yet in safetie, than after he were once vanquished (if such were his misaduenture) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he might talke with him before he ioined, for that he had to say certeine things, which being followed, might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of both the Scotish and Pictish nations.

Drusken commeth to rescu his people.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse anie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a communication, and so therevpon both the kings in presence of both their armies arranged in the field readie to fight, came togither in a place appointed, either of them being accompanied with a like number of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accorded. Here Drusken with manie reasons going about to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the same was betwixt the two nations: and againe, how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title and interest as they had in the countries of Mernes, Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the Scotish kings for euer, so that he should make no further claime vnto anie other of those countries which the Picts as yet possessed.

The persuasion of peace by Drusken.

Mernes, Angus, and Fife is required of the Picts to release.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vnderstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but sithens the Picts fought in an vniust quarell, as to defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus, who latelie reigned amongest them, of the rightfull inheritance of their kingdome, they themselues had iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to atteine that by warre which by other means they could not atteine at the hands of the vniust possessors, they had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was reason they should. And what commoditie might thereof insue to both nations, being by such means once ioined and vnited into one intire kingdome, he doubted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough. And as for other conditions of peace than this, he told them plainelie there would be none accepted. Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie agréement concluded: and being returned to their armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint of sword.

Kenneth his answere.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew themselues men, sith the same should iudge whether the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effectuall words when he had incouraged his folks to the battell, he diuided them into thrée wards, as two wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he set first archers and arcubalisters; and next vnto them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude with all kind of weapons, as was

The order of the battell.

thought most expedient. The fore ward was committed to the leading of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The king himselfe with a troope of horssemen followed them to succour in all places where he saw néed.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to the battell, which the Scots began with such a chéerefull shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset were so amazed, that if Drusken had not with comfortable words relieued their fainting stomachs, the most part of them had fled without anie stroke stricken. But being incouraged through the presence of their king, shewing himselfe with chéerefull countenance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them to stand by him at that present, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell betwéene them. The women that were amongest the Picts, of whom there was no small number, speciallie in the right wing, made such a wofull noise, when they beheld the men one kill an other, that they were a more cumbrance to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortlie beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Kenneth beheld, he set in with his horssemen on the backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring in amongest them, disordred their araie in such wise, that by no means they were able to aid themselues, or come into anie order againe: so that in the end they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and take them to their féete, thereby to escape the danger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell, that the Scots were forced in following the chase to breake their araie, so to passe the more speedilie: by means whereof, falling amongest whole bands of the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

King Drusken imboldeneth his people the Picts.

The women were a cumbrance to the Picts.

Kenneth with the horssemen disordered the Picts araie.

The right wing of the Picts is put to flight.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, commandeth to sound the retreat, and so gathering his people about their standards, he appointed certeine companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of the enimies, whilest he himselfe with the residue abode still in the place (where the field was fought) all that day and the next night following. The Scotish capteins that were sent to follow the chase, earnestlie executing their kings commandement, made great slaughter of Picts in all places where they might ouertake them. Drusken the Pictish king himselfe being pursued to the riuer of Taie, for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine with the whole retinue which he had about him. It is said, that the Scotishmen incountred with the Picts that day at seuen sundrie times, and in seuen sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the Scots. The day after the battell such as had followed the chase returned to the campe; where they presented vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other spoile of Drusken the Pictish K. which they brought with them, besides great abundance of other pillage and riches, which they had gotten of the enimies that were slaine. Druskens armour and other things belonging to his owne bodie, was offered vp to saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a monument of this victorie to such as should come after.

Kenneth causeth the retreat to be sounded.

The king of the Picts slaine.

After this the whole preie and spoile was gathered and diuided amongest the souldiers. Kenneth was counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue departed home; but he purposing now to make an end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a forwardnesse, called togither the multitude, and in this wise began to vtter vnto them his mind and purpose. "¶ It is the dutie of a good capteine, when he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres not ended, if he mind the preseruation of himselfe and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought, not to cease from pursuing the enimies once vanquished, till he haue either made them his friends, or else vtterlie destroied & rid them out of the way; for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the enimie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened and brought to a low ebbe, till time peraduenture he shall haue recouered his forces againe, he shall procure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than happilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake somewhat of this danger now present, the state of the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infeebled, their power being diminished by force of warre,

An oration of king Kenneth.

warre, is brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vtterlie to destroie and exterminat the whole nation. Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for vs by anie meanes to draw them (our honor saued) vnto our friendship. But the Picts are of such a stubborne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliue, they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge all such losses as they haue in anie wise susteined by this warre. Wherevpon I doo verelie belieue, that there is none of the Pictish nation from hencefoorth, will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts, thus latelie scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) vtterlie to destroie the whole nation, by putting to the sword not onelie both men and women, but also all their youth and yoong children: least they being descended of that linage, hereafter in time to come, arme themselues to the reuenge of their parents deaths, and that not without perill of the vtter losse of our countrie and kingdome."

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cruell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it most expedient for the suertie of the Scotish common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie herevpon was foorthwith shewed throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliue, sauing such as saued themselues within the walles of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortresses, and also about two thousand of those that fled into England: for all the residue were most vnmercifullie murthered and slaine, without respect either of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth hauing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the same as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles, according to the merits of euerie of them dulie weied and considered, he added new names vnto euerie quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictish names might end togither with the inhabitants.

The commōs allow the kings saieng.

A cruell act committed by the Scots vpon the Picts.

Pictland parted vnto diuers men.

The countrie ancientlie called Horestia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Mernan, by reason whereof the one part of the same countrie was called Angus, and the other the Mernes. The linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Otholinia, was turned afterwards to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valiancie was throughlie tried in these last warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Leuin and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was fensed about with seuen rampires, and as manie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this woorthie man after his deceasse had their habitation by the space of of manie hundred yeeres. Louthian retained still the former name, so honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongst all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie, Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine named Bar, whose counsell and forward seruice stood the Scots in no small steed in those warres, in which the Picts were thus subdued. That fortresse euer sithence (after his name) hath beene called Dunbar, that is to say, the castell of Bar.

New names are giuen vnto euerie region.

Angus.

Merne.

Fife.

Louthian.

A reward giuen vnto Bar which was the fortresse of Dunbar.

There descended of him a noble house or familie, bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with sundry branches of right famous memorie. The names of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some kept their old names still. Ordolucia shortlie after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer of Annan that runneth through the same. And so likewise Twéedale tooke name of the water of Twéed. And Cludesdale of the riuer of Clude. In like maner manie other countries, townes, and castels had their names changed at the same time, after they came into the possession of the Scotishmen, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their victorious acts atchiued against the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon trust

The familie of Dunbar.

The changing of the names of the dales.

Annandale.

Twedale.

Cludesdale.

The gentlewomen are preserued in Camelon.

to be in safetie in the same, as well by reason of strength of the place, as also of the strong garison which was appointed to defend it.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, cõmanding them for to yéeld.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto them within, to know if they would yéeld, he was answered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all such as fell into their hands, aswell of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life. Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of manie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got togither a great number of fagots, and other such brush and stuffe to fill the ditches withall, which were verie déepe and broad, at length when they within began to want vittels, they required a truce for thrée daies, in the which meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrutsing no deceit, granted their request, and therevpon commanded his people to ceasse from all maner of annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

They of Camelon require truce for thrée daies.

The Picts issue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themselues of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and stopped vp with earth and stones vpon the one side of the citie, so that of a long time before there had béene no way foorth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell wherewith it was closed vp, about the third watch they passe foorth at that gate in good order of battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene in such sudden tumults, especiallie chancing in the night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small number of them slaine at the entring. The citie also had beene taken at the same time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, discharged a woonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approched néere to the gate, where their fellowes (that made the issue) hasted to enter againe into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue six hundred, wherewith Kenneth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the falshood of the Picts, he vowed by open oth that hée would not depart from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and sword, without sparing of anie, either one or other.

An extreame vow made by king Kenneth.

The constancie of the Picts when they were besieged.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue woone the citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchiue his purpose. Wherevpon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths togither. So that such scarsitie of all kinds of vittels still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens absteined from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselues, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was foorthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend vnto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, bicause they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft vsed by Kenneth.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stuffe, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choisest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, ioining néere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should giue the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come foorth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came foorth of the wood, and hauing their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as

The Scots enter the citie.

being

being gotten togither to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approch, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on their backs, they were woonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did what lay in their vttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to driue them out of the citie againe.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie passage & corner of the stréets, insomuch that the Scotish lords and other capteins, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murther proceeded vpon all estates, aswell religious as other, and likewise vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pitie vpon their wofull estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scotishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre foorth was the murther executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. Then were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings aswell priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroied with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pauement and foundation of some part of the walles.

The Piets are miserablie slaine, without regard of person.

Ladies and gentlewomen desire the king to be pardoned of their liues.

All the Pictish nation destroied.

The citie of Camelon is throwne downe.

At the same time the castell of Maidens, now called commonlie Edenbourgh castell, was still kept with a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Northumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yéere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yéere after the birth of our Sauior 839, from the first comming of Ferguse 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scotish chronicles be true. ¶ But whereas the truth concerning the time of the first comming into this Ile, aswell of the Scots as Picts resteth doubtfull, and that aswell by authoritie of approoued writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, vnto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scotish writers, not taking vpon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scotish, as in the English historie, through want of such helpes in the one, as we haue got in the other.

The castell of Maidens is left of the Picts.

839.
1421. *H.B.*
6038. *H.B.*

There were séene the same yeere two comets or blasing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in haruest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yéere. There was oftentimes also séene in the aire a vision of firie armies, running togither with burning staues, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at seruice holding his crosier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About noone daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with braieng of horses, as though two armies should haue béene togither in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vncouth woonders were interpreted by diuinors diuerslie: some of them affirming the same to betoken ioy and happie prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and vtter calamitie.

Prodigious tokens séene in the aire.

The intepretation of these tokens.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth hauing thus destroied the Pictish kingdome, togither almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime

The marble stone is remoued from Argile into Gourie, in the place called Scone.

time brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Ferguse out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now foorth of Argile (where till that time it had beene diligentlie kept) into Gourie, which region before apperteined to the Picts, there to remaine from thencefoorth as a sacred token for th' establishment of the Scotish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, bicause that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scotish kings were vsed to sit, when they receiued the inuesture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him remooued, those Latine verses were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the aforesaid Ferguse the first his comming ouer foorth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

The residue of the Picts were dispersed.

Now in the meane time, when those few of the Picts, which by flight had escaped the Scotishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer into Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse other of them remained still in England, where they got their liuing either by some manuall occupation, either else by

The Scots liue in quiet.

seruice in the warres. The Scots from thencefoorth liued in quiet, during the life time of K. Kenneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the inlarging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie and in such wise, that where he found the fronters, he made the same well neere the middest of his kingdome. Other things he did also touching the politike gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no lesse woorthie of praise than his noble and famous con-

Kenneth maketh lawes & ordinances.

quests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and other officers should proceed in the administration of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to rehearse part as yet being vsed, that aswell the author, as the time of their first establishment, maie the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this historie.

THE CHAPTERS OF THOSE LAWES WHICH YET REMAINE TO BE OBSERUED ARE THESE.

Lawiers necessarie.

"Let euerie shire haue certein men skilled in the lawes appointed to be resident in the same, according as in the beginning it was instituted. Let their sonnes also in their youth be brought vp in knowledge of the same lawes.

The tables of the law to be kept.

"Let them onelie keepe in their custodies the tables of the lawes, with the register bookes of the kings & peeres of the realme.

Bribers to be hanged.

"If any of them be conuicted of extort bribing, or other the like vniust dealing, let him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie remaine vnburied.

Punishment for theft and murther.

"Such as are cõdemned for theft, let them be hanged, and those that are proued giltie of murther, let them lose their heads.

A woman cõdemned to be drowned, or burned quick.

"A woman which is condemned to die, either let hir bee drowned in some riuer, either else let hir be buried quicke.

Blasphemers haue their toongs cut out.

"He that blaspheneth the name of God, of the saints, of his prince, or of the capteine of his tribe, let him haue his toong cut out.

The punishment for a lier.

"He that is conuicted of a lie to his neighbours hinderance, let him haue his swoord taken from him, and be banished out of all mens companie.

A man accused to be condemned by an od quest of men.

"Such as be accused of any crimes that deserue death, let them passe by the sentence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11, 13, 15, or more, so that the number be od.

Robbers to be put to the sword.

"Robbers by the high waies, destroiers of corne growing in the fields, as is vsed by enimies in time of warre, let them die by the swoord.

Vagabonds to be whipped and burnt in the cheeke.

"Fugitiues, vagabonds, and such other idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt in the cheeke.

The wife shal not suffer for the husbands offense.

"Let not the wife suffer for the husbands offense, but the husband shal answer for the wiues misdeeds, if he be priuie therevnto.

"Any

"Any mans lemman or concubine shall suffer the same paines that he dooth which offendeth with hir. The concubine and hir mate to haue a like punishment.

"He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it, vnlesse she require for safegard of his life, to haue him to hir husband. Rauishers of maids shall die.

"If any man be taken with an other mans wife in adulterie, she consenting vnto him therein, they shall both suffer death for it. But if she consent not, but be forced against hir will, then he shall die onelie for the same, and she shall be released. Adulterers shall die.

"If the child hurt the father either with toong, hand, or foot, let him first be depriued of that member, and then hanged, his bodie to remaine without buriall. A child hurting his father shall die.

"A murtherer, a dumbe person, or he that is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not inherit his fathers patrimonie. Who are not to inherit.

"Iuglers, wizzards, necromancers, and such as call vp spirits, and vse to seeke vpon them for helpe, let them be burnt to death. Iuglers and wizzards, &c.

"Let no man sow in the earth any graine before it be purged of all the weeds. Sowing of graine.

"He that through negligent slouth, suffereth his arable ground to bee choked vp and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first fault let him forfait an oxe, for the second ten oxen, and for the third let him forgo the same ground. Euill husbandrie.

"Thy companion in the warres, or thy friend being slaine, see him buried, but let the enimie lie vnburied. Buriall of friends.

"Anie straie cattell that commeth into thy grounds, either restore them to the owner, either els deliuer them to the searcher out of theeues, commonlie called, *Tonoderach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne: for if thou reteine them in thy hands by the space of three daies, thou shalt be accounted giltie of theft. Waifes and straies.

"He that findeth anie thing that belongeth to an other man, let him cause it to be cried in the market, or els he shall be iudged for a fellon. Things foun

"He that striketh him, with whom he goeth to the law, about anie matter in controuersie, shall be iudged giltie of the action, and the other set free. Aduersaries sute of law.

"If oxen or kine chance by running togither to kill one another, the truth being not known which it was that did the hurt, that which is found without hornes shall be iudged the occasion of the skath; and he that is owner of the same, shall haue the dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to whome it belonged. Oxen or kir hurting ech other.

"If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned to death, and buried, so that no man eate of hir flesh. A sow.

"A swine that is found eating of corne that groweth in the field, or wrooting vpon the tilled grounds, let it be lawfull for anie man to kill the same without danger. Swine.

"Other kinds of beasts, wherein other men haue anie propertie, if they breake into thy pastures, or eate vp thy corne, impound them, till time the owner haue satisfied thee for the quantitie of the damage." ¶ These were ciuill ordinances belonging to the good gouernement of the people, other there were, which apperteine to religion: as these. Beasts damafaisant. Articles touching religion.

"Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratories, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

"Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, vigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honor of our S Christ & his saints. Keeping of holie daies.

"To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense woorthie of death. Priests.

"That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seuen yeeres space. Ground to be left vntilled.

"Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it. Graues.

"Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance. Buriall.

"The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner. Buriall of noble men.

"Let

"Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horsse shall beare the coate-armor of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horsse; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horsse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and therewith the people making an outcry against him, he shall streictwaies depart and get him with all spéed to the place frō whence he came; the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer vp vnto the priest his coate-armor with his horsse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister dooth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall."

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not apperteining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horsse and armor, fiue pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Reule his church, now called Saint Andrewes.

The bishops sée, which before had béene at Abirnethie, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Reule. Euer since which time the towne hath béen called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland: for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the sée of Murthlake, now called Abirden: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge méet for the office, vsed the authoritie & roome of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Yet such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue béene aboue the number of fortie bishops resident there, since the first institution of that sée: manie of them for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbred according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) inlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched foorth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Iles of Orknie on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yéeres in great renowme and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Fortiuiot, in the yéere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honorablie buried amongst his ancestors.

The bounds of the Scotish kingdome.

King Kenneth departed out of this life.

855. *H. B.*

DONALD.

Donald the fourth of that name succéedeth his brother Kenneth.

AFTER his deceasse succéeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had continued scarse two yéeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banketting, kéeping of hawkes, hounds, & horsses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue béene at for maintenance of men of warre to kéepe the frontiers of his realme, were imploied on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cookes, bawdes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

The king is dissolute behauior.

The king is admonished of his nobles.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembring what apperteined to their duties, spared not but fréelie admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his maners, nor restreined the licentious dooings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their woords were not regarded, but for the same they themselues ran into displeasure; they sorrowed not a little, to sée so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the region: for all youthfull persons

sons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that shortlie, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in steed of right, and contempt of Gods honor imbraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residue of the Picts remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceassed not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the recouerie of their dominion out of the Scotishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seates. At length Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland were persuaded through instant sute to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongest the Scots, by reason of the kings naughtie demeanor and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agréement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Englishmen ioined their powers togither, and in most spéedie and forcible wise passed the water of Twéed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king Osbert (being appointed as generall in that iournie) sent an herald vnto Donald the Scotish king, commanding him either to surrender vp vnto the Picts all such regions as the Scots had taken from them, either else to looke to haue the Englishmen and Britains no lesse their enimies than the Picts, whose cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and defend.

The exiled Picts require aid of the Englishmen.

Osbert and Ella kings of Northumberland.

The Englishmen and Britains ioined their powers with the Picts. An herald is sent vnto Donald.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he tooke a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his realme caused musters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and foorthwith came into the field to incounter his enimies, whome he found at Jedworth readie to giue battell: where after sore fight, in the end Osbert with his people was chased to the next mounteins. Donald hauing thus obteined the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had béene his owne, and therevpon remooued ouer Tweed with all possible hast, marching foorth till he came to the mouth of that riuer, where there laie at anchor certeine English vessels, laden with prouision of vittels and all other things necessarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these ships, with small resistance tooke them, spoiled them of all such things as were found aboord, and after set fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongest the souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the armie, through example of their prince, was so corrupted in vicious customes, that the campe was replenished with hoores, bawds, stews, and dicing tables, in such wise, that all such prouision as should haue serued for store and staple of vittels, was spent in riotous banketing without anie order or measure: & oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouernement lacketh) there happened amongest them in the armie, discord and variance with sundrie murders and slaughters.

Osbert is put to flight at Jedworth, or Jedburgh.

Osbert his prouision by water is taken by the Scotishmen.

A great disorder in the Scotish campe.

When the enimies were aduertised how far out of order all things stood in the Scotish campe for want of good and discreet chiefteins, Osbright with all spéed got a mightie host togither againe, and before his approch was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vpon them one morning in the breake of the day, and assaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found them so vnprouided of all helps to make resistance, that it was a woonder to sée the disorder that appeared amongest them: some of them running vpon their enimies naked without all discretion, other breaking foorth of the campe to saue themselues by flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie way to escape the enimies hands, though it were with present danger of breaking their necks downe the sideling banks and craggie rocks, being forced thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and Britains, who most eagerlie preased vpon them in all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There died of the Scots in this mortall bickering aboue twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fast asléepe at the first assault of the enimies, as he that had drunke ouer night more than inough, was taken before he could make anie shift for himselfe, with the residue of the nobilitie, that scaped with life.

The Scots campe sudden lie inuaded.

20000 Scotishmen slaine. King Donald ta'n with th nobilitie.

The campe is rifled.

The Scotish campe, the next day after this ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided amongest the Englishmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken prisoner, his campe woone, the armie discomfited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aliue remaining prisoners in the enimies hands, there was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as though the realme had alreadie béene lost without recouerie. Some there were that blamed fortune, some curssed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are euer sundrie opinions. Manie ran vp and downe the stréets and high waies, to inquire the certeintie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to resist the enimies, also which way the enimies held, whereabout they went, and what they purposed to doo.

The whole realme of Scotland discomfited.

The Englishmen inuade Louthian, the Britains Galloway.

The Scots left comfortlesse.

Anon after, when it was certeinlie knowen that the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks) stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens, that a greater hath not béene heard of in anie region. So that all prouision to defend their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes fauor. The Englishmen herevpon tooke all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains seized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no resistance in their way at all. Herevnto aswell the Englishmen as Britains vsed the victorie verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the Scotish bloud, that by anie means fell into their hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by the edge of the sword.

The Britains as yet kept possession of Cumberland, and those other countries lieng by the coast of those west seas.

The victorie vsed cruellie.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he staied certeine daies. At length vnderstanding that the enimies were nothing of that puissance or number, as at the first they were reported to be; he determined to set ouer in certeine boats ten thousand of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind and weather, that rose in that instant, there were fiue thousand of them drowned, the residue being constreined to land againe on the same side from the which they loosed, hauing lost through violence of the weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their vessels. Osbert being also admonished with this misfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he vnderstood he should find the Britains, with whome he might ioine his power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so inuade other of the Scotish regions which lay thereabout.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

Ambassadors sue for peace.

But at his comming thither, certeine Scotish ambassadours came vnto him to sue for peace, which they humblie required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much on brittle fortune, the which sheweth hir selfe neuer stable; but commonlie vseth to call backe againe hir grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanquished séemeth to haue béene sufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should little auaile them: yet were they minded to die in defense of their liberties, rather than to submit themselues vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The words of these ambassadors being throughlie weied (though some tooke them in great disdaine) yet in the end it was supposed that after victorie thus had against the enimies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Fortune is brittle.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proponed.

Wherevpon answere was made to the ambassadors, that both the English and British people with their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agrée to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countries as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them

them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scotish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time euer after, the Scotish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scotish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluith, standing at the mouth of the same riuer, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thencefoorth to beare the name of Dunbreton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driuen to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within three daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constreined them to the contrarie. Moreouer, they should not fortifie anie townes or castels on the frontiers neere to the English or Britis confines. And further, they should couenant to pay vnto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer threescore hostages, being the sonnes and heirs apparant of the chiefest noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The Forth called the Scotish sea.

Dunbreton. It was called before Caer Arcluith, that is, the citie vpon Clnide, as *H. Lluoid* holdeth.

Hostages are required.

The ambassadors returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for free people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people beene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, borne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appeased this contention, persuading them to haue respect to the time. And sith the force of the realme was so infeebled, abated, and brought vnder foot through aduerse fortune: better it was to yeeld vnto necessitie in sauing part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recouer the residue, than through obstinat wilfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonor to receiue conditions of peace at the enimies hands, sith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladlie accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Gald appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdome amongest them, and such as regarded their honor, so far foorth as reason in anie wise did reach.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his graue counsell taketh place.

The multitude moued with these words of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age and roome) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finallie determined to follow his opinion in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Osbert had prescribed: and therevpon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages appointed for the establishing of the peace, in maner as is before rehearsed. Which being throughlie accomplished in such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Osbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home togither with the ambassadours, being earnestlie required so to doo, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The multitude consented vnto Calene his saiengs.

The Scots receiue the peace.

King Donald with the noble men are sent home againe.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the riuers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland: and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scotish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scotish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those three people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Osbert, as it was couenanted amongest other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scotish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, wherevpon came vp the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued,

Lands diuided betwixt the Britains and Englishmen.

ceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appéere) that name came not in vse till manie yéeres after. Osbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the woodden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set vp a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

Anglos à Scotis separat cruxista remotis,
Arma hîc stant Bruti, stant Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.

Belenden the Scot.

I am free march as passengers maie ken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts hope is deceiued.

The Picts which had béene with the Englishmen in this iournie, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Osbert, when they saw how he reteined the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in déed, least the Englishmen of friends would now become enimies, séeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselues in the possession of those lands and liuings, wherevnto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilest anie of them remained aliue.

The Picts went into Norwaie and Denmarke.

Vpon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongest the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselues, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norwaie and Denmarke, vnto their countriemen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found aliue within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scotish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honor than he had deserued; in hope yet by this scourge of aduerse fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Neuerthelesse, he had not béene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, remooving from his companie such honorable personages as wished the suertie of his estate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiuing the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vndiscréet rule and gouernement, they found means to apprehend and commit him vnto safe keeping. But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he was thus put in ward in great desperation slue himselfe, in the sixt yeare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Sauiour 860.

King Donald falleth to his old vices againe.

King Donald is laid in prison.

He slaieth himselfe in prison.

860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought vnto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as aboue is rehearsed, there were sundrie woonders heard of in the countrie; as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scotishmens hands. Beasts also, as they were pasturing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddenlie died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scotish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the sauour of them lieng on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they tooke through infection thereof.

A yoong babe giueth warning vnto his mother.

Beasts roring died.

Fishes like in shape to men.

Adders and snakes fell downe out of the skie.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in diuination, affirmed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end vnto king Donald, as afterwards it happened, who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is expressed) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the maner as then vsed. After his first entring into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recouered out of their possessions, those countries which they had latelie taken from the Scots in his predecessors time; but his councell

The interpretation of the prodigious things.

King Constanstine crowned.

He fain would recouer his predecessors losses.

councell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the common-wealth was so decaied by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discord, as through licentious libertie reigned amongest his subiects might be appeased and quieted, there was no hope to atchiue anie woorthie enterprise abrode against forreigne enimies. He was aduised otherwise by his councell.

Herevpon by their aduertisements and good aduise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders as were growen vp in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with anie secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe horsses, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were found negligent in dooing his dutie appertaining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he tooke order (to bridle them the better from wanton delights and sensuall lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie delicats, and to absteine from all such drinke as might distemper their braine, so that if anie yoong person, either man or woman, were knowen to be drunken, they should die for it. Misorders are redressed. Priests shuld onelie attend their vocation. A penaltie for not dooing their duelies. Youth should eate but one meale a day. Drunkennes punished with death.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slouthfulnesse, that their bodies might with such exercises be made the more able to indure paines and trauell: and for the same purpose he tooke order, that they should lie vpon the bare boords, with one mantell onelie throwen vnder them, so that they should tast nothing neither by day nor night, that might noozell them in anie wanton delights or effeminat pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept vittelling houses for banketting cheere, should be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances, made within short time of gluttons and excessiue feeders, sober and temperat men: of delicat and easefull persons, hard, tough, and able to abide anie trauell or labor, were the same neuer so painfull: and hereof the state of the common-wealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subiects. Youth to be trained vp in hardnesse. Keepers of banketting houses he banished. Scots were made sober and able to abide hardnes.

The first that went about to disquiet the prosperous reigne of that woorthie prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, & borne in the westerne Iles. ¶ Such haue beene the vnquiet nature of the Scotishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to liue contented anie long time either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in time of peace heaped togither some wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement of their superiors, but either are readie to fall out with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some commotion amongest themselues. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstafage in Louchquhaber, practised a conspiracie against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, misliking the administration of things, onelie for that they saw how their inordinat libertie to oppresse inferiour persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdemeanour, as they had doone afore time, was now restreined by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same. Euan disquieted the king and realme. The vnquiet nature of Scotishmen. Euan lieutenant of Dunstafage conspireth against the king.

But as these conspirators went about to haue mooued the people of Louchquhaber, Murrey land, Rosse, and Cathnesse, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous interprise; some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretlie aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made such speedie hast towards Dunstafage, where the chiefe capteine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same yer anie inkling were knowen to them within of his approch. By meane whereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell soone at his pleasure; and immediatlie herevpon caused Euan to be trussed vp on a high paire of gallowes, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefteine, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in streict prison, there to be safelie kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined The king is aduertised of Euan his treason. The king cõmeth to Dunstafage with an armie. Euan is executed. Manie kept in prison.

determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This busines being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenlie followed a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischiefe, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

One trouble followeth another.

Cardane king of Denmarke.

Cardane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as somtimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the iniuries which the Picts alledged they had susteined) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therefore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Hubba. These two chiefteins hauing their ships and men with all prouision apperteining once readie, tooke the sea, and sailed foorth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they tooke land within the countrie of Fife, before anie tidings were heard of their comming thither.

The cause that made the Danes to make warre against England and Scotland.

A great nauie sent into Scotland.

The Danes vse great crueltie.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namelie for that they had not as yet receiued the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, ouerthrowing and burning vp churches and chappels, wheresoeuer they found anie in their way. Wherevpon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses & possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come aduersaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting foorth the woord of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scotishmen, into the Iland called Maie, which lieth in maner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of moonks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restraine the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murthering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

The inhabitants fled the countrie.

They that fled into May Iland were slaine.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scotish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Iland of Maie; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Gaius, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stolbrand: the names of the residue are forgotten. ¶ Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which flieng out of their countrie, from the persecution which was there exercised by men of misbeliefe against the christians, they arriued here in Scotland, and applied themselues to the instructing of the Scotishmen in the way of saluation Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there togither. But of whence soeuer they were, certeine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wood rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries neere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

The vncertentie of writers in this matter of these martyrs.

Constantine the Scotish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted anie further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subiects. Herevpon leuieng his people, and assembling a mightie host togither, he passed foorth with the same towards his enimies, the which were lodged in two seuerall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leuin, the which (vpon the approch of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that laie on the further side next vnto them) chanced

Constantine assembled a mightie army.

to

to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might bée passed ouer at the foords.

After this sore and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared vp and waxed verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enimies, whilest the other could not come ouer vnto their aid and succors. In this campe which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue staied his men from issuing foorth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew néere to the same, and assaied all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come foorth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could doo, foorth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the capteins were constreined of necessitie to set them in order of battell, sith they would néeds giue the onset vpon their present enimies. The Scots & Danes ioine their battels.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor certeine linen garments, wrought with red silke, shewing faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold foorth against them. These kind of weapons, togither with the muster of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scotishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araie of battell. But anon comming néere togither readie to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Manie of them making towards their campe were ouertaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, aswell of their owne companie, as of their enimies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and striuing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drownd in the whorling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side readie to haue passed the water, if they might so haue doone without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whome Hubba was one, to the great reioising of his brother Hungar, to sée him thus deliuered twise from perill of death, as first from amongest his enimies, and secondlie out of the roring streame of that déepe and swift raging riuer. The Danes apparell. Their weapons. Tall men of bodie and lims. A battell. The Danes take the flight. Hubba was saued from drowning.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enimies to the woorse, with that happie successe tooke such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had béene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue; so that for two daies togither, there was such dansing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not béene heard of. Yea so farre procéeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselues for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though alreadie they had the same wholie in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captens after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept aliue to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoo and manie vaine woords were spent héereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselues: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie procéedings against their enimies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselues in such order, whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuise for the diuiding of the spoile, perceiuing occasion now offered to giue the onset, foorthwith araied their people in this sort. The Scots tooke of this victorie immoderate ioy. The Scots for ioy readie to fall out. Constantine procéeded against his enimies. The order & placing of the Danes armie.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Englishman borne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare such Hubba had the right wing. Buerne had the left wing.

such iniuries as Osbert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonor of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certeine bands of Englishmen, with those Picts that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell or middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, sith the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches conteined therein, either else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, vowed with solemne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Wherevpon the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agréed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine kéeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant or thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a péece.

Hungar kept the battell.

Hungar made a vow.

The souldiers did make the like vow.

King Constantine placed his men in like manner.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so valiantlie atchiued the victorie in the last battell, requiring them now not to blemish their former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be afeard of their enimies, in respect more for their hugenesse of bodie, than for anie of their valiant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their woonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obteine a ioifull victorie. Heerewith he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enimies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselues, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

An incouragement giuen to his souldiers.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scotish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enimies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enimie in feare, and incourage themselues to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched foorth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they also staied in the midway to refresh themselues, least at the ioining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their enimies verie freshlie, and the Scots let flie at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had béene a storme of haile.

The Danes approch towards the Scots.

The Danes shot quarels and threw darts.

The Scots shot arrowes and darts as thicke as haile

After this they rushed togither with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enimies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they constreine the same in the end with great bloudshed and slaughter to giue backe and flée out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this infortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a caue by the sea side amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murthered by the enimies. The place was called certeine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murther there committed. The Scotish nation also had beene vtterlie as then destroied, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, escaped awaie with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The Scots are put to flight.

Constantine is taken and murthered.

The blacke den or caue.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saued by flight.

ETHUS.

THE people likewise doubting for want of a gouernor to be the sooner ouercome by their enimies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yéere were manie woonders and vnketh sights séene within the Scotish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth otherwise called the Scotish sea, there appeared fishes in great

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Fishes like vnto men in shape.

great numbers, like vnto men in shape, swimming vp and downe in the streame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks, from their shoulders vpwards like an hood. These are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great companies togither, as though they were skulles of herrings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of Aprill; and when the frost brake, and the snowe melted, there was such a floud flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene séene. Furthermore, when the same shrunke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases insued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreouer, there was a mightie starre or comet séene with firie raies issuing foorth of the same, which both night and day followed the moone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horror of all that beheld it.

Bassinates.

A long winter.

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet.

But to procéed. The Danes (as is said) hauing vanquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of Fife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being aided with certeine Englishmen in fauour of Bruerne, slue in battell both Osbert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had atchiued the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saued themselues by flight. But chieflie their rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselues men of religion. For the Danes being Ethniks, persecuted most egerlie those that in anie wise professed Christ. The like outragious murthering of the christians was practised throughout the countrie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the Eastangles, as in the English historie more plainlie maie appéere. Howbeit other of the English kings mainteined the warres with these Danes certeine yéeres after this, with variable fortune; the most part of those people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage and thraldome. But Alured, which succéeded his brother king Edelfred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, redressed a great part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in sundrie conflicts, and sleaing their two capteins the foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same English historie is further expressed.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Osbert & Ella slaine.

This crueltie inuaded Norfolke also.

King Alured redressed thos harmes.

Hector Boetius mistaketh diuers matters touching the report of our histories.

But now to returne vnto Ethus, I find that he was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and therevpon was surnamed Lightfoot: but of what nimble lightnesse of bodie soeuer he was, truth it is that he was of disposition in mind vnfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recouered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whilest the Englishmen and Danes were togither by the eares, he passed ouer that occasion, delighting more in following the pleasures of the bodie & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates of chiualrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuse the woorthie gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent dooings should indamage the publike state of the common-wealth, they tooke counsell togither how they might apprehend him, and to send him some whither out of the waie where to be safelie kept, and then to place some other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the same with more discretion & better aduise. And least their resolution should be disclosed before it tooke effect, they slacked no time, but went spéedilie about their businesse. And comming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Calidon wood, they suddenlie arested him, and therwith committed him to safe keeping: & those whome they knew to be fauourers of this euill rule and misgouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they had answered vnto such articles as should be laid to their charge. This doone, they procéeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the persuasion of one Dongall gouernor or thane of Argile, they chose Gregorie the sonne of

Ethus surnamed Lightfoot

Ethus neglected the opportunitie.

A conspiracie made against king Ethus.

King Ethus is arested, with his fauourers.

Gregorie is chosen king.

of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

GREGORIE.

THIS Gregorie being knowne to be a man woorthie of the roome, though he himselfe onlie was against it, at length by persuasion receiued the inuesture of the kingdome at Scone, with all due solemnitie. Ethus hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within three daies after, in the second yeere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Sauiour. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by aduenture he might haue béene restored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus established in the estate, considering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his gouernment with some luckie enterprise, caused a conuocation to be holden at Forfair, for the aduancement of Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thencefoorth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paieng of tribute and all maner of exactions. Also that they should not be constreined to go vnto the warres, neither to come before anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their ordinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iudged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, aswell for the kéeping of faith giuen, as to constreine them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controuersie touching matrimonie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreouer the correcting of those that blaspheme either God or his saints.

876. H. B.
875. Io. Ma.

A conuocation of the clergie.
Priests are frée of all tribute.
They should not be called to serue in the warres.
Authoritie giuen vnto bishops to order kings.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like offendors against the lawes and articles of the christian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and their substituts, so that all those which were found disobedient vnto them, and refused to be at their commandement, they should haue authoritie to excommunicate them out of the church, and from companie kéeping with anie of the cõgregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be depriued of all abilitie to inioy anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions whatsoeuer they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witnesse in anie maner of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the common-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was the first author of that ordinance, by the which the Scotish kings at their coronation vse of ancient custome to vow by solemne oth, that during their liues, they shall mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or infringe the same.

When the Scotish kings first began to promise by oth to mainteine the libertie of the church.

There was suerlie in this Gregorie a certeine naturall inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse in all his woords, that he vttered few or none but that the same séemed to be spoken with verie great consideration. He was neuer maried, but continued in chastitie all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to sléepe. But his fame increased most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill administration concerning the state of the common-wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where necessitie required. The first expedition which he tooke in hand, he made into Fife, to recouer that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those parties at their departure thence, being striken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enimies, fled foorthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it against the Scots.

King Gregorie was giuen wholie vnto godlinesse.
King Gregorie was neuer maried.
He was sober.
He made an expedition into Fife.
The Picts fled into Louthian.

Wherevpon Gregorie so finding it desolate of inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought most expedient. This doone he passed into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and places of defense, some by force, and some by surrender, he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so that within a few daies, hauing there all at his pleasure, he came vnto Berwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioined togither with the Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but to fight

The king set inhabitants in Fife.
He subdued Louthian.
The Danes and Picts ioine themselues togither.

with

with the Scots euen there, if they should come forward vpon them. But when they saw what number the Scots were of, and heerewith doubting the Englishmen to come on their backs if the matter went not well with them; they thought it best that such Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwike before the enimies were at hand, and the residue to passe ouer Twéed into Northumberland, there to ioine with other Danes that in those parties were latelie arriued. They fled into Northumberland.

But the Englishmen within Berwike, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it togither with their ghests vnto the Scotishmen, who suffering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in their houses, slue the Danes, without sparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a strong garrison of Scotishmen within Berwike, Gregorie marched foorth with the residue of his people into Northumberland, to vnite that countrie to other of his dominions that bordered vpon the same. The Danish nobilitie fled into Berwike. The Danes are slaine in Berwike.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Yorke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countriemen at Berwike, threatned sore that he would not leaue a man aliue of the Scotish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which vow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortlie after, hearing of their enimies approch, the whole host (by commandement of Herdunt) issued foorth of their campe to giue battell. Herdunt threatned the Scots. The Danes prepare to the battell.

Héere the Scotish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such hast was made by the Scots to preasse vpon their enimies, that he saw it more needfull to take héed to the ordering of them in perfect araie, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murthered, after he had yéelded himselfe prisoner to these enimies, with whome they should now ioine. The Scots egerlie inuade their enimies. King Gregorie his saieng to the souldiers.

The Scots héerevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enimies scarse space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iauelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there néeded neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of wiflers to kéepe them in araie. For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egernesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enimies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had doone in the field. The Danes fled to their campe.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being dispersed here and there; but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that vnhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Rasin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarse fortie miles got foorth on his waie, when woord came to him, that Rasin fighting with the Englishmen vnwarilie, at a place called Helcadés, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was caried abroad vp and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be séene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaie. Herdunt assembled his men togither. Herdunt went toward Rasin, chiefe generall of the Danes in England.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose foorth a plot of ground most méet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to doo. But Gregorie king of Scots, Herdunt remained in campe.

King Gregorie suffered the inhabitants of Northumberland to inioy their lands.

hauing thus expelled the Danes foorth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuerthelesse he permitted the inhabitants to inioy all their possessions still, onelie receiuing of them in name of souereigntie a yéerelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwike, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

King Gregorie wintered at Berwike.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iournie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not driuen to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being vexed afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for twentie yéeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortlie after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renewing the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last ouerthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the woorst, feared to incounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enimies to become their friends. Héerevpon sending vnto the Scotish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enimies to both their countries, promising that if they would so doo, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scotish kingdome.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

Gregorie weieng with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the good suertie and aduancement of Christes religion, whereof the Danes were greeuous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselues togither in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they néeded to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which perteined sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scotish confines inlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

This dissention and variance being ceassed after this maner, it greatlie reioised the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongest their enimies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th' amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they néeded not greatlie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselues of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the deceasse of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recouer that countrie out of the Scotishmens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was comming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberland with their bootie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more conuenient.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

The Scots ouerthrow the Britains.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them battell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more regard to his honor than to the suertie of his life, he rushed foorth into the formost prease, there to succour and relieue his standards: but being compassed about amongest a great companie of his enimies, his chance was there to be slaine with a number of the chiefest lords of all the British nation. The other multitude séeing the day go thus against them, fled to saue their liues, leauing the victorie so vnto the Scots.

Constantine is slaine

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to haue bin vtterlie ouerrun, what by the Scots on the one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid to be looked for of the English, they

they had plaine answer they should haue none, sith they had so vniustlie broken the league concluded with their confederats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the prosperous procéedings of all the inhabitants of this Ile, against their common enimies the Danes. Yet the better to establish the estate of their countrie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former damages; they crowned to their king one Herbert or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassadours vnto Gregorie king of the Scotishmen to excuse themselues, in that they had so wrongfullie attempted the warres against him and his people, laieng all the fault in Constantine, who against the wils and contrarie to the minds of his subiects, did take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortunat enterprise.

Herbert king of Britaine sent ambassadors to Gregorie.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these ambassadours, for answere declared vnto them, that he vnderstood well inough, that the Britains now sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they had vnto their oths of couenant; but onelie for that they saw how if they should pursue the warre still, they were sure that in the end they should be like to haue the foile: and therefore he was fullie thus resolued, not to conclude anie peace or truce with such disloiall people, till they had resigned ouer into his hands the whole possession of the countries of Cumberland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to pretend anie claime or title vnto those dominions from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the keies of all the townes, castels and fortresses in the same countries, and to auoid quite their wales into Wales to other their countriemen there, but also to deliuer sixtie noble mens sonnes and heires apparant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

King Gregorie his answere.

Gregorie required a resignation of Cumberland and Westmerland.

The ambassadours returning home with this message, and reporting it accordinglie vnto their king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end they condescended to conclude a peace with the rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scotish king, sith they saw no better meane to preserue their nation from present destruction. And thus deliuering the appointed number of pledges, they left the countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void, surrendering into the Scotishmens hands the possessions of all the townes, castels and fortresses, and therewith departed into Northwales, where they placed themselues in the countrie betwixt Conway and the riuer of Dée, out of the which they expelled the Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof) and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which they named Stradcluid, mainteining warres against the Englishmen manie yeares after.

Peace was concluded.

Humf. Lhoid. 870.

King Gregorie hauing thus inlarged his kingdome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he resolued (with their aduise) to follow such good fortune as by Gods prouidence dailie chanced vnto them. Wherevpon it was agréed, that they should go first vnto Yorke to conquere that citie, whilest the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the Danes that were come thither; so as neither the one nation nor the other could attend to make anie attempt to hinder the Scotishmens enterprise. But in the meane time came ambassadours vnto Gregorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prosperous successe against his enimies the Danes and others. These ambassadours also willed to haue the ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots renewed, by which means both their powers might ioine togither against their common enimies, when they should attempt anie wrongfull inuasion.

The policie of the Scots to haue taken Yorke.

King Alured sent ambassadours vnto king Gregorie.

This request was granted, so that shortlie therevpon peace was established betwixt those princes and their people, with confirmation of the old league, whereto were added these articles; That the Scots should inioy possession of Northumberland without anie claime to be made to the same by the Englishmen; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their dominions, the warre should be accounted as common to them both; Neither should the Scots grant passage to anie enimie of the Englishmen through Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scotishmens enimies to passe through England; If anie Englishmen did rob or steale anie thing out of Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the offendors with the receiuers should be deliuered to the Scotish magistrats, to be punished according to the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be obserued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Peace confirmed.

New conditions of peace.

No passage to be granted vnto the enimie.

Punishment of robbers.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen, as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen

Galloway inuaded by the Irish men.

Irishmen into that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two ships of Dubline arriuing on their coast, sent ouer a great power of men, the which landing in Galloway, made great slaughter of the people on each side. King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, streitwaies made towards them, but they hauing knowledge of his comming drew to their ships with a great prey of goods and cattels, and returned therewith immediatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Herevpon Gregorie without delaie got togither his ships and followed the enimie with all his armie, and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme in great feare, who as then were in contention togither which of them should haue the gouernement, by reason their king was latelie dead, and had left a sonne behind him being but a child in yéeres, to succéed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wiser sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their countrie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but when they saw that it would not be, they did so much preuaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for a while, least fighting still amongst themselues, they should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of the Scots: against whome when they had agréed vpon the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a power, one Bren being generall of the one, and Cornelius of the other; for these two princes were heads of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the gouernement of the realme rested, and therevpon by consent of the residue had the leading of all them that were of their faction.

A truce was taken betwixt the two parties.

The two Irishmen gather their powers

Two armies one néere the other.

The Irishmens practise.

These two capteins with their armies incamped themselues vpon the banke of the riuer Bane, vnder the mounteine called Fute: their camps being seuered by a small distance the one from the other, in such a strong place, that it was not possible for the enimies to approch them without manifest danger to cast away themselues. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had famished the Scotish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious prouision of Gregorie passed the politike deuise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euerie one of those Scotishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fiftie daies space, as of bread, chéese, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not néed to care, sith they were sure to find water inough in euerie place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & seruile gluttonie had not softned nor inured* with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scotish people.

The Scots had made prouision of vittels afore hand.

[* *Sic. qu. iniured.*]

The kings deuise.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to send in the night season two thousand of his souldiors vp to the ridge of the forenamed mounteine called Fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constreine them to come foorth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan.

King Gregorie assailed the Irishmen.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, tooke vpon him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backeside of the mounteine, in the morning when their felows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Bren lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flée in maner without anie stroke striken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, tooke a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few, hauing before hand such commandement from their prince.

The Irish are pursued.

Whilest this mischiefe fell vpon Bren and his people, Cornelius with his folkes cursing that infortunate daie, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre inough out of danger. The bodie of Bren also was found amongst other in the rifling of the campe, with the head bruised in péeces, and the braines dashed out with some

Bren was slaine.

stone

stone throwne downe by the Scotishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in christian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmelesse, onelie reteining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should prouide themselues of vittels to serue them, whilest they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Women and children are kept harmles.
Unarmed men were spared.
Vittels were commanded to be prouided.

Herevpon manie of the Irish people thus tasting the mercifull clemencie of the Scotish king, yéelded themselues vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the townesmen to redéeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiors for a péece of monie.

Doungarg or Doungard besieged.
The towne was yéelded.
A gentle ransome.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of thrée daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therfore preserued the citizens from all hurt & annoiance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not béene séene within the memorie of man in that Ile. Whervpon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mounteine.

Pontus was surrendred also.
Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thrée battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Kernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swoords, which they caried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefest nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiors, chosen foorth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselues into two wings, and a middle ward, in euerie of the which were thrée sorts of souldiors: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swoords and leaden malles.

The Irishmen came in thrée battels.
Kernes.
These might we name Gallowglasses, if they had béene furnished with axes.
The Scots came in two wings.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to ioine) kept off their enimies with long speares or iauelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come néere them: which disaduantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they should with their swoords cut those iauelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselues, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scotish standards.

Two battels ioine.
Cornelius was sore wounded.
The Irish ran away.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a woonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a woonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were receiued into it fléeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled before, in hope of assured victorie and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yeeld, either else by some issue auoid that danger wherein they were presentlie bewrapped.

Dublin besieged.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of anie reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scotishmens puissance) they should

fall

They consult vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

fall to some treatie with the Scotish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obteined: for other remedie in that present mischiefe they could deuise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cormach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of vpright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cormach B. of Dublin went vnto K. Gregorie.

He tooke vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afore his presence, besought him most humblie to haue compassion vpon the poore miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wrath, if he had conceiued anie péece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yoong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it apperteined more to the honor of a king, to preserue the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countries, than by violent hand to séeke their destruction.

Duncane.

A wittie saieng.

King Gregorie his wise & godly answer.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had doone to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselues were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had déerelie bought with no small portion of their bloud (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthilie by the iust iudgement of almightie God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yoong Duncans behoofe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

Dublin is surrendered vnto K. Gregorie.

This answer of the Scotish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined foorthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched foorth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cormach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Gregory was receiued with procession.

Cormach bishop of Dublin becometh a crosse-bearer.

He kisseth the crucifix.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe aduanced foorth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knées, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieng till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, hée entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be doone of certeine vnrulie persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

He entred the castell.

A peace concluded with Ireland.

Articles of couenant.

Their yoong king to be wel brought vp.

K. Gregorie to haue the gouernment of the realme.

He should also appoint the magistrates.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in councell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and couenants. First it was agréed that the yoong king Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discréet persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained euer since his fathers decease) till he came to yéeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the fortresses into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should sée iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countrie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize,

chandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chiefest of them for performance of the couenants, and herewith taking with him thréescore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland. No man to traffike in Ireland with out a pasport. K. Gregorie returned into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in good order and rule, to the aduancement of the common-wealth: and finallie died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundore within the countrie of Garioth, in the 18 yeere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Sauiour 893. He was neuer maried, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie dooings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowmed princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the adornement of his countrie and common-wealth; Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuiledges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbeie of Colmekill, and there buried with all solemne pompe and exequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the fift of that name, caused a faire toome to be erected. The king died 893. Aberdine is made a citie. King Gregorie is buried in Colmekill.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous clearke Iohn Scot, a Scotishman in déed borne, but brought vp in studie of good literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Gréeke toong, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperour Lewes, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionyse, intituled *Hierarchia*, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassador from the same Lewes vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbeie of Malmesburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholers, that it was a woonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceassed not to blame and sharpelie to reproue the corrupt maners of such his scholers, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murthered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs. Iohn Scot. Some hold that he was an Englishman. Bale. Dionys. Areopagita was translated by Iohn Scot. He taught K. Alured in England. He taught in Malmesburie. He was killed of his scholers.

DONALD.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succéeded Donald the *5* in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in good quiet and flourishing in welth, he applied his whole studie to mainteine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be dulie ministred, so that no iniurie, speciallie if it were doone to anie poore person, escaped vnpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed mind, whose religion (to the aduancement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie ordinances, he made this statute to be obserued as a law, that such as by swearing vnaduisedlie blasphemed the name of almightie God, or in cursing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked féend, and betooke anie christian creature vnto his hellish power and domination (a vice naturallie following the people of that nation) should haue his toong thrust through with a burning iron. But wo worth the negligence of such as haue succéeded him, in suffering so necessarie an ordinance to be abolished and worne out of vse, considering the horrible othes and blasphemie, with the bitter and dreadfull cursings so much frequented of all estates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elsewhere, as without great horror of the hearers cannot bée halfe expressed. Donald the fift. He was a good iusticier. He was religious. A punisher of blasphemers. Good ordinances are neglected.

But to our purpose touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced afterwards, that he had knowledge how Gormond a Dane was landed with a puissant armie vpon the coasts of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe néere vnto the shore, without dooing anie damage to the countrie: so that it was vncerteine what he intended, whether to begin a Gormond arriued with a nauie in Northumberland.

King Donald goeth to resist him.

conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To preuent therefore all dangers, Donald hasted towards Northumberland; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iornie, but that word came to him, how Gormond was alreadie passed ouer Humber, and entered into the English borders. But yet did not Donald staie his iournie,

Gormond went beyond Humber.

till he heard certeinelie that Gormond keeping vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the least 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting least happilie he had ment some deceit, as suddenlie to haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had beene once gone backe.

Donald sent 5000 men to the aid of the Englishmen.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpose was onelie to assaile the English countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald sent 5000 Scotishmen vnto the aid of the Englishmen; and also appointed two thousand horssemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he staied for a time) discharging the residue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortlie after Gormond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Englishmen and Scots, though the same was got with such losse of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to pursue the enimies in chase, but constreined immediatly after to conclude a necessarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes should enioy common seats with the Englishmen in Albion, & that Gormond with his Danes should be baptised and professe the christian religion. Herevpon also were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gormond comming to receiue baptisme had his name changed and was called Athelstane, during whose life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Gormond is ouerthrowne by K. Alured.

A peace concluded.

The Danes to be baptised, and to remain in England.

Gormond is baptised with manie mo.

Whilest things passed thus in England, there rose a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Murrey land and Rosse, which disquieted king Donald not a *little*. The occasion grew by reason of certeine theeues, which comming foorth of Rosse in the night time, secretlie entered into Murrey land, to fetch booties from thence. At the first they of Murrey land made resistance against them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they skirmished in such wise, that within two moneths space, there were slaine betwixt them two thousand of the one side and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with intestine discord, gathered a great power, and with the same hasted into Murrey land: where calling the chiefest dooers and mainteiners of this businesse to make answer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themselues of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this sort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readinesse, if the Danes or Englishmen (whome he suspected) should attempt anie thing against his subiects in those parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almost 11 yeers, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, with a marble toome set ouer his graue, as the manner in those daies was customablie vsed.

They of Rosse inuade Murrey land.

Two thousand men slaine.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

The chiefe dooers were put to death.

The king went into Northumberland.

Donald died.

CONSTANTINE.

Constantine the third. 903.

AFTER Donald the fift, there succeeded in rule of the realme Constantine the third of that name, the sonne of Ethus the swift, beginning his reigne in the yeere after the incarnation 903. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie succeeded Alured in rule ouer the Englishmen being ware thereof, sent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to restore vnto his subiects the Englishmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, & Westmerland (which the Scotish king Gregorie had in times past by occasion of the troublesome season taken from the right owners by force) either else to looke for warres at his hands within fortie daies after this summons.

King Edward sent an herald with defiance.

Constantine heerevnto answered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for those lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themselues,

The answer of king Constantine.

themselues, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the punishment on them that vniustlie had piked the quarrell. Héerevpon insued manie rodes and forraies betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, made (as occasion serued) into ech others countrie, with diuers skirmishes and light bickerings for twelue moneths space togither, without anie notable incounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increased in puissance, more than was thought requisite for the suertie either of the Englishmen or Scots, which mooued king Edward by persuasion of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Constantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Constantine lightlie agreed: so that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the English and Scotish nations.

Forewarnings of war.

The peace was renewed and the league confirmed.

Shortlie after also the warre was renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by conclusion of a mariage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poisoned by his wife the said Beatrice: and then bicause Aualassus (whome the English writers name Aulafe) and Godfrie, the sonnes of Sithrike, put the same Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward mooued warre against them, and in foughten field discomfited them, but was slaine in that battell himselfe (as Hector Boetius saith.) But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the historie of England.

The Danes were discomfited.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus slaine, conceiued such hope of good successe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquished, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and first of all Aualassus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, sent vnto Constantine the Scotish king, to allure him to ioine with them against the Englishmen, which with great gifts and large promises he easilie brought to passe, the league notwithstanding which remained betwixt the English and Scotish nations. Héerevpon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest prouision that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to vtter destruction.

The Danes conceiue hope of good succes.

The Scots euer false to the Englishmen.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselues togither.

Malcolme sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scotish armie, conteining the number of twentie thousand men: The same Malcolme also at the same time was created heire apparant of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordeined, that he which should succéed to the crowne after the kings deceasse, should euer inioy that prouince. Malcolme ioining his power with Aualassus and Godfrie (who had assembled in like manner a mightie host of Danes) they all togither brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murthering the people without anie pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen mooued with the slaughter of their kinsfolks and friends, should come foorth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scotishmen now ioined in one armie togither.

Malcolme is made chiefe generall of the armie.

He is created also heire apparant.

The earle of Cumberland heire apparant to the king of Scots.

The Scots and Danes ioine their powers togither.

They begin a cruell warre.

But the more vilanie they shewed in their dooings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the base sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succéed in gouernement of their kingdome after his fathers deceasse) with all spéed sought to be reuenged of such iniurious dooings. Wherevpon getting togither an armie, he incountred with them at a place called Broningfield, or Brunenburgh, in Iuly, in the yeere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue sonthing backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in déed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, ech of them striuing who might be the formost.

Athelstane base sonne vnto king Edward.

Athelstane came against the Scots.

937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into arraie againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enimies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so atchiued a most triumphant victorie. There died in this mortall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scotishmen, but chieflie the Scotish nobilitie bought the bargaine most déere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write)

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to wracke.

write) 20000 men in this battell, togither with Wilfert king of the Guentes, Hanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest therof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Athelstane tooke Northumberland.

Then without further delaie he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yéelded themselues vnto him, promising from thencefoorth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolme being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horsse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countries aforesaid. Wherevpon Constantine caused a councell to be called at Abirnethie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the residue that were left, seemed through want of yéeres, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he vtterlie despaired either to be of power to beate backe the enimies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldlie pompe as might withdraw him from diuine contemplation (wherevnto he was partlie bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbeie of saint Andrewes amongst the couent there.

Westmerland and Cumberland recouered.

Malcolme escaped his hurts.

A councell called by Constantine.

Constantine becommeth a canon.

943.

This was in the yéere of our Sauiour 943, and in the fortith yéere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith:) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Broningfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needes be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approoued amongst our English writers doo report, so that it should rather séeme that Constantine refused in déed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yéere of our Lord 937, or shortlie after; and that Malcolme gouerned as regent and not as king whilest Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbeie of saint Andrewes a certeine time) in the foresaid yéere 943, falling in the fortie yéere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekill, where he had a toome set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

Matth. West.

943.

Constantine died.

In the 36 yéere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures borne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodyte, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the brest standing foorth more in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with féete like a goose, legs like a man, full of bristels, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was borne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but aboue the same diuided with two brests creasted or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill vpwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wils or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarilie, as when the one did sléepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and brall togither, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickenesse wearing away and finallie deceassing, the other was not able to abide the gréeuous smell of the dead carcase, but immediatlie after died also.

A monster.

An other monster.

Two contrarie willes in this monster.

One part died before the other.

About the same time there issued foorth a founteine of bloud out of the side of a mounteine in Galloway, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies togither, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with bloud, and so running into the sea, caused the same to séeme bloudie certeine

Bloud issued out of an hill.

miles

miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinours did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortlie after. They were also the better beléeued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Broningfield, as before is specified. What was ment by these woonders.

MALCOLME.

AFTER that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king, or rather regent: who although he perceiued right well how the force of the realme was so infeebled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scotish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was crediblie informed, how Athelstane had giuen Northumberland vnto Aualassus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in woonderfull dread, for that he vnderstood how his realme was vnpurueied of skilfull capteins to make resistance. Yet he caused a councell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken vp without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditious discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled togither in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloudie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appéered in the skie.

Aualassus had giuen him Northumberland.

A councel called.

The Englishmen and the Danes fall out togither, and fight.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get togither after that ouerthrow, fled into Westmerland, and within thrée daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iournie into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man vnderstanding what he intended to doo. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scotishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Aualassus fled into Westmerland, rifled the Ile of Man, and got him into Ireland.

They go in procession in Scotland for ioy.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to mooue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scotish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was ioifullie heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

Ambassadors sent vnto Malcolme.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added therevnto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceasse, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and doo homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland.

The league was confirmed againe.

Northumberland allotted vnto England.

Cumberland and Westmerland to doo homage vnto England.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life in good quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his realme in good order, as well,

well for the wealth of the temporaltie, as spiritualtie, wherevnto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to sée the lawes dulie ministred, at Vlrine a village in Murrey land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat streictlie executed vpon offendors, he was murthered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftéenth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked déed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserued, being torne in péeces with wild horsses, and those péeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vp on the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

King Malcolme was murthered. The conspirators were put to execution. The murtherers were torne with horsses.

They that were the deuisers of the murder also, and procured the dooers therevnto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged vp aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case séemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Sauiour 959. ¶ Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceiued in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms deceasse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but sixtéene yeares.

The procurers of the murther were staked.

959.

The mistaking of the names and times of the English kings in the Scotish writers.

Moreouer, where the Scotish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succéeded Athelstane had against Aulafe and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succéeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares:) for the same Edmund was slaine in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the iust account of yeares is but too common in the Scotish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not wish anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agrée with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safelie follow, and by conferring the same with the Scotish writers in some places, happilie perceiue the true time, aswell of the reignes of their kings, as of acts doone, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, aswell here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to mooue vs to doubt of their account of years, more than we doo of that in our owne writers? We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue trauelled indifferentlie alike, aswell in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scotish writers, speciallie in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not séeme by way of controlment to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well aduised reader shall thinke it expedient.

INDULPH.

But to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiuing the crowne and other the inuestures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of fiue yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent vnto him from Aualassus, to ioine with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Broningfield, alledging that opportunitie was now offered, sith after the decesse of Athelstane,

Indulph is prouoked by Aualassus to warre against England. His persuasions.

the

the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose deceasse the said league was ended.

Indulph his answere.

But Indulph for answere herevnto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solemne oths for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vnlesse he should violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almightie God against him and his people in that behalfe. Herevpon the Danes accounting Indulph but a slouthfull and negligent person for this kind of answere, as he that regarded not the honor of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Broningfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualassus, who ioining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right valiant capteine called Rainold, transported with all spéed ouer into Northumbeland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish bloud, yéelded all the castels, tounes & forts, promising to aid Aualassus against king Edmund to the vttermost of his power.

The Danes not pleased with such an answere procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualassus.

Rainold a valiant capteine.

Elgarine yéelded the forts vnto the Danes.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all spéed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by couenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thousand Scotishmen with ready wils to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then ioining his owne people with those Scotishmen, he set forward towards the enimies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualassus, the which vpon the first incounter with the Englishmen, fell streight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to atteine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enimies, incouraged now with the flight of the Northumbers, were quicklie constreined to giue backe, and in the end to flee amaine, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they ouertooke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselues neuer so humblie in requiring mercie.

10000 souldiers sent vnto king Edmund.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enimies hands was taken aliue: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

After this, and for the space of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields néere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Yorke, where Elgarine for his treason was drawen in péeces with wild horsses. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said ouerthrow of the Danes with their capteine Aualassus, who is also otherwise called Aulafe, as is to be séene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, and not his sonne, as before is partlie touched.

Elgarine is drawen in péeces.

Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence sée to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a woorthie prince. But euen as all things séemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen latelie made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assaieng to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the riuer of Taie; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled togither to kéepe them off, they were faine to withdraw, and wasting alongst the coasts of Angus, the Marnes, Mar, and Buthqhane, at length faining as though they would haue taken their course homewards, they lanched foorth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the shore,

K. Indulph was diligent in his office.

The kings of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with an armie into Scotland.

The enimies are put off.

They land in Boen.

shore, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie ioining vnto Buthqhane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselues to impeach their landing and inuasion.

King Indulph draweth neere towards the enimies.

But Indulph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enimies were certified that he was set forward. So soone therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraieng the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approch to the enimies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a short oration began to incourage his people to fight manfullie. But

K. Indulph prepared to battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, dooing their vttermost indeuours to atchiue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their capteins Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie pursuing, beate downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certeine stiffe stubbornes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellowes: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and Kernes fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the mosses, the maresh grounds, and other streicts, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

A supplie sent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his companie falleth into the enimies dãger through negligence.

Indulph himselfe with certeine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discouer the fields, as though all had beene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where the same lay in couert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither vpon the first ioining of the battels, with the which entering into fight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was reuenged of those his enimies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Boene, and after translated vnto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongest other his predecessors the Scotish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

K. Indulph was slaine with a dart and died. 961 saith *Io. Ma.*

968.

DUFFE.

AFTER the corps of Indulph was remooued vnto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of K. Malcolme was crowned K. at Scone with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Culene the sonne of K. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie wherevpon the king transported ouer into the westerne Iles, to set an order there for certeine misdemeanors vsed by diuers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arriuall amongst them he called the thanes of the Iles afore him, commanding streightlie as they would auoid his displeasure, to purge their countries of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might liue in quiet, without vexation of such barrettors and idle persons as sought to liue onlie vpon other mens goods.

The king went vnto the westerne Iles.

He purged the Iles.

Barretors taken and put to death.

The thanes vpon this charge giuen them by the king, tooke no small number of the offendors, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lieng in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them ouer into Ireland, either else to learne some manuall occupation wherewith to get their liuing, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Howbeit the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therwith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constreined to get their liuing with the labor of their hands,

Vagabounds compelled to learne an occupation.

The nobles were discontented with the kings dooings.

hands, which onlie apperteined to plowmen, and such other of the base degrée as were borne to trauell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serue at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongest themselues, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, hauing no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an vtter enimie thereof, so that he was vnwoorthie to haue the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, vnles he knew better what belonged to their degrée. This murmuring did spread not onelie among them in the Iles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so grèeuous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was séene in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, flegme, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaie and consumption (so as there remained vnneth anie thing vpon him saue skin and bone.)

The occasion of murmuring of the nobilitie.

The king fell sicke.

And sithens it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that moe was not to be wished for; he had also a temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not slèepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into excéeding sweats, which by no means might be restreined. The physicians perceiuing all their medicines to want due effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into forreigne parts, who happilie being inured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so soone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much therevnto.

Howbeit the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, deuising oft with his councell about the same. But when it was vnderstood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrey land, who slaieng sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sicknes with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrey land, called Fores.

The king being sicke, yet he regarded iustice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept frō the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Wherevpon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send foorthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iornie, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their comming, requiring his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

Inquirie was made.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a yoong woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his paramour, who told him the whole maner vsed by hir mother & other hir companions, with their intent also, which was to make awaie the king. The souldier hauing learned this of his lemman, told the same to his fellowes, who made report to Donwald, and hée shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the yoong damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon streict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had séene and knew. Wherevpon learning by hir confession in what house in the towne it was where they wrought their

The matter appeareth to be true.

A witches daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

their mischiefous mysterie, he sent foorth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaking into the house, found one of the witches rosting vpon a woodden broch an image of wax at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell: an other of them sat reciting certeine words of inchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor verie busilie.

An image of wax rosting at the fire.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, tooke them togither with the image, and led them into the castell, where being streictlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of inchantment, they answered, to the end to make away the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake foorth in sweat. And as for the words of the inchantment, they serued to keepe him still waking from sléepe, so that as the wax euer melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the wax was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murrey land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, streightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserued) to bée burnt to death.

The witches were examined.

The whole matter is confessed.

The nobles of the countrie set the witches on work.

The witches were burnt.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a dooing within the castell of Fores, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking foorth vpon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doo anie maner of thing that lay in man to doo, as though he had not béene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murrey land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Rosse, and from Rosse into Cathnesse, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Fores, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

The king is restored to health.

The king with an armie pursued the rebels.

The rebels are executed.

Amongest them there were also certeine yoong gentlemen, right beautifull and goodlie personages, being neere of kin vnto Donwald capteine of the castell, and had béene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: wherevpon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceiued such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankefulnesse, hée found meanes to murther the king within the foresaid castell of Fores where he vsed to soiourne. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most commonlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

Captein Donwald craued pardon for them but not granted.

Donwald conceiued hatred against the king.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceassed not to trauell with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes wherby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwalds wife counselled him to murther the king.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Wherypon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way hée might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king vpon the daie before he purposed to depart foorth of the castell, was long in his oratorie at his praiers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming foorth, he called such afore him as had

The womans euill counsell is followed.

faith-

faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had béene euer accounted a most faithfull seruant to the king. The king rewarded his friends.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priuie chamber, onelie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came foorth againe, and then fell to banketting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reare supper or collation, wherat they sate vp so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asléepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remooued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their droonken sleepe. The king went to bed. His chamberleins went to banketting.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife hee called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priuie to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeied his instructions, & spéedilie going about the murther, they enter the chamber (in which the king laie) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sléeping, without anie buskling at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried foorth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horsse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staied, and gat certeine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a déepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so closelie, that setting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had béene newlie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found, & by bléeding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murther. ¶ For such an opinion men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bléed abundantlie if the murtherer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they slue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and streightwaies therevpon fled into Orknie. The suborned seruants cut the kings throte. The king his buriall. The poore labourers are slaine.

Donwald, about the time that the murther was in dooing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all beraied with bloud; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of bloud in the bed, and on the floore about the sides of it, he foorthwith slue the chamberleins, as guiltie of that heinous murther, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had béene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murtherers hid in anie priuie place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberleins whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their kéeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwise (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable murther. Donwald kept himselfe amongst the watchmen. Donwald a verie dissembler.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuere inquisition and triall of the offendors héerein, that some of the lords began to mislike the matter, and to smell foorth shrewd tokens, that he should not be altogither cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie togither, they doubted to vtter what they thought, till time and place should better serue therevnto, and héerevpon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths togither, after this heinous murther thus committed, there appéered no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie couered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outragious winds arose, with lightenings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction. Some wiser than other. The matter suspected. Prodigious weather.

CULENE.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receiue the crowne according to the manner: but at his comming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedlie almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murther of king Duffe: and suerlie vnlesse the offendors were tried foorth and punished for that deed, the realme should féele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greeuous an offense. Culene héerevpon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oth, before all the péeres & nobles there assembled, that he would not ceasse till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The king asked the cause of the foule weather.

The bishops answer vnto the king.

The king required publike praiers to be had.

The king made an oth.

The multitude being present, getting them to armor, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delaie towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approch, and the cause of his comming, were striken with excéeding feare: but namelie Donwald, being giltie in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be inforced to confesse the truth. Whervpon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he tooke with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboord the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwaie: for this is the peculiar propertie of a giltie conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to bewraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towards him afore time) had he not thus sought to haue auoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detesting his abhominable fact, and wishing him to be ouerwhelmed in the raging flouds, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he owght, for his vile treson in murthering his naturall lord.

The king went with an armie into Murrey land.

A giltie conscience accuseth a man.

Donwald getteth him secretlie awaie.

The murther of the king is reuealed.

Culene being heereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Fores, slue all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his thrée daughters were taken: for Culene commanded, that whosoeuer could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being doone, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chieflie hir husband was mooued to cause the déed to be doone, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Héere would the multitude haue run vpon hir and torne hir in peeces, but that they were restreined by commandement of an officer at armes. The K. with the residue for that night rested themselues; and in the morning tooke order for due prouision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongest his predecessors.

The castell of Fores is taken and all the inhabitants slaine.

The murther is wholie confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp

Donwald is taken prisoner.

But as they were busie héereabout, woord came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods prouision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthie punishment for his demerits. Wherevpon the inhabitants of the places next adioining tooke him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent foorth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded:

and

and being scarse returned, there came in diuerse lords of Rosse, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murther. Thus all the offendors being brought togither vnto the place where the murther was both contriued and executed, they were arrained, condemned, and put to death in maner as followeth, to the great reioising of the people that beheld the same. Donwalds foure seruants were taken also.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being throwen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut into quarters, and sent vnto the chiefest cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towers; for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred bloud of their prince. This dreadfull end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murther was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreuenged. Those that were the takers of the murtherers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein susteined, being exempt from charges of going foorth to the warres, and also of all manner of paiments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like. Donwald with his confederats are executed. Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murtherers.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had béene yet aliue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to procéed, so soone as it was brought aboue the ground, the aire began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake foorth, shining more brighter than it had beene séene afore time, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most déepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang foorth ouer all the fields immediatlie therevpon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yéere. The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried. Maruell things are séene.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made ouer the water in the same place, where the bodie had beene buried, and a village builded at the one end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day, Kilflos, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that name of the woonder there happened at the remoouing of the kings bodie, as the same authors would séeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a rich abbeie, standing with a verie faire church, consecrat in the honor of the virgine Marie. Monstrous sights also that were seene within the Scotish kingdome that yéere were these: horsses in Louthian, being of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their owne flesh, and would in no wise taste anie other meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman brought foorth a child without eies, nose, hand, or foot. There was a sparhawke also strangled by an owle. Neither was it anie lesse woonder that the sunne, as before is said, was continuallie couered with clouds for six moneths space. But all men vnderstood that the abhominable murther of king Duffe was the cause héereof, which being reuenged by the death of the authors, in maner as before is said; Culene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same Duffe at Scone, with all due honor and solemnitie, in the yeere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had ruled the Scotish kingdome about the space of foure yeeres. Kilflos. Horsses eate their owne flesh. A monstrous child. A sparhawke strangled by an owle. 972.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope of an other manner of prince, than by the administration which followed he declared himselfe to be: for shortlie after loosing the rains of lasciuious wantonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing a lewd example by his owne disordered doings, all such as were inclined vnto licentious liuing, followed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, abandoning all feare of correction more than euer had béene séene or heard of in anie other age. For such was the negligence of the king, or rather maintenance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests, King Culene did not continue as his beginning was. He followes his sensuall lustes.

or

Euill doers were not punished.

or anie of the commons, though the same were neuer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment vsed against them: so that all men looked for some commotion in the commonwealth therevpon to insue, if there were not other order prouided therefore in time. The

Good counsell was not heard.

ancient péeres of the realme also being gréeued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the realme was likelie to fall through his negligent behauiour.

The kings answer vnto his graue péeres.

Culene answered them, that he wist well inough how yoong men were not at the first borne graue and sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads: wherefore their first youthfull yéeres could not be so stable as they might be héereafter by old age and continuance of time. But as for such rigorous extremitie as diuerse of his elders had vsed towards their subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph, Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might incurre by such sharpe seueritie shewed in the gouernment of the estate. Wherevpon he was determined

He would not displease.

so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be beloued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he thought) to reteine his subiects in due and most faithfull obedience. This answer was such, that although it séemed nothing agréeable for the preseruation of the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that durst reprooue the same, but diuerse there were that praised him therein, as those that hated all such as loued the vpright administration of iustice.

But such ancient councellors as had trulie serued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the former kings, Indulph & Duffe, misliking the state of that present world (wherin

Ancient councellors leaue the court.

the youth of the realme, namelie all such as were descended of noble parentage, and vsed to be about the king, followed their wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through want of correction to be woorse and woorse) departed from the court, and withdrew to their homes, without medling anie further with the publike administration. In whose place

The youthful court followeth their sensuall lusts.

there crept in others, that with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such sparks of good inclination as yet remained in the king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he measured supreame felicitie by the plentifull inioieng of voluptuous pleasures and bodilie

A wicked time of voluptuousnesse.

lusts. He fansied onelie such as could deuise prouocations thervnto, and in filling the bellie with excesse of costlie meates and drinks, those that could excell other were chieflie cherished, and most highlie of him esteemed.

A leacherous king.

Heerewithall he was giuen vnto leacherie beyond all the bounds of reason, sparing neither maid, widow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of such villanie and violent forcings as were practised by him and his

Forcing of womenkind excéeded.

familiars, it would loth anie honest hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leacherous lust by too much copulation was so

O beastlie behauiour!

tired, that he might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he tooke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to doo it in his presence, that his decaied lust might be the more stirred vp with sight of such filthinesse. This abhominable trade of life he practised for the space of three yeeres togither, giuing occasion of much spoile, rauine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish transgressions: no exe-

All honestie exiled.

cution of lawes (instituted by authoritie of the former kings, for restreint of such flagitious offenses) being put in vre, through negligence of this monstruous creature.

Robberie, theft, &c. were maintained.

So farre foorth also increased the libertie of théeues, robbers, and other offendors, maintained by such of the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull dooings, and were partakers with them in the same, that if anie man went about to withstand them, or refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he should be spoiled of all that he had, and happilie haue his house burnt, ouer his head, or otherwise be misused in such outragious and violent sort, that it would gréeue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare of such enormities

Death made an end of all.

as were dailie practised in that countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings: for falling into a filthie disease (through

abuse

abuse of excessiue drinking and leacherie) called the wasting of nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting of his flesh, that he appéered more like vnto a dead carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that his owne seruants began to abhor him. Gonórrhœa.

Wherevpon the lords and other honorable personages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some other (whome they should iudge most méetest) to reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing wherefore this councell was called, as he was going thitherwards, at Meffen castell, being almost in the mid waie of his iournie, was murthered by one Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This end had Culene togither with all his filthie sensualitie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in memorie with his posteritie, and is not like to be forgotten whilest the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fift yéere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 976, the nobles & great péeres of the realme reioising at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof. A parlement. King Culene was murthered. 976.

KENNETH.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great péeres assembled togither at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to doo to reduce the people from their wild and sauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent gouernment of his predecessor) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanor. For the nature of the Scotishmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transforme themselues to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberalitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but refraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He mainteined amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorouslie all such as sought to mooue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He tooke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselues in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaie to a flourishing state. Ill life is reformed. King Kenneth was of a vertuous liuing. He loued strangers. He abhorred sloth.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subiects, he indeuored himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offendors against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of théeues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Kile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certeine offendors were summoned to appéere. But at their comming thither, perceiuing that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through persuasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretlie their waies, some into the westerne Iles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safegard of their liues. The king perceiuing that through the disloiall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licenced euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Ninian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to doo. Héere he inuented (by conference which he had with soffie of his priuie councell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offendors vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yéere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them good will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by vttering it haue disappointed his purpose. He did punish offendors. A session kept at Lainrike, or Lanerke. The giltie ran awaie. The king dissembled with these doings. The king went to visit saint Ninian. The king consulted how to call the transgressors vnto iudgement.

At length, after a yeere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble

An assemblie had at Scone.

assemble at Scone, as though it had béene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come togither into the councell-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capteine, that in no wise he should stirre with his band till the next day that all the lords were assembled togither, and then without delaie to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement. On the morrow after the nobles comming togither into the councell-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degrée about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselues round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one an other, but durst not speake a woord. Then the king perceiuing their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to councell at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preseruation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were togither by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischiefe and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scotish common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

Armed men laid in wait.

The king and lords sitting, the armed men step foorth.

The king putteth the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsall of all enormities.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaie, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour; where should the lord or gentleman haue wherevpon to liue? So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as vsed to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallie of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therfore he that loued the common-wealth, would not séeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as théeues and robbers dailie offered them; but also would helpe to sée iust execution doone vpon the same théeues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. "The last yeare (said he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue procéeded by order of the lawes against all enimies and perturbers of the peace. At Lainrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuouslie disobeieng our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue béene informed by some how diuers of you fauoring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withdrawing themselues so from iudgement.

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

"The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well néere persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet notwithstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fautors of the rebelles, but as defendors of the common-wealth, though happilie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your dueties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offendors, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were anie." In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselues to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continuallie attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords hauing heard the kings spéech, and perceiuing what his meaning was, first partlie

partlie excused themselues so well as they might of their cloked dissimulation, and then falling downe vpon their knées afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfulnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offendors to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The councell then being broken vp, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Taie, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was streictlie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go foorth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take héed therevnto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the stréets, streightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The king went to Bertha.

Roges punished.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offendors as vsed to rob and spoile the husbandman, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must néeds worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number néere hand of fiue hundred such idle loiterers as vsed to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which companie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged vp on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

Iniurious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preseruation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie forraine or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being sore greeued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had susteined in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Wherevpon gathering an huge multitude of men togither, they were imbarked in vessels prouided for them; and sailing foorth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arriue; & being once on land, to destroie all before them, except where the people should submit & yeeld themselues vnto them. This nauie being once got abroad, within short time arriued at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Braies, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirbroth, or Abirbrothoke was afterward founded.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes séeke for to reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arriue at the red head, or red Braies in Angus.

Here the Danish fléet first casting anchor, their capteins fell in consultation what they were best to doo. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scotishmens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more ouerthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Againe, the soile of that countrie was but barren, and in manner ouergrowen with woods (as it was in déed in those daies) with few townes & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouchsafe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and townes inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not doo better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iournie was attempted by the counsell of their superiors, onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scotishmen, and not to atteine riches or anie dominion.

The Danes consult to go into England.

They consult for to saile into Kent.

They onelie sought reuenge.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & readie to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be readie to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so soone as it was knowen that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constreined to haue to doo both with the Scotishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should incounter but onelie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongest the Scots, sith chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enimies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Wherevpon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Eske, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare, so that with all spéed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after raced, castell and all to the bare ground, not one liuing creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes doo land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slaine.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Taie, all the people of the countries by which they marched fléeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time laie at Sterling, where hearing of these gréeuous newes, he determined foorthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enimies. The assemblie of the Scotish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Taie. Here when they were come togither in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Taie, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. Then without further delaie, he raised with the whole armie, and marched streight towards his enimies, comming that night vnto Loncart a village not far distant from the riuer of Taie, famous euer after, by reason of the battell fought then néere vnto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but foorthwith prepared to giue battell.

The Danes come to the riuer of Taie.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They laie siege before Bertha.

Kenneth as soone as the sunne was vp, beholding the Danes at hand, quickelie brought his armie into order. Then requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promiseth to release them of all tributs and paiments due to the kings cofers for the space of fiue yeares next insuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much woorth in value to euerie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfullie, and to remember there was no place to atteine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of swoord, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enimies hands, who would not ceasse till time they had found them foorth, into what place so euer they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little incouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be giuen. Malcolme Duffe prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe gouerned the battell. The enimies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mounteine right afore against the Scotish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come foorth to anie euen ground, aduanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

King Kenneth set his men in aray.

The king exhorted the Scots vnto valiantnesse.

The order of the Scotish battell aray.

The Danes had the aduantage of a little mounteine.

The Scots begin the battell.

The Danes being backed with the mounteine, were constreined to leaue the same, and with all spéed to come forward vpon their enimies, that by ioining they might auoid the danger of the Scotishmens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was giuen on either part to the battell. The fight was cruell on both sides:

sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, euer as they might ouercome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiuing that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed foorth with such violence vpon their aduersaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constreined to retire and flée backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet kéeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must néedes haue remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

The two wings of the Scots fled.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiancie in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enimies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to doo the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongest other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine aliue after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most vnmercifull enimies. There was néere to the place of the battell, a long lane fensed on the sides with ditches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enimies on heapes.

Haie with his two sonnes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselues ouerthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, wherewith diuerse hardie personages cried vnto their fellowes to returne backe vnto the battell, for there was a new power of Scotishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obteined of their most cruell aduersaries the Danes: therefore might they choose whether they would be slaine of their owne fellowes comming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enimies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiancie of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had béene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and therevpon ceassing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder vnto the other of their fellowes fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

Haie staied the Scots frō running away.

The Scots were driuen to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellowes in great disorder.

The Scots also that before was chased, being incouraged herewith, pursued the Danes vnto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Wherevpon Kenneth perceiuing his people to be thus recomforted, and his enimies partlie abashed, called vpon his men to remember their duties, and now sith their aduersaries hearts began (as they might perceiue) to faint, he willed them to follow vpon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie vndoubtedlie should be theirs. The Scots incouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constreined to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scotish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the brunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein euen to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserued immortall fame and commendation: for by this meanes chieflie was the victorie atchiued. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enimies campe (which they had left void) should be diuided, the chiefest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome vsed amongst this nation.

K. Kenneth called vpō his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is diuided.

The king hauing thus vanquished his enimies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused costlie robes to be offered vnto Haie and his sonnes, that, being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whither it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was receiued with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running foorth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie restored the battell, when

Haie refused costlie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

the field was in maner lost without hope of all recouerie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell axe might haue béene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certeine daies after, at a councell holden at Scone, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefest nobles and péeres of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with ilands and reuenues, such as he should choose sufficient for the maintenance of their estates.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulnes of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the riuer of Taie runs by the towne of Arrole ouer against Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freelie granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inschire for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking hir flight from thence, neuer lighted till shée came to a great stone néere a village called Rosse, not passing foure miles from Dundée. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inschire aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, dooth cause the thing better to be beléeued, and well néere all the foresaid ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three scutchons gules in a field of siluer, a plowbeame added therevnto, which he vsed in stead of a battell axe, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath atteined vnto great estimation of honor, and hath béene decorated with the office of the constableship of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succéeded. These things happened in the first yéere of king Kenneth.

Haie his request.

The falcon mesured Haie his lands out.

Haie had armes giuen him.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by forren enimies, yet by ciuill sedition the state of the realme was woonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Kerns of the westerne Iles inuading Rosse, to the intent to haue fetched a bootie, were met withall by the waie and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the commonwelth raised by one Cruthlint, one of the chiefest lords of the Mernes, who was sonne vnto a certeine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southeske, and the other Northeske. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlint came vnto the castell of Delbogin to sée his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a fraie was begun amongst the seruingmen, in the which two of Cruthlints seruants fortuned to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlint declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the busines, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their maister, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake foorth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

Ciuill wars in Scotland.

An other commotion in Mernes by Cruthlint.

Cruthlint went to sée his grandfather.

Two of his seruants were slaine.

They set vpon Cruthlint also.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Fethircarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Mernes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted foorthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receiued: so that assembling a number of his friends and kinsfolks so secretlie as he might togither, with a band of the inhabitants of the Mernes, he entereth into Angus, and comming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the kéepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenlie oppressed, the house sacked and raced, not one that was found within the same being left aliue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlint amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he forraied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great bootie.

Cruthlint was instigated to reuenge.

He killed all them that were in the castell.

The countrie is forraied.

They of Mernes requite their iniuries.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselues togither inuaded the countrie of Merns, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie

countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certeine time, with dailie incursions and wastings of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortlie come to vtter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischiefe and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, hee made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Mernes, whom he vnderstood to be culpable, should appeare within fifteene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afore appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The king made a proclamation by an herald.

The culpable should appeare at Scone.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlint their capteine, fled out of Mernes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being sore mooued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scotish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie vsed: and againe how they obeied the magistrates best when they were restreined from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditious rebels which had thus disobeied his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortlie disquieted with ciuill warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursute to be made after Cruthlint, and the residue of the offendors, the which at length being taken in Lochquhabir, were brought vnto a castell in Gowrie called Dounsinnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlint first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiors against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

The faultie men ran away.

The K. was sore offended therewith.

The K. minded to punish the disobedient rebels.

Cruthlint taken with manie more.

He is executed with certeine others.

For this equitie shewed in ministring iustice by the king, he was greatlie praised, loued, and dread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealth, greatlie to the aduancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yeere of this Kenneths reigne. At what time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his neerest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdome after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth greeuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inioieng the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The K. was worthily commended for his iustice.

K. Kenneth poisoned his cousin Malcolme.

The K. was not suspected of this fact.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed for him, in all places where anie mention chanced to be made of the losse which the realme had susteined by the death of so worthie a prince, made men nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some of the nobles perceiuing the outward sorow (which he made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to gather some suspicion, that all was not well: but yet bicause no certeintie appeared, they kept their thoughts to themselues. About the same time came ambassadors foorth of England from king Edward the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of his stepmother Esculda, was made a martyr) requiring that sith Malcolme the prince of Cumberland was deceassed, it might please the king with the states of the realme to choose some other in his place, who dooing his homage vnto the king of England, according as it was couenanted by the league, might be a meane to confirme the same league betwixt the two nations for the auoiding of all occasions of breach thereof that otherwise happilie might insue.

The poisoning of Malcolme is brought into suspicion.

Ambassadors came from K. Edward.

He required a new prince to be elected.

Kenneth at the same time held a councell at Scone, where hauing heard the request of these ambassadors,

The K. heard a fit message for his purpose.

ambassadors, in presence of all his nobles, he answered that he was glad to vnderstand that king Edward was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie betwixt his subiects and the Scotishmen, according to the articles of the ancient league in times past concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and therefore in rendering most heartie thanks vnto him for his gentle aduertisement, he purposed by the aduise of his nobles, and the other estates of his realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and therevpon required the ambassador to be present on the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles should name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The ambassadors herevpon departing foorth of the councell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by diuerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe them companie.

The king requested that the crowne might come by inheritance.

Then Kenneth with a long oration went about to persuade the peeres, and other the estates of the realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the custome and ancient order vsed by their elders in choosing of him that should succeed in the gouernance of the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in possession. He vsed so manie reasons as was possible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to induce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie to this end, that one of his sonnes might inioy the same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared also what discommodities, seditions, and great inconueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone in times past by election: for though it was ordeined at the first that it should so doo, vpon a good intent and great consideration, yet in processe of time proofe and experience had shewed, that more hinderance happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie murthers, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wicked practises were throughlie weied and considered, the summe whereof he recited from point to point, and so in the end with great instance besought them, that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes commonlie the order was, that the sonne should without anie contradiction succeed the father in the heritage of the crowne and kinglie estate.

A fit oration for his purpose.

He had roome inough to walke in, to gather proofes & reasons to persuade this matter, it being good of it selfe.

The peeres of the realme did willinglie grant to his request.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort hee could, but that diuerse of the noble men which were there amongst other, being made priuie to the matter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme the son of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland, that he might so haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceasse of his father. This motion by and by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth perceiuing, he required of the most ancient peeres whome they would name to be prince of Cumberland, that there might be a meane to ratifie and confirme the league betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, Constantine the sonne of king Cullin, and Grime the nephue of king Duffe by his brother Mogall: howbeit by the force of the former law they might by good reason haue looked to haue had the preferment themselues.

The herald required Costantine his voice first.

Constantine his saieng.

But yet perceiuing it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they should neuer so much stand against it) being first demanded of the herald what they thought, they answerd (notwithstanding against their minds indeed) that the king might order all things as should stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought most meet to bee prince of Cumberland, and to abrogate the ancient law of creating the kings, in deuising new ordinances for the same, as should seeme vnto him and those of his councell most requisite and necessarie.

The multitude well pleased, crie Malcolme.

The multitude then following their sentence, cried with lowd and vndiscreet voices, to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth created prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe. The daie next following, the ambassadors comming into the councell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their request, and then being highlie rewarded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they returned into England, and Malcolme with them, to be acquainted with king Edward, and to doo his homage for the principalitie of Cumberland, as the custome was.

At

At the same time also there was a new act deuised and made, the old being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scotish kings in time to come, manie of the nobles rather consenting with silence, than greatlie allowing it either in harts or voices, though some currifauours among them set forward the matter to the best of their powers. The articles of this ordinance were these. The eldest heire male of the deceassed king, whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age soeuer he should be, yea though he should be in the mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse, should from thence-foorth succéed in the kingdome of Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be preferred before the nephue by the daughter, in atteining to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the brothers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son. The same law should be obserued of all such of the Scotish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance comming to them by descent. Where the king by this meanes chanced to be vnder age, & not able to rule, there shuld be one of the chiefest péeres of the realme chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his person and realme, till he came to 14 yéeres of age. The which foureteenth yéere of his age being accomplished, he should haue the administration committed to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons of ech estate and degrée should remaine vnder the wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came to the age of 21 yéeres, and not till then to meddle with anie part of their lands and liuings.

A new act for the succession of the crowne.

Articles concluded in that parlement.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured vnto him and his posteritie, and therevpon indeuored himselfe to win the harts of the people with vpright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, aswell in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he séeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he séemed most vnhappie, as he that could not but still liuein continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so commeth it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the fame goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, vttering vnto him these or the like woords in effect: "Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee contriued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to doo that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had beene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer woorthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thée and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie inioy this kingdome which thou doost indeuour to assure vnto thine issue."

King Kenneth ministred iustice trulie.

The good will of the nobilitie he bought with gifts.

The king had a giltie conscience.

A voice heard by the king.

The king with this voice being striken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eies. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Mouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beséeching him of counsell, which waie he might obteine pardon and forgiuenes at Gods hands by woorthie penance. Mouean hearing how the king bemoned his offense committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiuenesse by these and sundrie other the like comfortable woords of the hishop, studied vnfeinedlie to doo woorthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

The king confesseth his sinnes.

The king taketh great repentance.

It chanced héerevpon, that within a short time after he had beene at Fordune, a towne in Mernes, to visit the reliks of Paladius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to

The king went to Fordune in pilgrimage.

A parke with wild beasts at the castell of Fethircarne.

to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Mernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partlie mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, longtime before hauing conceiued an immortall grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie aswell for the death of hir sonne Cruthlint, as hauing some inkling also of the impoisoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certeintie therof was knowne) imagined night and day how to be reuenged.

Fenella was of kin vnto Malcolme.

She was desirous for to reuenge.

Fenella hir malicious intent.

She vnderstood that the king delighted aboue measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compasse hir malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, ioining vnto hir owne lodging within the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Héereto was it hoong within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set readie bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the middest of the house there was a goodlie brasen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of pretious stones, deuised with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remooue it neuer so little anie waie foorth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Crossebowes readie bent, hidden.

Fenella had the king into the inner chamber.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with hir into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfied of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, aswell of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie? Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, iacincts, saphires, topases, rubies, turkasses, and such like pretious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beséeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value woorthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And héerewith she hirselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing foorth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

The king was slaine with the crosse bowes.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length remoouing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe starke dead, and lay flat on the ground.

Fenella escaped from them all.

Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground readie to die, she got foorth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed horsses to tarie for hir, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued hir, yer the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them.

His seruants looked for their king.

His seruants still waiting for his comming foorth in the vtter chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore softlie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The doores broken open, they find him dead.

Fenella could not be found.

The clamor and crie héerevpon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella curssed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a déed: but the vngratious woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in gouernment of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends togither, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lords to assist him in atteining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late, that Kenneth by

Fenella got hirselfe into Ireland by the helpe of Constantine.

Constantine aspired vnto the crowne.

his

his priuate authoritie had gone about to abrogate the same) ought to descend vnto him as all the world verie well vnderstood.

CONSTANTINE.

CONSTANTINE procured friends so on ech side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yeere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scotishmen, and in the yéere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yéere (as is said) sundrie vnketh sights were séene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane, an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lieng there dead, caused such a filthie sauour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people insued. The moone appéered of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, corne failed, and cattell died so generallie, that if there had not beene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had béene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull woonders might not withdraw the Scotishmen from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholie giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughtie liuings: for otherwise vndoubtedlie such grislie sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischiefe to fall vnto the whole nation. And suerlie their woords proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborne harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of vtter destruction.

Constantine procured friends.

994. *Io. Mal.*

1000. *H. B.*

Marueilous haps chanced.

The moone appéered bloudie.

Scarsitie of corne and cattell.

It rained stones.

Preaching was despised.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance latelie made) had vsurped the crowne, as soone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as apperteined, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to woorke for the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongest that companie that tooke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the péeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilest Malcolme should séeke to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might happilie wind himselfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common-wealth he should be able to get foorth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenlie to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him yer he were prouided for their comming, manie of them that feigned themselues to be his friends, would forsake him, so soone as they saw anie power of his enimies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driuen to flée the realme for safegard of his life.

Malcolme séeketh frends against Constantine.

Good counsell was giuen him.

Yet other counsell was giuen him.

The fierce yoong man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled togither in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whome making towards Constantine with spéedie iornies, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten togither also an huge power, so that passing foorth with the same to incounter them, the brute which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flée backe into Cumberland: by reason whereof he had béene put to such hinderance and dishonor, as would not easilie haue béene recouered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there a great famine and penurie

Malcolme goeth with an armie to fight with Constantine.

K. Constantine went to méete Malcolme.

Malcolme thought himselfe too weake.

Lacke of vittels caused Con-

stantine to breake vp his campe.

penurie of vittels in both hosts, so that Constantine with great indignation was constreined to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterprise for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, wherevpon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischiefe happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finallie, there rose one mischiefe so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilest the Scotishmen were thus at diuision amongest themselues, renting and pulling in péeces their owne miserable natiue countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to buie peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiuing that his enimies ceassed not dailie to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doo by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to K. Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason whereof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certeine light skirmishes, without anie great bloudshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselues with those lands which they had alredie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enimie sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilest Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which tooke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is readie to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renued warre with Malcolme.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got togither an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crawmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, three miles from Edenburgh, purposing there to abide his enimies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine herevpon hasted thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enimies, streightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie wherewith there rose such an outragious tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driuing the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to sée about them to make anie defense against their enimies that then preassed vpon them right eagerlie. By means whereof the discomfiture lighted vpon Constantines side, though neither part had anie great cause to reioise: for in the hotest of the fight, Constantine and Kenneth chanced to incounter togither, and so fighting man to man, either slue other. Thus Constantine ended his life by dint of the enimies sword, in the third yeare of his reigne, & in the yeare after the incarnation 1002, & his bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his predecessors.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

King Constantine is slaine.

1002.

GRIME.

THEN Grime nephue to king Duffe, hearing of the slaughter made betwixt king Constantine and Kenneth, gathered togither the residue of Constantines armie, being scattered abroad after the ouerthrow, supposing that by the death of Kenneth, the partie of his brother Malcolme was sore weakened, & therevpon he came vnto the abbeie of Scone, and there caused himselfe to be crowned king, as lawfull successor vnto Constantine, by force of the old laws and ordinances of the realme. And to establish himselfe the more firmelie in the state, he shewed great gentlenesse towards all them that were friends vnto Constantine, and bestowed

Grime vsed liberalitie and gentlenesse towards Constantines friends.

bestowed vpon them manie bountious gifts. Neither was his liberalitie shut vp from other that had fauored Malcolme, for to the end he might allure them to beare him good will, he rewarded them highlie both in lands and treasure: but other of the same faction, whome he saw by no means could be woone, he caused them to be proclamed traitors, and confiscated their goods as rebels to his person, and enimies to the crowne.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland sore mooued in his mind that Grime had thus taken vpon him the crowne, called his friends togither, requiring to haue their aduise, which way he were best to woorke in this so great a matter. They counselled him in no wise he should despise the force of his enimies, but rather to assaie by all means to draw those nobles vnto his purpose, which were assistant vnto Grime. Wherevpon Malcolme following the counsell of his friends, sent foorth secret messengers vnto those lords that tooke part with Grime, requiring them to remember their promised faith, giuen vnto his father king Kenneth, concerning the obseruance of the law established by their consent for the succession of their kings: which if they would doo in renouncing their obeisance vnto the vsurper Grime, he promised so to gouerne the realme with equall iustice, that no estate in reason should find cause to mislike with his dooings. Manie of the nobles by means of this message reuolted from the said Grime soliciting their friends by earnest trauell to doo the like. But other & the greater number tooke those that brought the message, & sent them as prisoners vnto Grime, who presentlie committed them to prison.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland is mooued against Grime.

A good counsell.

Malcolme sendeth priuilie to the lords of Scotland.

Malcolme his promise vnto the Scots.

Malcolme his messengers are committed to prison.

Malcolme sore offended therewith, by counsell of his friends, assembled an armie to go against them, that (contrarie to the law of all nations, as he seemed to take the matter) had imprisoned his purseuants and messengers: but as he was marching forward on his purposed iournie, he heard by the way, how his aduersarie king Grime had gathered a farre greater power than he had with him, not onelie of all such of the Scotish nation inhabiting beyond the riuers of Forth and Clide, but of them also of the westerne Iles. Malcolme doubting least if the certeintie hereof were once bruted amongest his people, the fame would increase the terror more than néeded; he gaue commandement therfore that no maner of wight should be suffered to come into his armie, vnlesse he were first brought to his presence. But this deuise nothing auailed him: for thereby, that which he desired to be concealed and kept most secret, became the more manifest, by reason that such as had some inkeling of the matter, told it from one to another; making it much more than it was in déed. For there rose a murmuring amongest them, that there was such treason contriued, that if Malcolme with his armie went forward to ioine with his aduersaries, he should not be in danger onelie of them, which he knew to come against him in Grimes host; but also of no small number of them which were in his owne armie, who vpon the ioining had determined to turne their speare points against him in Grimes quarell.

Malcolme being offended therewith, gathered an armie.

Grime is of greater force than Malcolme.

Malcolme would not haue his people to vnderstand the trueth thereof.

His aduise auailed not.

A brute spred in Malcolmes armie of treason.

This rumor passing from one to another, put the whole number in great feare. It was first raised by certeine merchantmen, of whome there was a great number in Malcolms host, hauing more skill in buieng and selling, than in anie warlike feats or enterprises. These at the first suing for licence to depart home, and could haue no grant, began to lament their miseries, in such dolefull wise, that all the campe was troubled with the noise; insomuch that euen the old men of warre, and diuerse of the capteins were not a little discomfited and amazed with such wailefull clamors. Malcolme being aduertised hereof, thought not good to match in battell against his fierce enimies with his people thus astonied through dread and terror, and therefore gaue licence to the most part of his host to depart for that time, and aboad onelie with certeine bands of his most faithfull friends néere to the water of Forth, to stop his enimies from passing ouer that riuer.

Merchantme authors of th rumor.

Malcolme licenceth the most part of his armie to depart hence.

Malcolme intendeth to sto his enimie fro passing ouer the Forth.

Whilest the realme of Scotland was thus disquieted and troubled with ciuill discord, Fothadus the great bishop of Scotland, a man of right approued vertue and clemencie, sore lamenting to sée his countrie thus diuided and rent as it were in péeces, got him into his pontificall vestures, with a multitude of other reuerend priests and ecclesiasticall ministers, in humble wise comming and presenting themselues before king Grime, who with great

The great bishop of Scotland.

Fothadus séeketh to take vp the matter.

reuerence receiuing them, willed to vnderstand the cause of their comming. Then Fothadus answered, that he was come as the seruant of Christ, the author of all peace and concord, beséeching him by way of humble supplication to take ruth and pitie of the great trouble and miserie fallen to the réalme, since the time he had taken the gouernance vpon him, the state of things being such, as if some redresse were not found in all speedie wise, the vtter ruine of the common-wealth must needs insue, by reason of the sundrie debats and factions dailie rising among the people of all sorts and degrees, so that murthers, robberies, rapes, with all other kinds of iniuries & mischiefe were still put in practise without restreint or punishment, in such licentious sort that no man could assure himselfe of his owne: for whether it were within doores, or without, the robber was as redie to laie hands on it as the owner. Neither was there anie hope of reformation so long as the ciuill wars lasted. Therefore if it might stand with the pleasure of king Grime in reliefe of the poore commons of Scotland, to condescend vnto some necessarie agreement with Malcolme, Fothadus offered to vndertake to conclude a peace betwixt them, in such wise as should in no maner of behalfe be preiudiciall to his honor and roiall maiestie.

The fruits of ciuill warre.

Fothadus vndertaketh to conclude a peace betwixt the parties.

Grime mooued with the words of the bishop (who most instantlie besought him, although the calamitie and great affliction of his people did but little mollifie his heart; yet in respect of his owne suertie, which might not continue if his people were once destroied, to remit part of his high displeasure) answered, that peace he could be contented to haue, so the same might be concluded with his honor saued: for suerlie wars he neuer desired but onelie in defense of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principalitie of Cumberland, and so therevpon breake vp his campe, and depart foorth of the lands perteining vnto the crowne, he would gladlie come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to doo, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the vttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enimie.

Grimes answere to Fothadus.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a time, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe, not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sterling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scotish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likeliehood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the vttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake vp his campe, and agrée to haue a truce for three moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorised thereto, talke and common for concluding of a finall peace and concord betwixt them.

Fothadus goeth vnto Malcolme.

Malcolms offer.

Grime refused not this offer, and so therevpon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Forfair, there to take further aduise what was to be doone touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled togither in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chieflie through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his deceasse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decrée made & established by K. Kenneth. And whosoeuer should go about either by word or déed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decrée, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-

Grime is contented with Malcolms motion.

Fothadus his diligence to procure the parties to agréement.

The conditions of the peace betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

mon-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and Westmerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernement of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be depriued of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselues by solemne othes to performe euerie point and points in these articles comprised, they laid armor aside, and began to take order for reforming of all misdemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention mooued betwixt them and their partakers. Howbeit, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subiects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselues against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance soeuer they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares togither, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

The warres being ceassed, the princes applie their studies to reforme misdemeanors.

But Grime at length of a chast & liberall prince, through long slouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by atteindor, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subiects being thus brought into extreame miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to séeke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almightie God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerted his mind, & mooued him to doo things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto detestable vices.

The common peoples praier.

The lords require Grime to reforme the misdemeanor of his officers.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and péeres of his realme, to admonish him of things perteining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through persuasion of euill councellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subiects, to their vtter impouerishment and vndooing, the rebuke whereof did redound vnto his dishonour; if it would please him to remooue out of his presence and seruice all such disloiall persons as sought the hinderance of the commonwealth, he should win therby the loue of all his liege subiects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the sooner had against such extortions as his seruants and officers did dailie practise, and for the which no doubt he must néeds answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to inrich couetous persons, nor to oppresse innocent and true dealing people, but contrarilie to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

The office of the sword.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banket, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their horsses, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the

King Grime purposed to haue slaine the messengers.

the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceassing from raising new paiments and exactions still of his subiects, till at length he was aduertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got togither a great number of men, and marched foorth towards them that had so rebelled against him. Then followed more mischeefe and trouble than euer had béene séene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this ciuill dissention, castels were raced and ouerthrowne, townes burned vp, corne destroied, fields wasted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

The lords of Scotland arrere warre against Grime their king.

What mischief insued.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the vtter euersion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all spéed foorth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defense of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came vnto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and torne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remooue away from the people such imminent destruction as dailie hasted towards them, which to doo they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most plentiouslie appeared in him, not onelie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his vnhappie councellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme is required to relieue the Scotish estate.

Malcolme mooued with these and the like persuasions of the Scotish lords, which dailie resorted vnto him, resolued with promise of their support to leuie warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarell, and so assembling a great puissance togither, he did set foorth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterprise, offering by solemne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Grime likewise being aduertised of those newes, with all spéed got togither such people as hee might assemble for the time, and comming forward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enimies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would looke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got foorth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose foorthwith to assaile them.

Malcolme consenteth to make warres against Grime.

Grime assembleth an armie to incounter Malcolme.

The camps néere the one to the other.

Grimes policie.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being aduertised thereof, sent vnto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but néedes would come on without stop or staie; whervpon both the armies rushing togither met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the woorsse, and in the end clearelie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken aliue standing at defense, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certeine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yéere of his reigne, and was buried in Colmekill, after the incarnation 1010 yeeres.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme.

Grimes part discomfited.

The end of king Grime.

1010. *H.B.*

1004. *Io.M.*

After this victorie thus obteined by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle woords toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne apperteined vnto him, and that the warres which hée had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scotish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his

Malcolmes words to them that were taken prisoners.

his councellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scotish nobilitie comming togither at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approoued, wherevpon the lords bound themselues by solemne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioising of all the people present.

A parlement at Scone.

Malcolme refuseth the crowne but vpon cõdition.

The ordinãce of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne is confirmed.

MALCOLME.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and péeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had béene assistant vnto his aduersarie Grime: and there vsed the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to auoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rootes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the ciuill discord had sproong vp among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discréet persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices perteining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and vprightnesse, as had not beene heard of in anie age before him. Whilest the Scotish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie nauie, in purpose to reuenge the iniuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

Malcolme agréeth the nobles of his realme.

Malcolmes wisdome in ordeining officers.

Sueno king of Denmarke landed in England.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie ouerthrowes receiued at the enimies hands, as in being thrise taken prisoner, and in the end driuen and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish beléefe, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortlie after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is said) in England, and chased king Egelred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined eftsoones to trie the chance of battell with his enimies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Owse, néere to the banks whereof, not farre from Yorke, he pitched downe his tents.

Sueno cõuerted to the christian faith in Scotland.

Egeldred (or as the Scots write Eldred) chased into Northumberland, getteth aid from the Scots.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefits and pleasures receiued but latelie at the Scotishmens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldreds companie; either else to looke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there readie bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought foorth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of swoord, if Sueno were so minded; who verie desirous to accept the offer, brought foorth also his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that togither they flue most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled togither at handblowes, continuing

Suenos message to the Scots.

The battell betwixt Egeldred & Sueno.

The English men put to flight by the Danes,

timing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie déere and bloudie victorie. The murther also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Ouse, so escaping out of the enimies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Egeldred escapeth by flight.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie vanquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he maried the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it dooth appéere. Sueno hauing thus ouercome his enimies, and now put in possesion of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroied all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succéed of them that were then aliue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humblie before his presence, & falling downe on their knées at his féet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder what bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castels, townes, or other souereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne natiue countrie, at the victors will and appointment.

Suenos cruell imagination.

The nobles of England their humble petition vnto Sueno.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he vsed the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the countrie, but in such wise, as by no meanes they should presume to beare anie armor or weapon, but to applie themselues vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should resigne and deliuer all their castels, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their souereigne lord and king; they should bring in (to be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armor, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, aswell in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to doo, proclamation was made that he should immediatlie lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yéeres.

Under what conditions Sueno licenced the Englishmen to liue in their owne countrie.

529. *H.B.*

The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

Such tyrannie also after this was vsed by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie remoued from the same, and some of them cast in prison and dailie put in hazard of their liues. Finallie, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie housholder within the realme was constreined to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continuallie giue good watch what was said or doone in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and roiall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which woord was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie idle person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

The name of lordain how it came vp.

¶ Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agrée not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place séemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our

histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos inuading of Scotland, chanced before that Egeldred, whome the Scotish writers name Eldred, was driuen to flée into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constreined Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yéere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iournie into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprise anie such exploit there, it was before this his last arriuall in England.

Sueno landed héere this last time of his comming foorth of Denmarke into England in Iulie, in the yéere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yéere 1014.

But now to procéed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner before remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arriuall here he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the more suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But forsomuch as he could not compasse his intention héerein, he furnished all the castels and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could deuise to make mortall wars vpon the Scots: and the more to annoie his enimies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norwaie, and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leanie into Scotland, to make warres on his enimies there.

Sueno prepareth to inuade the Scots. Olauus, and Onetus.

Wherevpon shortlie after those foresaid capteins arriued with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Murrey land fled out of their houses, with their wiues, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all before them, aswell churches and chappels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flée in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, thrée castels onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Fores, and Narne, which the Danes named afterwards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was woone) the other two would yeeld without anie further defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Narne, inforsing themselues with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scotish king was come within fiue miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

The Danes land in Scotland.

The crueltie of the Danes.

The castell of Narne besieged.

Incontinentlie herevpon they raised their siege, and hasted foorth to méet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were alreadie present in their hands. Shortlie after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus inuaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to doo: who scarselie had doone their message, but that they were slaine foorthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being sore mooued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enimies, kept on his iournie with the more fierce courage, till he came to a medow a little beside Killos, where he incamped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euerie man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the iniuries doone by the Danes against their friends and countriemen: notwithstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enimies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had béene séene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enimies.

Malcolme sendeth ambassadors to the Danes. The Danes slea the ambassadors.

The Scots through feare are astonied.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them foorth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astonied at the first sight of their enimies,

Malcolms woords to his nobles.

without further triall of their forces. "¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and valiant, where no danger appéereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where valiancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your woorthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obteined so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye séeme now so much to feare? There hath béene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowme of our elders. What discomfitures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them losing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. Ye ought then (said he) to be of good courage, rather than to faint now at néed, considering ye haue to doo with those enimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which before haue béene vanquished and ouerthrowne by Scotishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other places; yea and besides that, such as moouing warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deseruing thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punisher of all such vniust offendors. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enimies, if we take manlie harts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appéere what outragious follie remained in the Danes, to inuade vs without occasion of iniuries preceding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must néedes at length perish, than to the defense and preseruation of your common countrie; why passe ye not forward, sith there is now no place nor time to take longer aduise in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enimie readie to ioine?"

Loncart.

Albion the sepulture of Danes.

The nobles mooued with these woords of their prince, began boldlie to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie whervpon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enimies, they rush foorth vpon them without anie order or good araie. Olauus & Onetus beholding the Scots to come thus furiouslie against them, boldlie incountred them with arraied battels. Wherevpon insued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewd on both sides, nothing being let passe that might apperteine to woorthie capteins: the Scots inforcing themselues to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes dooing their best indeuour by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murther & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was sore wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in maner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege eftsoones the castell of Narne, with more force and violence than before.

The Scots without order rush foorth to battell.

The Scots put to flight. Malcolme is wounded.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on ech side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortresse, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Neuerthelesse the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the wals, in most despitefull manner. Thus was Narne woone by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murrey land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. Then those souldiers which kept Elgin and Fores, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus vsed, fled out of those castels, and left them void without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioising at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselues sure seates in Murrey land, and therevpon sent backe their ships into Norwaie and Denmarke,

The castell of Narne rendred by composition. The Danes breakers of faith and promise.

Elgin and Fores left void.

Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constreined such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their vse and commoditie.

K. Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arriuall of new aid, his enimies might wax more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of warriors, and came in good order and most warlike arraie vnto Murthlake, a towne of Mar, where the first erection of the bishops sée of Abirden was founded. Héere the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenlie both amazed. For the Scots hauing had too much experience of the crueltie shewed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and vpon an vnknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enimies. Yet neuerthelesse in the end, by the incouragement of the capteins on both sides, they buckled togither with great fiercenesse and most cruell malicious hatred on ech hand.

Murthlake.

The Scots and Danes one afraid of another.

In the first brunt three valiant capteins, that is to say, Kenneth of Ila, Grime of Stratherne, and Patrike of Dunbar, rushing ouer fiercelie on their enimies, were slaine, and gaue occasion to manie of the Scotishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anie waie foorth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fensed on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauerse were laid sundrie trées, as it had béene of purpose to impeach the passage, deuised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though Malcolme like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the preasse, till he came to the middest of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint Moloke, the which Malcolme beholding, cast vp his hands towards heauen, making his praier on this wise. "¶ Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our natiue countrie granted to vs of thy beneuolence, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the iniurious inuasion of Danes, doo flee vnto thée in this our extreme necessitie, beséeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable estate: remooue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint Moloke to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I héere make a vow to build a cathedrall church for a bishops sée, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath béene defended."

The Scots forced to retire.

Malcolmes praier.

To you, that to God, and our ladie, and saint Moloke, for so he ioined them togither according to the manner of that time.

Scarselie had Malcolme made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobles with a lowd voice, as though they had béene assured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows, for suerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enimies. Héerevpon rose a woonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, eth one incouraging other to withstand the enimies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defense of their countrie and ancient liberties, & foorthwith as it had béene by miracle they returned vpon their enimies, making great slaughter on ech side, without regard to their liues o bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Heerewith Malcolme wit an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon Onetus, who was pransing vp and downe th field without anie helmet on his head, as though the Scots had béene alreadie without recouerie clearelie discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horsse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capteine, staied from further pursute on the Scots. Heereof insued great boldnese to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers dooing their best on either side, till at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. Olauus beholding the discomfiture of his people, and how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into Murrey land with a small companie about him.

The next day, Malcolme considering what a number of his most valiant capteins he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongest his men, and ceassing from further pursute

The Scots ofteatimes renew battell.

Onetus is slaine.

The Danes put to flight.

Olauus fleeth into Murrey land.

sute of the Danes at that time, went into Angus, where he remained the residue of the yeere within the castell of Forfair, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publike affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of Murrey land out of the enimies hands.

Sueno prepareth a new armie to inuade Scotland.

King Sueno hearing in the meane time how infortunatelie his people had sped thus in Scotland at the battell of Murthlake, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie nauies, the one to be rigged in England, and to come foorth of the riuer of Thames; and the other to be sent from Denmarke, one Camus a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

Camus appointed capteine generall of the Danes.

The yeare next insuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arriued and met togither within the mouth of the Forth, neere to saint Ebbes head. Here Camus going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. Camus then plucking vp the sailes, directed his course vnto the Ile of Sketh, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came once about, he passed from thence vnto the Redbraies, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, & there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. Camus being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of Montros, which a few yeares before had beene destroied by the Danes, he reioised not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enimies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

Saint Ebbes head.

The Scots keepe off the Danes from landing.

Camus with his armie landeth at the Redbraies.

Camus marcheth through Angus.

The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of Brechine destroied.

After this, he tooke his iournie through Angus, sparing no maner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages and churches, with all maner of other buildings publike and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to Brechine, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie woone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the Trinitie (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so raced to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon an other. With these and the semblable cruelties, Camus raging both against God and man, was finallie aduertised that king Malcolme was come to Dundée with all the power of Scotland. Then suddenlie he tooke the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called Balbrid, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king Malcolme making all hast possible to succour his subiects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of Barre two little miles from the place, where his enimies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

King Malcolme hasteth forward to fight with the Danes.

Malcolmes oration.

But before he arraied his battels, he called his nobles and capteins togither, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the spoile and pillage got by theeuerie, and not by anie iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniustlie to inuade, without hauing occasion so to doo, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no maner of propertie. He willed them therfore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their natiue countrie, appointed vndoubtedlie by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries doone by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valiancie of heart. Camus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behooued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Camus exhorteth his Danes.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them foorth stronglie ranged in good order to incounter the Danes, which likewise approched towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and

valiant

valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and woorthie attempts. The armies herevpon on both sides, fiercelie rushing togither, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the riuer of Lochtee ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of bloud spilled in the same. Manie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselues foreward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, inforcing their vttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their harts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field.

Camus perceiuing the discomfiture to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them yer he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camestone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall slear of Camus was one Keith, a yoong gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and dooth continue in great honor amongest Scotishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshalship of Scotland, to the high renowme and fame thereof, amongest the chiefest peers of the realme.

Camus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Keithes aduanced to honor.

An other companie of the Danes flieng from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirlemnon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set vp a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waies foorth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our woorthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scotishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellowes what mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obteined this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongest his souldiers, according to the laws of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had beene fought, and the bodies of the Scotishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places, where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blowen from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled vp sailes to haue passed into Murrey land vnto Olauus, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies togither, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchquhan, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue beene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the Firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their vittels began to faile them, they set fiue hundred of their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bootie or preie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent foorth, being perfectlie appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got togither a great number of beasts, with the which drawing towards their ships, they were incountred by the way by Marnachus the thane of Buchquhane accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scotishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them somewhat to staie; but at length hrough the earnest exhortation of Marnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wood desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies,

Danes slaine at Abirlemnon.

The diuiding of the spoile.

Bones of Danes.

Marnachus thane of Buchquhane.

though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

Danes slaine néere vnto Gemmer.

This conflict was fought néere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchquhane, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be séene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship bord, vnderstanding what had happened to their fellowes (because they returned not againe to the ships) so soone as the wind came about for their purpose, hoised vp sailes, and tooke their course foorthright towards Murrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scotishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie ouercome with anie aduerse fortune, made preparation in all spéedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke, to come from thence with a new fléete and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchquhane, and destroied a great part of that countrie by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countriemen the Danes, which had béene there made latelie before.

Sueno prepareth the third time to inuade Scotland.

Canute brother vnto Sueno, appointed generall to come against the Scots.

King Malcolmes determination.

Malcolme sore kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatlie decaied, yet did he assemble an armie with all spéed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light incounters, but in no wise to ieopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the ouerthrow, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrie, against the rage of the enimies. For the space therefore of fiftéene daies togither, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countriemen and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the townes and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enimies, protesting plainelie, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

The Scotishmens request vnto their king for licence to fight.

Malcolme perceiuing the earnest minds of his people to incounter their enimies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and dueties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they inforced themselues to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well néere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so feeble and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which escaping with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged heere and there in seuerall places, at aduenture as well as they might.

The onset is giuen.

The Scots wan the name of victorie, rather than victorie it selfe.

On the morow after, when it was vnderstood on both parties, what losse they had susteined, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, bicause they were not of power longer to maintéine it. Wher vpon by mediation of such as tooke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the bounds of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie ceasse betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enimies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be hallowed for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed foorth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning

Peace concluded for want of power to maintéine battell.

The articles of the peace betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen.

The holds in Scotland deliuered vp by the Danes into the

signing vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scotish dominions, got him to his fléet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke. Scotishmens hands. Canute returneth into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrie vnto ioifull peace, thought nothing so good as to performe the articles of the agréement accorded betwixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olauus patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes lie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scotish chronicle) beheld in the yeere 1521, which séemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he auoucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies. A church builded. Crowdan, what it signifieth. Bones of Danes.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enimies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendring thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He tooke order also, that churches should be repared, which by the enimies in time of the warres had béene destroied. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholsome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yéeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemblie of all the estates of his realme to be called at Bertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting foorth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name. Publike praiers. The reparing of churches. The restoring of lawes and iustice. A parlement at Bertha.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the bloud of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongest the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common entries onelie excepted, with the mountcine wherein the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chappels. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yéeres; and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agréed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yéelding vnto him or his successors one yéeres rent in name of a reliefe; and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the king's appointment, or else compound with him for the same. A parlement at Scone. Diuision of the realme into baronies. The wardship of heires granted to the king. Mariage of wards.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountiousnesse towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared such beneuolent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is expressed. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Murthlake, when he was in danger to haue receiued the ouerthrow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops sée there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Murthlake, Cleometh, and Dunmeth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdictions and The see of Murthlake, otherwise Aberden.

and tithes apperteining thereto. The bishops that sat in this sée were called the bishops of Murthlake, till the daies of king Dauid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the sée with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

The booke called *Regia maiestas.*

Malcolme thus hauing purchased rest from further troubles of warre, gouerned the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to bée set foorth, called *Regia maiestás*, conteining the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be gouerned: and assigning foorth in the same what fées also should be giuen vnto the chancellor, secretarie, constable, marshall, chamberleine, iustice, treasuror, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie dooings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in worthie fame: neuertheles his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile auarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, couetousnesse and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had béene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmized feigned matter by vntrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefest nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes inioy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offenses.

Malcolme waxeth auaritious. Couetousnes and age arriuing togither. Malcolmes crueltie to purchase riches.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such crueltie vsed by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie méetings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inkling whereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Glammis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne houshold seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murtherers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all spéed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ise brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards drawne foorth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse townes of the realme, and there hoong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yéere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Grime, and after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1034 yéeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

The conspiracie of the Scotish nobilitie against Malcolme. Malcolme slaine at Glammis.

The murtherers drowned.

31. *H.B.*
1040. *H.B.*

In this season was séene manie woonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth made therewith in the midst of Striueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adioining to the riuer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had beene séene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of St. Iohn Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that therevpon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

Strange sights.

DUNCANE.

Duncan king of Scotland.

AFTER Malcolme succéeded his nephue Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in mariage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Iles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that mariage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doada, was maried vnto Sinell the thane of Glammis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not béene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue béene thought most

Makbeth.

woorthie

woorthie the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and maners of these two cousins to haue beene so tempered and interchangeablie bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a woorthie king, and Makbeth an excellent capteine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceiued how negligent he was in punishing offendors, manie misruled persons tooke occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditious commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise. Duncan of too soft a nature.

Banquho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time inioied the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished somewhat sharpelie such as were notorious offendors, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much a doo to get awaie with life, after he had receiued sundrie grieuous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hée was somewhat recouered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offendors were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischiefous act with a more wicked déed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also. Banquho thane of Lochquhaber. The house of ye Stewards. A mutinie amongst the people of Lochquhaber. A sergeant at armes slaine by the rebels.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanor against the kings regall authoritie, they should be inuaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his neerest friends and kinsmen, tooke vpon him to be chiefe capteine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grieuous offenses latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing tants this Makdowald vttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle moonks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He vsed also such subtill persuasions and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten togither a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne Iles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselues to assist him in that rebellious quarell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Kernes and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them. Makdowald offereth himselfe to be capteine of the rebels.

Makdowald thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, incountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force tooke their capteine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, did put him in woonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a councell, he asked of them their best aduise for the subduing of Makdowald & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euerie man his skill. At length Makbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slacknesse in punishing offendors, whereby they had such time to assemble togither, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquho, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrie. Makdowald discomfiteth the kings power. The smal skil of the king in warlike affaires Makbeths offer

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent foorth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the fame of his comming put the enimies in such feare, that a great number of them stale secretlie awaie from their capteine Makdowald, who neuerthelesse inforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Makbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children Makbeth and Banquho are sent against the rebels. The rebels forsake their capteine.

were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold anie longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, hée first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yeelded simplie, he should haue béene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Makbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Makdowald lieng dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no peece of his cruell nature with that pitifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headlesse trunke he commanded to bée hoong vp vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Makdowald slaieth his wife and children, & lastlie himselfe.

Makdowalds head sent to the king.

Makbeths crueltie.

Them of the westerne Iles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Makdowald in his tratorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those whome he tooke in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor against the king, he put to execution. Hervpon the Ilandmen conceiued a deadlie grudge towards him, calling him a couenant breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murtherer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Makbeth being kindled in wrath full ire against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the Iles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their liberall talke, had he not béene otherwise persuaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Ilandmen, séeking to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Makbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon woord came that Sueno king of Norway was arriued in Fife with a puissant armie, to subdue the whole realme of Scotland.

Makbeth defamed by the Ilandmen.

Iustice & law restored.

Sueno king of Norway landed in Fife.

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceiued, what this Sueno was, I will somwhat touch from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being also king of Denmarke and Norwaie, had three sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he made king of England, the second king of Norwaie, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioied not the same dominion of England past three yéeres after his fathers decéasse, but was slaine by Etheldred or Egeldred, whom his father Sueno had chased into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie host, and sleaing Etheldred, recouered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes: but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Etheldred, surnained Ironside, maintained the warre against Canute for a season, till at length by both their consents they agréed to fight a combat singularlie man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

This agréeth not with our English writers. Harold that reigned king of England, was not the son of Sueno but of Canute and was not slaine, but died of naturall disease. Sée more hereof in England.

Canute king of Denmarke.

Edmund Ironside.

In this fight when they had continued a long space, and shewed right notable proofes of their manhood: "Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased almightie God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bée likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest inioy part of the realme: go to therefore, I receiue thée as partener with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be contented) let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs without anie more contention." Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, supposing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubtfull triall of loosing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute vnderstood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might without all trouble come to inioy the whole. Herevpon either of them lept beside their weried horsses in that fierce & earnest fight, & imbracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer against France was assigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Etheldred, with hir two sonnes (which she had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie to hir aduancement.

Canutes words to Edmund Ironside.

The diuision of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironside.

Alured & Edward the sons of king Etheldred.

But now touching the arriuall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Fife (as before is expressed)

pressed) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his vncle Camus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Gemmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degrée soeuer they were. Whereof when K. Duncane was certified, he set all slouthfull and lingering delaies apart, and began to assemble an armie in most spéedie wise, like a verie valiant capteine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constreined by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and actiue. Therefore when his whole power was come togither, he diuided the same into three battels. The first was led by Makbeth, the second by Banquho, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scotish nobilitie.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norwaie.

Duncane bestirreth himselfe in assembling an armie.

The Scotish armie diuided into three battels.

The armie of Scotishmen being thus ordered, came vnto Culros, where incountering with the enimies, after a sore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by this battell, that they were not able to make long chase on their enimies, but kept themselues all night in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assembling togither againe, might haue set vpon them at some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no enimies were to be found abrode, they gathered the spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by commandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt either man, woman, or child, except such as were found with weapon in hand readie to make resistance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme without further bloudshed.

Sueno vanquisheth the Scots.

Suenos commandement to spare fire and swoord.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Makbeth was gathering a new power to withstand the incursions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & comming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round about it. Duncane séeing himselfe thus enuironed by his enimies, sent a secret message by counsell of Banquho to Makbeth, commanding him to abide at Inchcuthill, till he heard from him some other newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained communication with Sueno, as though he would haue yéelded vp the castell into his hands, vnder certeine conditions, and this did he to driue time, and to put his enimies out of all suspicion of anie enterprise ment against them, till all things were brought to passe that might serue for the purpose. At length, when they were fallen at a point for rendring vp the hold, Duncane offered to send foorth of the castell into the campe great prouision of vittels to refresh the armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the Danes, for that they had béene in great penurie of sustenance manie daies before.

Duncane fled to the castell of Bertha.

Sueno besiegeth king Malcolme.

Fained treatie.

The Scots héerevpon tooke the iuice of mekilwoort berries, and mixed the same in their ale and bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great abundance vnto their enimies. They reioising that they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such greedie wise, that it séemed they stroue who might deuoure and swallow vp most, till the operation of the berries spread in such sort through all the parts of their bodies, that they were in the end brought into a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was vnpossible to awake them. Then foorthwith Duncane sent vnto Makbeth, commanding him with all diligence to come and set vpon the enimies, being in easie point to be ouercome. Makbeth making no delaie, came with his people to the place, where his enimies were lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards entered the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides without anie resistance, that it was a woonderfull matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of sléepe, that the most part of them were slaine and neuer stirred: other that were awakened either by the noise or other waies foorth, were so amazed and dizzie headed vpon their wakening, that they were not able to make anie defense; so that of the whole number there escaped no more but onelie Sueno himselfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to his ships lieng at rode in the mouth of Taie.

Spiced cups prepared for the Danes.

The Danes ouercome with drinke, fall aslépe.

Makbeth assaileth the campe of the Danes, being ouercome with drinke and sléepe.

The slaughter of Danes.

Sueno with ten other escaped.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard what plentie of meate and drinke the

Scots had sent vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be partakers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fellowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued how through lacke of mariners he should not be able to conueie awaie his nauie, he furnished one ship throughlie with such as were left, and in the same sailed backe into Norwaie, cursing the time that he set forward on this infortunate iournie. The other ships which he left behind him, within three daies after his departure from thence, were tossed so togither by violence of an east wind, that beating and rushing one against another, they sunke there, and lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the great danger of other such ships as come on that coast: for being couered with the floud when the tide commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some part of them appéere aboue water.

Sueno fleeth with one ship, leauing the residue of his nauie behind him.

The fleete of the Norwegians sunke by vehement rage of winds.

Drownelow sands.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost, is yet called Drownelow sands. This ouerthrow receiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie displeasant to him and his people, as should appéere, in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no knights were made in Norwaie, except they were first sworne to reuenge the slaughter of their countriemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The Scots hauing woone so notable a victorie, after they had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused solemne processions to be made in all places of the realme, and thanks to be giuen to almightie God, that had sent them so faire a day ouer their enimies. But whilest the people were thus at their processions, woord was brought that a new fléet of Danes was arriued at Kingcorne, sent thither by Canute king of England, in reuenge of his brother Suenos ouerthrow. To resist these enimies, which were alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie; Makbeth and Banquho were sent with the kings authoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power, incountred the enimies, slue part of them, and chased the other to their ships. They that escaped and got once to their ships, obteined of Makbeth for a great summe of gold, that such of their friends as were slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old sepultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner of burieng noble men still is, and héeretofore hath béene vsed.

The oth that knights tooke, in Norwaie, to reuenge the death of their friends.

Solemne processions for victorie gotten.

A power of Danes arriue at Kingcorne out of England.

The Danes vanquished by Makbeth and Banquho.

Danes buried in S. Colmes Inch.

A peace concluded betwixt Scots and Danes.

A peace was also concluded at the same time betwixt the Danes and Scotishmen, ratified (as some haue written) in this wise: That from thencefoorth the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner of meanes. And these were the warres that Duncane had with forren enimies, in the seuenth yéere of his reigne. Shortlie after happened a strange and vncouth woonder, which afterward was the cause of much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall after heare. It fortuned as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie togither without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the middest of a laund, there met them three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world, whome when they attentiuelie beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; "All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis" (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them said; "Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder." But the third said; "All haile Makbeth that héereafter shalt be king of Scotland."

The prophesie of three women supposing to be the weird sisters or feiries.

Then Banquho; "What manner of women (saith he) are you, that séeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all?" "Yes (saith the first of them) we promise greater benefits vnto thée, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in déed, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succéed in his place, where contrarilie thou in déed shalt not reigne at all, but of thée those shall be borne which shall gouerne the Scotish kingdome by long order of continuall descent." Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantasticall illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father

A thing to woonder at.

Banquho the father of manie kings.

of

of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, bicause euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken. For shortlie after, the thane of Cawder being condemned at Fores of treason against the king committed; his lands, liuings, and offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mackbeth.

The thane of Cawder condemned of treason.

Mackbeth made thane of Cawder.

The same night after, at supper, Banquho iested with him and said; "Now Mackbeth thou hast obteined those things which the two former sisters prophesied, there remaineth onelie for thée to purchase that which the third said should come to passe. Wherevpon Mackbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began euen then to deuise how he might atteine to the kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he must tarie a time, which should aduance him thereto (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe in his former preferment. But shortlie after it chanced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, he made the elder of them called Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were thereby to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, immediatlie after his deceasse. Mackbeth sore troubled herewith, for that he saw by this means his hope sore hindered (where, by the old lawes of the realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should succéed were not of able age to take the charge vpon himselfe, he that was next of bloud vnto him should be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarell so to doo (as he tooke the matter) for that Duncane did what in him lay to defraud him of all maner of title and claime, which he might in time to come, pretend vnto the crowne.

Mackbeth deuiseth how he might atteine the kingdome.

The daughter of Siward earle of Northumberland, wife to king Duncane.

Mackbeth studieth which way he may take the kingdome by force.

The woords of the three weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herevnto, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a quéene. At length therefore, communicating his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst whome Banquho was the chiefest, vpon confidence of their promised aid, he slue the king at Enuerns, or (as some say) at Botgosuane, in the sixt yeare of his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he caused himselfe to be proclamed king, and foorthwith went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he receiued the inuesture of the kingdome according to the accustomed maner. The bodie of Duncane was first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in kinglie wise; but afterwards it was remoued and conueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1046.

Prophesies moue men to vnlawfull attempts.

Women desirous of high estate.

Mackbeth sleaeth king Duncane.

Mackbeth vsurpeth the crowne.

Duncanes buriall.

1046. *H. B.*

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they might well know that Mackbeth would séeke to bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme remained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of Ethelred recouered the dominion of England from the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Malcolme by way of most friendlie enterteinment: but Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was tenderlie cherished by the king of that land. Mackbeth, after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, vsed great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme, thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all enormities and abuses, which had chanced through the feeble and slouthfull administration of Duncane. And to bring his purpose the better to passe without anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtill wile to bring all offendors and misdooers vnto iustice, soliciting sundrie of his liege people with high rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most oppressed the commons, to come at a day and place appointed, to fight singular combats within barriers, in triall of their accusations. When these théeues, barrettors, and other oppressors of the innocent people were come to darren battell in this wise (as is said) they were streight waies apprehended by armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets, according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue of misdooers that were left, were punished.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane flée into Cumberland.

Malcolme Cammore receiued by Edward king of England.

Mackbeths liberalitie.

Mackbeth studieth to aduance iustice.

Mackbeths policie.

Streict iustice.

punished and tamed in such sort, that manie yeares after all theft and reiffings were little heard of, the people inioieng the blissefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie. Mackbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by anie disordered persons within his realme, was accounted the sure defense and buckler of innocent people; and hereto he also applied his whole indeuor, to cause yoong men to exercise themselues in vertuous maners, and men of the church to attend their diuine seruice according to their vocations.

A kinglie endeuour.

He caused to be slaine sundrie thanes, as of Cathnes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ros, because through them and their seditious attempts, much trouble dailie rose in the realme. He appeased the troublesome state of Galloway, and slue one Makgill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed nothing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe, such were the woorthie doings and princelie acts of this Mackbeth in the administration of the realme, that if he had atteined therevnto by rightfull means, and continued in vprightnesse of iustice as he began, till the end of his reigne, he might well haue beene numbred amongest the most noble princes that anie where had reigned. He made manie holesome laws and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Iustice ministred without respect of persons.

LAWES MADE BY KING MAKBETH SET FOORTH ACCORDING TO HECTOR BOETIUS.

Liberties of them that haue taken orders.

"HE that is within orders of the church, shall not be compelled to answere before a temporall iudge, but be remitted to his ordinarie.

Tithes to be paid to the church.

"The tenth part of all fruits that increase on the ground, shall be giuen to the church, that God may be woorshipped with oblations and praiers.

Persons accursed.

"He that continueth obstinatlie in the cursse of the church by the space of one whole yeare, contemning to be reconciled, shall be reputed enimie to the common-wealth: and if he perseuere with indurat mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of knighthood.

"He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communaltie. And he that is made king, shall be sworne in semblable maner.

Eldest daughters.

"The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The kings gift.

"No man shall inioy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance.

"No office shall go by inheritance, but shall still remaine at the kings free disposition, as shall stand with his pleasure to assigne it.

Iudges.

"No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

"All conuentions, offices, and acts of iustice, shall passe in the kings name.

Reteiners.

"He that is reteined or becommeth a sworne man to anie other person saue onelie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and euerie man shall be bound to defend the king against all other creatures.

Raisers of the kings people, or vnlawfull assemblies.

"He that raiseth the kings liege people, shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall they doo that assemble togither by his procurement.

Waiters vpon other men.

"He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publike assemblie, as a reteiner, shall suffer death, except he haue liuing at his hands, on whome he so attendeth.

Keeping of horsses.

"A horsse kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vse than for tillage and laboring of the earth, shall be forfeited to the king by escheat.

Counterfet fooles, with minstrels and such like.

"Counterfeit fooles, minstrels, iesters, and these kind of iuglers, with such like idle persons, that range abroad in the countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the king, shall be compelled

compelled to learne some science or craft to get their liuing; if they refuse so to doo, they shall be drawen like horsses in the plough and harrows.

"Though the sonne chance to be put in possessiō of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards conuicted of treason committed against the kings person. Possession of lands.

"All such women, that are maried to anie lord or baron (though she haue no issue by him) shall yet haue the third part of his lands after his deceasse, and the remanent shall go to his heires. Dowrie of wiues.

"All maner of lords and great barons, shall not contract matrimonie with other, vnder paine of death, speciallie if their lands and roomes lie neere togither. Mariage of lords and barons.

"All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings vse, with all other moueable goods of the partie that herein offendeth. Bearing of armour.

"Such as be appointed gouernors, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy within those limits, where their charges lie, anie lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same. Capteins. Buieng of lands.

"And if anie of the said capteins or gouernors marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their roomes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or copertenèrs to occupie the same office."

These and the like commendable lawes Makbeth caused to be put as then in vse, gouerning the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partlie against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortlie after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of equitie practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as atteine to anie estate by vnrighteous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be serued of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessor. The woords also of the three weird sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Banquho. He willed therefore the same Banquho with his sonne named Fleance, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certeine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them to meete with the same Banquho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodgings, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge vpon anie suspicion that might arise. Makbeths counterfeit zeale and equitie. Makbeths guiltie conscience. Makbeth deuise to slea Banquho and his sonne.

It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night, that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet by the helpe of almightie God reseruing him to better fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards hauing some inkeling (by the admonition of some friends which he had in the court) how his life was sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine not by chance medlie (as by the handling of the matter Makbeth would haue had it to appeare) but euen upon a prepensed deuise; wherevpon to auoid further perill he fled into Wales. Banquho is slaine, but his sonne escapeth. Fleance Banquhos sonne fleeth into Wales.

¶ But here I thinke it shall not much make against my purpose, if (according to th' order which I find obserued in the Scotish historie) I shall in few words rehearse the originall line of those kings, which haue descended from the foresaid Banquho, that they which haue inioied the kingdome by so long continuance of descent, from one to another, and that euen vnto these our daies, may be knowen from whence they had their first beginning. The line of the Scotish kings.

Fleance therefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where shortlie after by his courteous and amiable behauiour, he grew into such fauor and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might vnneath haue wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in the end suf

fered

Fleance defloureth the prince of Wales his daughter.

fered him to get hir with child; which being once vnderstood, hir father the prince conceiued such hatefull displeasure towards Fleance, that he finallie slue him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of seruitude, for that she had consented to be on this wise defloured by a stranger. At the last yet, she was deliuered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares prooued a man of greater courage and valiancie, than anie other had commonlie beene found, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he shewed euer euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certeine stoutnesse of stomach, readie to attempt high enterprises.

Fleance is slaine.

Walter the sonne of Fleance.

His bringing vp.

The stout stomach appearing in Walter from his childhood.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie tawnting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch obiected that he was a bastard, and begotten in vnlawfull bed; wherewith being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flée out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to séeke some friendship there, he happened into the companie of such Englishmen, as were come thither with quéene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highlie esteemed amongest them. Not long after by such means atteining to the degrée of high reputation, he was sent with a great power of men into the westerne Iles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and iniurious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterprise according to his commission he atchiued, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receiue the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

Walter fléeth into Scotland.

Saint Margaret.

Walter sent with an armie to daunt rebels.

Walter made lord steward of Scotland.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alane Steward, who went after with Godfreie of Bullogne duke of Loraine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered England, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great iournie thither, in the yeare 1090. Alane had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbeie of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose valiancie was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right valiantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtoune, and maried the heire of Crukeistoune, from whom descended the earles of Leuenox and Dernlie. Moreouer, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as Iohn and Iames, with sundrie other. Howbeit they tooke new surnames by the name of those lands, vnto the which they succéeded. The afore recited Iohn Steward, after the death of his brother Iames, maried the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Ranfrew, Rothessaie, Bute, and Stewatoune, after that his father the forenamed Iohn was slaine at Falkirke.

Alane Steward.

The iournie into the holie land.

Alexander Steward.

Walter Steward.

Alexander Steward the sonne of Walter.

Robert Steward.

Iohn Steward and Iames Steward.

Walter inheritor of Bonkill, &c.

He maried Margerie Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second tooke to wife one Isabell Mure, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adham Mure knight, and brought foorth issue, three sonnes and three daughters. The eldest sonne hight Iohn Steward otherwise named Robert, who succéeded immediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouernour, for the space of fiftéene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudzenot. The eldest daughter was maried to Iames that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Dowglas. The second daughter was maried to Iohn Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame, earle of Murrey. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was maried to the Dowglas, and so Dowglas came to the earledome of Murrey. The third daughter was maried vnto Iohn Lioun, that was after made lord of Glammis.

King Robert the second.

Iohn Steward otherwise named Robert.

Duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward, sonne to king Robert the second.

Iohn Dunbar.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which ware the crowne in Scotland, maried Ewfame daughter to the earle of Rosse, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and Dauid earle of Stratherne. This Walter sollicited Robert duke of Albanie, to slea Dauid Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that Iames the first was returned home foorth of England, hée did what he could to mooue him to slea all the linage of the said duke, still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope mooued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to slea king Iames the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after conuicted and destroied with all his sonnes. His brother Dauid earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their bloud. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdo, who maried the earle of Lennox daughter, and got on hir three sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and Iames.

Ewfame.

Walter and Dauid sonnes to king Robert.

Robert duke of Albanie.

Iames the first.

Graime or Graham.

Duke Murdo.

Duke Murdo himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Striueling by king Iames the first, & the third brother Iames in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he deceassed without issue. Robert the third of that name maried Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir Iohn Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir Dauid and Iames. The first died in Falkland, and the other atteined the crowne, and was called Iames the first, and maried the ladie Iane daughter to Iohn Beauford erle of Summerset in England. He had by hir two sonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and Iames. The first died yoong, the second atteined the crowne, named Iames the second. Iames the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dolphine of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fift to the earle of Huntley, and the sixt had no succession. Iames the second maried Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir three sonnes, and two daughters.

King Robert the third.

Dauid and Iames, sons to king Robert the third.

Iohn Beauford earle of Summerset.

Iames the first and his issue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

The first succéeded him in the kingdome, and was called Iames the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and maried first the earle of Orkenies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murrey, and then parting with hir went into France, where he maried the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir Iohn Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yéeres in the minoritie of Iames the fift. The third sonne, Iohn Steward, was earle of Mar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannogat in a bathfat. The first daughter of Iames the second, was maried to the lord Boid, who begot on hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Mongumrie, and a daughter that was maried to the earle of Cassels. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of Iames the second, she was eftsoones maried to the lord Hammilton, and by that means was the house of the Hammiltons honored with the kings bloud. The other sister was maried to the lord Creichton, of whom came small succession woorthie to be mentioned. Iames the third maried Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which mariage was borne Iames the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and Iohn Steward earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

Iames and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.

The lord Boid.

The lord Hammilton.

Lord Creichton.

Iames the third and his issue.

Iames the fourth maried Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seuenth of England, and begot on hir Iames the fift, who marieng first the ladie Magdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yéere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortlie after the said Iames the fift maried the ladie Marie de Lorrein, duchesse of Lonuile, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie quéene of Scotland, that tooke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whome she had issue Charles Iames, now king of Scotland. But to returne vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall vnderstand that after the contriued slaughter of Banquho, nothing prospered with the foresaid Makbeth: for in maner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst vnneth appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by

Iames the fourth.

Makbeths dread.

His crueltie caused thro feare.

by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after bloud in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hée thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were inriched by their goods which were forfeited to his vse, whereby he might better mainteine a gard of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruellie oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunsinane, situate in Gowrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well neere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stermond, and Ernedale, as it were lieng vnderneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stuffe necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Makbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

The castell of Dunsinane builded.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Makduffe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all néedfull prouision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might bée giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had doone, which he refused to doo, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partlie vnderstood) no great good will, would laie violent hands vpon him, as he had doone vpon diuerse other. Shortlie after, Makbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and bicause he found not Makduffe there, he was sore offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Makduffe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certeine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the thrée faries or weird sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take héed of Makduffe, who in time to come should seeke to destroie him.

Makduffe thane of Fife.

Makbeth is offended with Makduffe.

Makbeths confidence in wizzards.

And suerlie herevpon had he put Makduffe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Bernane came to the castell of Dunsinane. By this prophesie Makbeth put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might doo what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beléeued it was vnpossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other vnpossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to doo manie outragious things, to the gréeuous oppression of his subiects. At length Makduffe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie deuised by Makduffe, but that Makbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Midas. For Makbeth had in euerie noble mans house, one slie fellow or other in fée with him, to reueale all that was said or doone within the same, by which slight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Lynxs eies and Midas eares.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Makduffe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and foorthwith besieged the castell where Makduffe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuerthelesse Makbeth most cruellie caused the wife and children of Makduffe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Makduffe, proclamed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Makduffe was alreadie escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hée might

Makbeths crueltie vsed against Makduffs familie.

make

make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruellie executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Makbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they susteined at such a caitifes hands. Makduffe eseapeth into England vnto Malcolme Commore. Makduffes words vnto Malcolme.

Malcolme hearing Makduffes woords, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for meere compassion and verie ruth that pearsed his sorowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Makduffe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scotish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Makbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the good title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some occasion ministred, whereby they might be reuenged of those notable iniuries, which they dailie susteined by the outragious crueltie of Makbeths misgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie sorowfull for the oppression of his countriemen the Scots, in maner as Makduffe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment vnfeinedlie as he spake, or else as sent from Makbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue some further triall, and thereupon dissembling his mind at the first, he answered as followeth. Malcolme sigheth.

"I am trulie verie sorie for the miserie chanced to my countrie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer so great affection to relieue the same, yet by reason of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. First, such immoderate lust and voluptuous sensualitie (the abhominable founteine of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I should seeke to defloure your maids and matrones, in such wise that mine intemperancie should be more importable vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makbeth now is." Heerevnto Makduffe answered: "This suerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue lost both liues and kingdomes for the same; neuerthelesse there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counsell. Make thy selfe king, and I shall conueie the matter so wiselie, that thou shalt be so satisfied at thy pleasure in such secret wise, that no man shall be aware thereof." Malcolme Cammore his answer. Makduffes answer.

Then said Malcolme, "I am also the most auaritious creature on the earth, so that if I were king, I should seeke so manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would slea the most part of all the nobles of Scotland by surmized accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and possessions; and therefore to shew you what mischiefe may insue on you through mine vnsatiable couetousnes, I will rehearse vnto you a fable. There was a fox hauing a sore place on him ouerset with a swarme of flies, that continuallie sucked out hir bloud: and when one that came by and saw this manner, demanded whether she would haue the flies driuen beside hir, she answered no: for if these flies that are alreadie full, and by reason thereof sucke not verie egerlie, should be chased awaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred, should light in their places, and sucke out the residue of my bloud farre more to my greeuance than these, which now being satisfied doo not much annoie me. Therefore saith Malcolme, suffer me to remaine where I am, least if I atteine to the regiment of your realme, mine vnquenchable auarice may prooue such; that ye would thinke the displeasures which now grieue you, should seeme easie in respect of the vnmeasurable outrage, which might insue through my comming amongst you." A fable of a fox.

Makduffe to this made answer, "how it was a far woorse fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all mischiefe, and for that crime the most part of our kings haue beene slaine and brought to their finall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counsell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches inough in Scotland to satisfie thy greedie desire." Then said Malcolme againe, "I am furthermore inclined to dissimulation, telling of leasings, and all other kinds of deceit, so that I naturallie reioise in nothing so much, as to betraie Couetousnesse the root of all mischiefe. Dissimulation and delitting in lies.

traie & deceiue such as put anie trust or confidence in my woords. Then sith there is nothing that more becommeth a prince than constancie, veritie, truth, and iustice, with the other laudable fellowship of those faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in soothfastnesse, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the same; you see how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or region: and therefore sith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the rest of my other vices, I praie you find shift to cloke this vice amongst the residue."

Makduffes exclamation.

Then said Makduffe: "This yet is the woorst of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore saie; Oh ye vnhappie and miserable Scotishmen, which are thus scourged with so manie and sundrie calamities, ech one aboue other! Ye haue one curssed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppressing you with his most bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is so replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifest vices of Englishmen, that he is nothing woorthie to inioy it: for by his owne confession he is not onelie auaritious, and giuen to vnsatiable lust, but so false a traitor withall, that no trust is to be had vnto anie woord he speaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my selfe a banished man for euer, without comfort or consolation:" and with those woords the brackish teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantlie.

Makduffe weepeth.

Malcolme comforteth Makduffe.

At the last, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme tooke him by the sleeue, and said: "Be of good comfort Makduffe, for I haue none of these vices before remembred, but haue iested with thee in this manner, onelie to prooue thy mind: for diuerse times heeretofore hath Makbeth sought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the more slow I haue shewed my selfe to condescend to thy motion and request, the more diligence shall I vse in accomplishing the same." Incontinentlie heerevpon they imbraced ech other, and promising to be faithfull the one to the other, they fell in consultation how they might best prouide for all their businesse, to bring the same to good effect. Soone after, Makduffe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addressed his letters with secret dispatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come hastilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, sith he was right inheritor thereto, to assist him with their powers to recouer the same out of the hands of the wrongfull vsurper.

Makduffe & Malcolme imbrace ech other.

Makduffe writeth letters to his friends in Scotland.

Siward earle of Northumberland.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchased such fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thousand men to go with him into Scotland, to support him in this enterprise, for recouerie of his right. After these newes were spread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two seuerall factions, the one taking part with Makbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Heerevpon insued oftentimes sundrie bickerings, & diuerse light skirmishes: for those that were of Malcolmes side, would not ieopard to ioine with their enimies in a pight field, till his comming out of England to their support. But after that Makbeth perceiued his enimies power to increase, by such aid as came to them foorth of England with his aduersarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purposing to abide in campe fortified, at the castell of Dunsinane, and to fight with his enimies, if they ment to pursue him; howbeit some of his friends aduised him, that it should be best for him, either to make some agreement with Malcolme, or else to flee with all speed into the Iles, and to take his treasure with him, to the end he might wage sundrie great princes of the realme to take his part, & reteine strangers, in whome he might better trust than in his owne subiects, which stale dailie from him: but he had such confidence in his prophesies, that he beleeued he should neuer be vanquished, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunsinane; nor yet to be slaine with anie man, that should be or was borne of anie woman.

The nobles of Scotland diuided.

Makbeth recoileth.

Makbeth is counselled to flee into the Iles.

Makbeths trust in prophesies.

Malcolme following hastilie after Makbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march foorth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come closelie and without sight in this manner within view of his enimies. On the morrow when Makbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first maruelled what the matter ment, but in the end remembred himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of

Branches of trees.

the

the comming of Birnane wood to Dunsinane castell, was likelie to be now fulfilled. Neuerthelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to doo valiantlie, howbeit his enimies had scarselie cast from them their boughs, when Makbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streict to flight, whom Makduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where Makbeth perceiuing that Makduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horsse, saieng; "Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on therefore, and receiue thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines," and therwithall he lifted vp his swoord thinking to haue slaine him.

Makbeth setteth his men in order of battell. Makbeth fleeth, & is pursued of Makduffe.

But Makduffe quicklie auoiding from his horsse, yer he came at him, answered (with his naked swoord in his hand) saieng: "It is true Makbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thée of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe:" therewithall he stept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Makbeth, after he had reigned 17 yéeres ouer the Scotishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yéere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yéere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.

Makbeth is slaine.

1057. *Io. M.*
1061. *H. B.*
8. *H. B.*

MALCOLME.

Malcolme Cammore thus recouering the relme (as ye haue heard) by support of king Edward, in the 16 yéere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yéere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfair, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Makbeth, aduancing them to fées and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Menteth, Atholl, Leuenox, Murrey, Cathnes, Rosse, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue beéne heard of amongst the Scotishmen (as their histories doo make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken vp at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Seiton, Lauder, Wawane, Meldrun, Schaw, Leirmouth, Libertoun, Strachquhen, Cargill, Rattrey, Dundas, Cockbourne, Mirtoun, Menzeis, Abercrummie, Lislie, with manie other that had possessions giuen them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant capteins were turned into generall surnames, as Kennedie, Graham, Haie, with diuerse other too long héere to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath doone manie times since, that new surnames haue worne the old out of vse.

A parlement at Forfair.

Thanes changed into earles.

Surnames.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Forfair, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie holesome ordinances established, both apperteining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Makduffes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieflie aided him to the atteining of the crowne, he honored him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should giue battell to his enimies, the same earle should lead the vauntgard of his host. The third, that the linage of Makduffe should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and roomes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were

Makduffe earle of Fife his aduancement. Priuileges granted vnto Makduffes linage.

called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expressed.

Iohannes Maior. Iohannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Makduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman that anie of them should hap to kill by chancemedlie, and not vpon pretensed malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murtherers were woont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the Kinboc, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Makduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, togither with the other two former grants, the said Maior sore reproueth, and not without cause, as may appéere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murther, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their harts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they listed.

Gibbets and draw-wels. It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselues, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vsed in Scotland. Moreouer, all the lawes that Makbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subiects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the foole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the coosen of the late mentioned Makbeth, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Makbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appease this businesse, was Makduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incountring with Lugtake at a village called Essen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

Makbeths lawes abrogated.

Lugtake.

Lugtake crowned at Scone.

Lugtake is slaine.

A band of théeues.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeeres, till it chanced a great number of théeues and robbers assembling themselues togither at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Mers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie, and tooke fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countrie of those péelers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhood héerein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Pethes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times comming, the earles of March should purge Mers and Louthian of all théeues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beare in his armes a fellons head sprinkled with bloud.

Patrike Dunbar vanquisheth the théeues and robbers of the countrie.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March.

The head of a théefe or fellon giuen in arms.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue béene executed, he calleth the chiefe author of the conspiracie apart into a certeine vallie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reproouing him verie sharpelie, for that he had so traitorouslie conspired his death, whose preseruation he ought chieflie to haue wished, considering the manifold benefits he had receiued at his hands. And herewith leaping from his horsse, drew his swoord, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most woorthie of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these woords, as a man altogither astonished, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings féet; beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who séeing him thus penitent, bad him arise, and said; "I am content héerevpon to forgiue thee, so that thou be not of counsell heereafter in anie such traitorous practise."

A conspiracie.

The manlie courage of K. Malcolme.

Whilest

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, great and maruellous chances came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine tooke on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Héere ye haue to vnderstand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephue Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home foorth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Edwine had béene sent awaie, as in the historie of England it appéereth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henrie, named Agatha, sister to the quéene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scotish writers doo so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret an the other Christen.

See more her. of in England.

Wil. Malm.

King Edward ment that his nephue the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing woorthie of admiration) vtterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his vncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilest his vncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it séemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to shore in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the queenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he heard of the arriuall of this ship, and vnderstood what they were that were aboord in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honors sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whome afore time he had found so much gentlenesse and friendship.

Hector Boet.

The quéenes ferrie.

Finallie, when he vnderstood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdome, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha hir mother to haue hir in mariage, wherevnto Agatha gladlie condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemblie of all the nobles of Scotland, this mariage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. K. William conqueror of England, being informed hereof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might bréed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, sith the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To preuent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the linage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obteining liuings at his hands, remained there continuallie during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whome were these, Lindseie, Vaus, Ramseie, Louell, Towhris, Prestoune, Sandlands, Bissart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Maxwell, with diuerse other.

Malcolme Cammore marieth Margaret sister to Edgar Achelling.

1067. H.B.

Englishmen fled into Scotland.

Surnames of Englishmen in Scotland.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with quéene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoune, Fotringham, Giffart, Meluill, Borthwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraseir, Sinclare, Boswell, Mowtray, Mountgummerie, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. ¶ But to the order of the historie. It is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie relikes of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king Dauid gaue vnto the abbeie of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William

Surnames of Hungarians.

Surnames of Frenchmen.

The blacke crosse.

William conqueror threatneth king Malcolme.

William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatning that if he refused to deliuer him, he would suerlie fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commoditie.

Malcolms answer.

But Malcolme, though he vnderstood that he should be sure of wars at K. Williams hands for his deniall; yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was vnreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein.

Open warre proclaimed by William conquerof.

King William receiuing this answere from king Malcolme, proclamed open warre against Scotland.

Northumberland taketh part with K. Malcolme.

In the meane time all Northumberland tooke part with K. Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne.

Roger a Norman capteine or rather earle Rogor (as I take it) See in England.

Wherevpon K. William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastilie into that countrie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorouslie slaine by his owne souldiers.

The earle of Glocester.

But king William nothing discouraged with this ouerthrow: sent one Richard earle of Glocester (whome amongest all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberland, against whome were sent the earles of March and Menteith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie aduantage of them.

Gospatrike saith *Simon Dunel.*

King William aduertised hereof, waxed woonderfull wroth, that no more good was doone against his enimies, wherevpon he sent a new power thither with all speed, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Baieux, and earle of Kent.

Odo bishop of Baieux and earle of Kent.

By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was sore spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine.

Malcolms enterprise against his enimies.

But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enimies, slue a great number of them, and recouered all the bootie which Odos men had got in the countrie, and so right ioifull of that victorie, returned into Scotland.

Robert the sonne of William conquerour.

King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe neere to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterprise, sauing that he repared and newlie fortified the towne of Newcastell, which standeth vpon the same riuer of Tine; and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt Twéed, Cumberland, and Stainmoore, and to doo homage to the K. of England for the same.

Newcastell vpon Tine fortified.

A peace concluded betwixt William Conquerour, and Malcolme Cammore.

In the midst of Stainmoore there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings.

The roicrosse.

Moreouer, it was concluded that Waltheof or Voldosius (as the Scotish writers name him) the sonne of Siward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams néece, borne of his daughter, and to be free from all paiments and exactions due to the king by anie maner of prerogatiue or means, for the space of twentie yeares next insuing.

Waltheof, Siward earle of Northumberland.

Rebellion in Galloway.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Iland men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted.

Walter the sonne of Fleance.

Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a conuenient armie, who at his comming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an ouerthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Makglaue.

Makglaue.

Then afterwards fighting with them of the Iles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandement.

Walter created high steward of Scotland.

For which high prowes and diligence in this peece of seruice shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue borne that surname, euen vnto these our daies.

A new rebellion in Murrey land.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murreyland men, procuring them of Rosse and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie slea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed

vnder

vnder him to see iustice ministred, but through support of one Makduncane, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also wasted and destroied the kings possessions, with more crueltie than euer had béene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Makduffe was sent with an armie into Mar. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more auailable than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Monimuske, where he was aduertised, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Iles, were confederat with the Murreyland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, vowed to giue the baronnie of Monimuske (which he vnderstood to be lands perteining to the crowne) vnto the church of saint Andrew in Fife, if it might please God to send him victorie ouer his enimies.

Makduffe.

The kings vow.

At length comming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enimies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for armor than he thought had béene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceiued also that his standard-bearer began to shrinke, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue doone. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obteined sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his heires for euer: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimgeour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on these conditions; That the commons that tooke part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselues to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings vse.

Standard bearer.

Sir Alexander Carron.

A peace concluded.

The submission of gentlemen.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wife quéene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gave himselfe in maner altogither vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in dooing of almes déeds, by prouiding for the poore, and such like godlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be briefe, herein there séemed to be in maner a certeine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quéene his wife, which of them should be most feruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Christine, also by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and solitarie life, wherein they gaue themselues wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the queene his wife, ceassed not to set his indeuor wholie to the aduancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decaied by the negligence of his predecessors. Therefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sées in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glascow, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murthlake remaining onelie in good reparation (the other being decaied) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrey and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

King Malcolme through exhortation of his wife, giueth himselfe to deuotion.

A godlie strife.

Agatha and Christine renounce the world.

Bishops sees restored and newlie erected by king Malcolme.

But to procéed. It is said, that such outragious riot entered at this time, and began to grow in vse among the Scotishmen, togither with the language and maners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, flieng out of their countrie, were dailie receiued as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that diuerse of the nobles perceiuing what discommoditie and decaie to the whole realme would insue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting greeuouslie the case, for that this venemous infection spred so fast ouer the whole realme, to the peruerting and vtter remooving of the ancient sobrietie of diet vsed in the same. Wherefore they besought him to prouide some remedie in time, before hope of redresse were past, that the people might be againe reduced vnto their former frugalitie, who hitherto vsed not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiouslie dressed or serued foorth with sawces, but onelie feeding to satisfie nature, and not their gréedie appetites.

Riot and superfluous chere brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scotish nobilitie for the intemperate surfetting begun to grow in vse in their countrie.

The ancient sparenesse of diet amongst the Scots.

Sober fare cause of strength and hugenesse of bodie.

Through this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall trauell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their ofspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like vnto giants than vnto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and lims, pressing vpon their enimies like vnto fierce lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of anie danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Herevpon king Malcolme tooke great paines to haue redressed this infectiue poison, and vtterlie to haue expelled it foorth of his realme.

Mans nature prone to vice.

Howbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to imbrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scotish people before had no knowledge nor vnderstanding of fine fare or riotous surfet; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restreine their licorous desires. ¶ And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in excesse with things vsed in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so ouercome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adaies; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparenesse of diet, they yet did not eat past twise a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but

The greedie taste of mens insatiable lust.

now the greedie taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoeuer may be gotten, is vneth able to quench their gluttonous appetit & rauenous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left vnsought to satisfie the same, as though they were worthie of most high commendation that may deuour most: wherein they

Men compared to wolues & coruorants.

may be iustlie compared to greedie woolues and coruorants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a follie: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor searing, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroie the whole nation, than remooue this vice.

1086. *H.B.*

In the meane time whilest things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1087. About which time king

The church of Durham built by king Malcolme. Turgot.

Malcolme caused the old church of Durham to be plucked downe and builded vp a new, beginning euen at the first floore. In which season, one Egelwin or William (as the Scotish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbeie was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the liues of queene Margaret and Malcolme hir husband in the Scotish toong. Afterward he deceassed in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought vnto Durham, and there buried, bicause he was first prior therof. King

The church of Dunfermling. The sepulture of the Scotish kings.

Malcolme by persuasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordeining from thencefoorth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like maner as it had beene afore time in the Ile of Iona at the abbeie of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were deuised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife queene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

which he wrote of their liues, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of siluer to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is vsed to be paied yet vnto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the vse of their bodies all the first night after their mariage. King William

William Rufus.

surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should inioy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before anie denouncing of warre by

The castell of Anwike woon by the Englishmen.

him made, inuaded Northumberland, and tooke the castell of Anwike, putting all such to the swoord as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enimie, leuied a great host of

The castell of Anwike besieged by the Scots.

his subiects, and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Anwike. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to haue made surrender, a certeine English knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous interprise, mounted

on

on a swift horsse without armor or weapon, sauing a speare in his hand, vpon the point whereof he bare the keies of the castell, and so issued foorth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scotish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour vnto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came foorth of his pauilion to vnderstand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receiue the keies which he had brought. And whilest all mens eies were earnest in beholding the keies, the Englishman ran the king through the left eie, and suddenlie dashing his spurres to his horsse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hée yeelded vp the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

An hardie enterprise.
K. Malcolme is slaine.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perse eie, for that he stroke king Malcolme so right in the eie, and in recompense of his seruice gaue him certeine lands in Northumberland: of whome those Percées are descended, which in our daies haue inioied the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake vp their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbeie of Tinmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterwards to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Anwike, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the bloud roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Quéene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edenburgh castell, hir disease increased through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thrée daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more ioifull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the yéere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of Nouember, and in the 36 yéere of his reigne.

The name of the Percées had no such beginning, for they came foorth of Normandie at the conquest.
Erles of Northumberland.
K. Malcolme buried at Tinmouth.
Edward prince of Scotland died.
Quéene Margaret died.
1097. *H.B.*
The Ides of October *H.B.*

In the same yéere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were séene in Albion. By the high spring-tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie townes, castels, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceassing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Goodwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer sithens haue bene called Goodwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that péece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he tratorouslie contriued. Moreouer sundrie castels and townes in Murrey land, were querthrowne by the sea tides. Such dreadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Louthian, Fife, and Angus, trées and corne were burned vp by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

Strange woorders. An huge tide.
Goodwins sands.
Thunder.
Trées and corne burnt.

In the daies of this Malcolme Cammore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scotishman borne, but professed a moonke in the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanish priest, but dwelling in Scotland, florished about the same time, and wrote the Scotish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife quéene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Etheldred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other thrée were named Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his vncle Donald Bane, when he inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the crowne, after the deceasse of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

Marianus.
Veremond.
The sons of K. Malcolme Cammore.
Donald Bane.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Iles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Makbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he couenanted to giue

Donald Bane fled into the Iles.
Donald Bane returneth into Scotland.

His couenant for the gift of the Iles to the king of Norwaie.

the dominion of all the Iles, if by his means & furtherance he might obteine the crowne of Scotland. Herevpon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoo receiued the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gormandizing brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (bicause he had béene brought vp in the Iles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuere order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

The respect that the people had to receiue Donald Bane for their king.

K. Malcolms sons sent for into England by Edgar their vncle.

As soone as Edgar Etheling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus vsurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretlie for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Dauid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Organ or Orgar, accused him of treason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmize remained not vnpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to darraine battell with Organ, in defense of Edgars innocencie, slue him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbeie of Scone, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a woord amongst his familiars, that yer it were long the nobles should repent them of their dooing, if they applied not themselues the more to his opinion.

Orgar or one Organ accused Edgar Etheling of treason.

Organ is slaine within lists.

Donald threatneth.

Which woords being marked, and deepelie imprinted in some of their hearts, turned afterwards to his great displeasure. For shortlie after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdome, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approched with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and drew vnto Duncans side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constreined for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Iles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had béene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortlie filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Duncan Malcolms bastard sonne.

Duncane is crowned king of Scotland.

Duncane lacketh skill in ciuill gouernement.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, sollicited Makpender erle of Mernes to take his part, and by some meanes to slea K. Duncane, which enterprise Makpender taking in hand, at length (in Menteth) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such aduantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioised than were sorie for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his vncle Donald was restored againe to the kingdome, chieflie by support of the forenamed Makpender, after his nephue the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yéere and aff halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephue) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdome, he continued in the regiment thereof three yéeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions dailie to depose him.

Makpender erle of Merns sleieth king Duncane.

Donald Bane is restored to the crowne.

In the meane time the Ilandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England ceasse, (though without anie great exploit or enterprise woorthie of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fléet, and sailing about the westerne Iles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, vsurping the dominion

Magnus K. of Norwaie cõmeth into the westerne Iles.

as

as souereigne lord of the same Iles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and constitutions which are vsed there amongst the inhabitants euen vnto these daies. The Scotishmen hauing great indignation, that the Iles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators vnto Edgar (who was, as ye haue heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolme) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recouer his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the vsurpers hands. Edgar king Malcolmes son is sent for.

Edgar taking deliberate aduise touching this request, first sent ambassadours vnto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore vnto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladlie reward him with great lordships and reuenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to doo him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallie slue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his vncle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forwards toward Scotland. At his comming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sléepe, that if he tooke with him the banner of saint Cutbert, he should haue victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbeie church, where first hearing diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he displaied the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Neuertheles king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Iles, where he was taken and brought vnto Edgar. ¶ Some say that when the battels were readie to haue ioined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cutbert spred against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled; in purpose to haue saued himselfe in some one of the westerne Iles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) vnto Edgar, by whome he was (howsoeuer the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortlie after died. The victorie thus atchiued, Edgar went vnto Edenburgh, and from thence vnto Dunfermeling to visit the sepultures of his mother and brethren.

Edgar sendeth messengers to Donald.

Donald sleaeth Edgars messengers.

Edgar is aided by K. William Rufus.

Saint Cutberts banner.

K. Donald discomfited and chased into the Iles.

K. Donald is taken.

King Donald dieth in prison.

EDGAR.

AFTERWARDS comming to the abbeie of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he receiued the crowne, and shortlie after was annointed by the archbishop of saint Andrews named Godrike, in the yéere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before hir death of Vrbane the pope, and from hencefoorth all the kings of Scotland should be annointed. This priuiledge was confirmed afterwards by pope Iohn the second of that name. The first king that was annointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yeers before this Edgar recouered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land vnder Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christian princes.

Edgar is crowned and annointed.

A priuilege for the Scotish kings to be annointed.

Edgar the first annointed king of Scotland.

The passage into the holie land.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and should haue béene created king of Ierusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glansing of an arrow shot at a déere in the new forrest; and then hoping to succéed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more trauell than gaine. But at his comming home, he found that his yoongest brother Henrie surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdome of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdomes, and that woorthilie (as most men thought) for that he refused so necessarie a dignitie, wherein he might haue serued the common cause of the christian common-wealth. Vnto Henrie Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar maried one of his sisters called Mauld. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which mariage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was maried vnto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Morteigne in France, nephue to Henrie Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by quéene Mauld, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eufame and Mauld.

Robert duke of Normãdie.

Henrie Beauclerke king of England.

Mauld king Edgars sister.

Eustace earle of Bullongne.

But

But now to returne to king Edgar, to shew some token of thanks towards saint Cutbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his vncle Donald, he gaue vnto the moonks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canulph, he gaue the towne of Berwike. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I doo not find that Edgar had anie warres anie waie foorth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dred amongst his subiects for his singular equitie and vpright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundée, in the 9 yeere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauiour 1107.

The lands of Coldingham, Canulph bishop of Durham.

Edgar rather reuerenced than dred.

1107. *Io. Ma.*

1109. *H.B.*

ALEXANDER.

After the deceasse of this Edgar, succéeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of théeues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murrey land and Rosse, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his praiers, and diuine seruice, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would proone no great quicke iusticier in punishing offendors, and therevpon most presumptuouslie they began to rob and reaue on ech side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yoong infants smiling vpon the murtherers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the swoord as well as the resisters: such rooted malice remained in their beastlie harts, which vpon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie shewed. King Alexander therefore aduertised heereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, stroke off their heads. As he returned backe through Mernes, there came a woman vnto him wéeping in most lamentable sort, who fell vpon hir knees at his féet, beséeching him to pitie hir case, hauing lost both hir husband & sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the maister of Mernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murthered as well the one as the other. The king mooued with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horsse, and would not mount vp againe, till he had séene the author of that heinous trespasse hanged vpon a gibbet. After his comming into Gowrie, he tooke in hand to finish and make vp the castell of Baledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of théeues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countrie. He gaue also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Gowrie had giuen him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Théeues of Murrey land and Rosse.

The crueltie of théeues.

Execution.

The earle of Mernes son.

A righteous iusticier.

The castell of Baledgar.

Whilest he was thus busie about the furtherance of that woorke, diuerse of those théeues that were accustomed to liue by robberies in those parts, perceiuing that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne vnto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelish practises, they entered one night through a priuie into his lodging, in purpose to haue slaine him as he slept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods prouidence hauing knowledge of their comming, started out of his bed, and caught a swoord which hoong néere at hand, wherewith he slue first his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then dispatched six of the other traitors (which were alreadie entered his chamber) with singular force and manhood: the other fearing least with the noise, his seruants that lodged within the house should haue beene raised, and so haue hasted to assaile them on the backs, fled in all haste possible. Neuerthelesse, such pursute was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were incouraged to woorke that treason which they had gone about, by sundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finallie, the matter was so handled with them, that they disclosed the names of those that had thus procured them to the treason. Wherevpon the king gathering an armie, he marched foorth to pursue them, but before he came vnto the water

Treason of conspirators to haue slaine the king.

The kings manhood.

water of Spaie, the conspirators had gotten togither their power, & were lodged on the further side of the same water, to stop him from passing ouer. The water of Spaie.

The king séeing them thus assembled to impeach his passage, sent his banner-man sir Alexander Carron with a chosen part of his armie to passe the water, and to fight with his enimies, where, by the hardie onset of the said sir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chase suffered death, according as they had well deserued. The realme after this execution doone on these offendors, continued manie yéeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron also for that he was séene in the kings sight that day to fight most manfullie, in sleaing diuerse of the rebels with a crooked swoord which he had in his hand (of which sort manie were vsed in those daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named Skrimgeour, that is to say, An hardie fighter. He had also his armes increased with a rampant lion holding a crooked swoord, as is to be séene in the armes of his posteritie vnto this day. ¶ Other there be that say he got the surname of Skrimgeour, bicause he slue an Englishman in a singular combat. The principall of this surname in our time held the constableship of Dundée, bearing in his armes a crooked swoord in fashion of an hooke. Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are vanquished. Skrimgeour.

After that king Alexander had appeased the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he set in hand to repare the abbeie of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honor of the Trinitie, and saint Michaell. Not long after this also, he chanced to come into saint Colmes Inch, where he was constreined to abide thrée daies togither through violent rage of weather and tempests: and bicause he found some reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the same Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to saint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeie of regular canons, in the honor of saint Colme, endowing it with sundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that house. He also gaue to the church of saint Andrewes, the lands called the Boarrinke, so named, for that a great bore was slaine vpon the said ground, that had doone much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tusks of this bore doo hang in chaines vpon the stalles of the quier in saint Andrewes church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thickenesse. Moreouer, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was finished by king Alexander, and endowed with sundrie lands and possessions. The abbeie of Scone. Saint Colmes Inch. The abbeie of saint Colmes Inch builded. Lands named the Boarrinke. Bore tusks. The abbeie of Dunfirmling.

Whilest king Alexander was thus occupied in building and reparing of religious houses, his brother Dauid liued in England with his sister quéene Mauld, & through fauour which the king hir husband bare towards him, he obteined in marriage one Mauld, daughter vnto Woldosius or rather Waltheof earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wife the ladie Iudith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the said Woldosius or Waltheof had no other issue to inherit his lands, Dauid in right of his wife Mauld inioied the same, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had issue by his wife a son named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and some part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after shall appéere. Mauld the daughter of king Henrie Beauclerke, was maried vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Eufeme, the residue of the issue which the same Henrie Beauclerke had by his wife (surnamed for hir singular bounteousnesse, the good quéene Mauld) in comming foorth of France to repasse into England, perished in the sea by a tempest, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his subiects of ech estate and degree. Their mother the said Mauld was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceassed also, and was buried in Dunfirmling besides his fathers sepulture, in the 17 yéere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Christ 1125 yéeres. Dauid brother to king Alexander. Woldosius earle of Northumberland and Huntington. The lands of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland. The death of king Alexander. 1124. *H.B.*

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kinred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one Iohn Cumming, a man of great prowesse and valiancie, obteining of the king in respect therof, certeine small portions of lands in Scotland. The house of these Cummings rose in processe of time thus from a small beginning to high honor and puissance, by reason of the great possessions & ample reuenues which they afterwards atteined. At length (as often happeneth) The beginning of the Cummings.

neth) the importable height of this linage was the onelie cause of the decaie and finall ruine thereof, as in the sequele of this historie ye may at full perceiue. Also in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewise the order of White moonks, the author whereof was one Nodobert. About the same time liued that holie man Richard de sancto Victore, a Scotishman borne, but dwelled for the more part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried within the cloister of the abbeie of saint Victor, being a brother of the same house.

Knights of the Rhodes.

White moonks.

Richard de sancto Victore.

DAUID.

But now to proceed with the historie. After the deceasse of Alexander the fierce and first of that name, his brother Dauid came vnto Scone, and there receiued the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This Dauid, according to the example of his noble parents, set his whole care about the due ministring of iustice, to the honor of almightie God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie forraine enimies, so long as king Henrie Beauclerke liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of such a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vsed to sit in hearing of iudgement himselfe, speciallie concerning poore mens causes and matters: but the controuersies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he vnderstood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the partie wronged, according to the value of his losse and hinderance, with the goods of the iudge that pronounced the iudgement.

Dauid is crowned king of Scotland.

The care of king Dauid for the poore.

A righteous iudge.

Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was vsed amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceiuing the same to breed a great weakening & decaie of the ancient stoutnesse of stomach, that was woont to remaine in the Scotish nation. He builded to the number of fiftéene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood house, Kelso, Iedburgh, Melrosse, Newbottell, Holmeculträne, Dundranane, Cambuskenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwike: with two abbeies beside Newcastell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white moonkes. He erected also foure bishoprikes within his realme, Rosse, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dublane, indowing them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreouer he translated the bishops see of Murthlake vnto Aberden, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

Banketting cheare banished.

King Dauid built 15 abbeies.

The names of the abbeies builded by king Dauid.

Foure bishops sées erected in Scotland.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he shuld build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in togither. Whervpon he sent for woorkemen into France and Flanders, and set them in hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admonished, dedicating it in the honor of a crosse (wherevnto he bare speciall deuotion) for that verie strangelie it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these moonkish deuises. Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vnmeasurable liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vsed towards the church, in diminishing so hugelie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their finall ends, for that they haue béene constreined through want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses, to possesse their lands and liuings; also to raise paiments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impouerishment of the realme. And sometime they haue béene constreined to inuade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Otherwhiles they haue béene inforced to stampe naughtie monie, to the great preiudice of the common-

Holie rood house builded.

Liberalitie in king Dauid toward the church reprooued.

common-wealth. All which mischiefes haue followed since the time that the church hath béene thus inriched, and the crowne impouerished. The church inriched, and the crowne impouerished.

Therefore king Iames the first, when he came to king Dauid his sepulture at Dunfirmling, he said, that he was a sore saint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne too poore. For he tooke from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scotish of yéerelie reuenues, wherewith he indowed those abbeies. But if K. Dauid had considered how to nourish true religion, he had neither indowed churches with such riches, nor built them with such roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church (as they are now vsed) are not onelie occasion to euill prelats to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt life, but an assured net to draw gold and siluer out of realms. But now to returne where I left, touching the historie, ye shall note that (as I said before) Dauid had by his wife Mauld inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a sonne named Henrie, who maried the earle of Warrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as descended of most noble bloud both French and English. On whome he begat thrée sonnes, Malcolme, William, and Dauid; also thrée daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Mauld. But now in the meane time, whilest the estate of the common-wealth in Scotland stood in high felicitie, vnder the prosperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie losse. For the quéene his wife the foresaid Mauld deceassed in hir flourishing age, a woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the rest. King Dauid therefore tooke such griefe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

The saieng of King Iames the first.
A sore saint. *Io. Maior.*
60000 pounds in lands giuen to the church.
Superfluous possessions of the church.
Earle of Warren.
The issue of Henrie.
Quéene Mauld deceasseth.
1132.

Whilest these things came thus to passe in Scotland, Henrie Beauclerke king of England, caused all the nobles of his realme to take their oths, that after his deceasse they should receiue his daughter Mauld the empresse for their souereigne ladie and quéene. She was as then returned into England; for hir husband the emperour was latelie before deceassed. King Dauid also tooke his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vsurped the crowne of England after king Henries deceasse against the said empresse) sent vnto king Dauid to come and doo his homage for the earledomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to doo) with intimation that if he refused, king Stephan would inuade him with open warre; king Dauid answered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands vnto the empresse Mauld, which he minded not to breake for the threatning words of anie new inuasions. King Stephan moued with this answere, sent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was vnder the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterprise, entering into the lands of their enimies, put all to fire and sword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that displeasure, roded into England, and did the like displeasures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Menteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, against whome came the earle of Glocester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselfe, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, constreined to redéeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but also made resignation of all such title, claime, or interest, as either he or anie of his successors might make or pretend to the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. Howbeit his nobles were no sooner returned home, but that repenting him of that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came foorth to resist him, and obteining the victorie, tooke a great part of the countrie into his possession.

Mauld the empresse.
K. Stephan.
Homage is required.
The Englishmen inuade Northumberland.
The Scots make rodes into England.
The earle of Glocester Robert was against king Stephan, but there might be some other happilie vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title.
A resignation.
K. Stephan repenteth.

King Dauid, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or else to die in the féeld. But shortlie after, Thurstane archbishop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in

Roxburgh in old time Marken.

A truce.

in those daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen should deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so much as this couenant was not performed on king Stephans side, king Dauid inuaded that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan mooued herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant araie vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constreined to returne without atchiuing of anie woorthie enterprise.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

King Stephan passeth vnto Roxburgh.

The yeare next insuing, a peace was talked vpon, the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glascow, Aberden, and saint Andrews on the part of king Dauid. But Mauld quéene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and néece to king Dauid by his sister Marie, was the chiefest dooer in this matter, to bring them to agréement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say Dauid, lay at Newcastell, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the counties of Northumberland and Huntington should remaine in the gouernement of Henrie prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king Dauid. And for these lands and segniories the forenamed prince Henrie & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doo homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Couenants of agréement.

Homage.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subiects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king Dauid repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephans reigne. In the fourth yeare came Mauld the empresse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilest England was sore tormented with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of these two persons, no small sorrow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henrie the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king Dauid, who died at Kelso, and was buried in the abbeie church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrées of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprouided of heires.

K. Stephan returneth.

Carleill was repared by William Rufus king of England, about the yeare of our Lord, 1092.

The death of Henrie prince of Scotland.

1152.

Prince Henrie his issue.

The king also being mortified from the world, tooke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the law of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by dailie experience is most manifest. Therefore that king Dauid weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorrowfull for the losse which he and they had susteined by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succéeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

The lawes of nature.

An oration.

"How great your fidelitie and care is, which you beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue prooued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now doo I plainelie sée, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceassed sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you estéeme to be sore afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yéelding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this

this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is readie to doo you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your comming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender youth, that I should woorship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was doone by him in vaine, but that the same is prouided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and unsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doo reuolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either tuching aduersitie or prosperitie, good hap or bad, the same hath séemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankefull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie séeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath beene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first seene my father, more déere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue knowen my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like maner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I estéemed aboue all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So verelie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time auoid the violence of his force when he commeth, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankefull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, doo not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioise, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was woorthie to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither doo I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortlie to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried vp to rest among that fellowship of heauenlie spirits, where I shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife, and sonne in far better estate than here I knew them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe, I reioise (I say) to haue obteined in my sonne, by the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by faith, he is alreadie in that place to the which all we doo earnestlie wish that we may atteine, and doo indeuour by all means, that when the time commeth in which our soules are to be loosed foorth of these fraile bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be found woorthie of that companie, in which our confidence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining. Except anie man may thinke that we are so enuious, that therefore we doo lament, because as yet we sticke fast ouerwhelmed and drowned in such filthie miers, and cumbred in such thornie thickets and bushes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by following the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come to the place where we doo reckon that by diuine power he is alreadie arriued."

His parents godlie instructions.

Losse of friends. His father.

His mother.

His brethren. His wife.

Death cannot be dispensed with.

Why we ought to take the death of our children and friends patientlie.

After that the king had made an end of his oration, and thanks giuen to God for his bountifull magnificence, they rose from the table, and departed to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling at the kings high prudence and godlie wisdome. Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before mentioned prince Henrie, proclamed in his place prince of Scotland, and

Malcolme the sonne of Henrie proclamed prince of Scotland.

conueied through the most parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegiance in his name. William the second sonne of prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland by the foresaid nobles, and there proclamed and created earle of that countrie. Then went king Dauid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Henrie the sonne of the empresse, who receiued the order of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little before that the same Henrie came to an agréement with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to the possession of halfe the realme of England, and promised by oth of assurance (as the Scotish writers say) that he should neuer go about to take the countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington from the crowne of Scotland.

Earle of Northumberland.

Henrie the empresse his sonne receiueth the order of knighthood.

Shortlie after was king Dauid taken with a sore disease and maladie, which continued with him to the end of his life. And so when he perceiued himselfe to wax faint and féeble, he required to be borne into the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemne reuerence: and then being brought againe to his chamber, he called togither his nobles, and commending to them his yoong nephues, the sons of his son the forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them after another, most instantlie desiring them in the honor of almightie God, to séeke the preseruation of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike weale. This doone, he departed out of this life in the 29. yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfirmeling, after the incarnation of Christ our Sauiour 1153 yeares.

The exhortation of king Dauid to his nobles.

King Dauid departeth out of this life.

1153.

How farre this prince king Dauid excelled in noble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to go about in few words to comprehend that, wherein if I should spend much time, I were not able in anie wise woorthilie to performe. For where in such cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue may séeme to be omitted through fault of the writer. But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the reliefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues, he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious rule and misordered customes, that his whole familie was giuen onelie to the exercise of vertue. No riotous banketting nor surfetting chéere was vsed amongst them, no lasciuious woord heard come forth of anie mans mouth, nor yet anie wanton signes shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concupiscence. All the woords, works, and whole demeanor of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing mooued to stirre strife or sedition, but all things ordered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the chaine of brotherly loue séemed to haue linked them all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their maister king Dauid vnto them and all other, to direct and frame a perfect and godlie life after.

His singular pitie toward the poore.

King Dauids court.

King Dauids seruants.

King Dauids example, a rule of godlie life.

MALCOLME.

King Dauid being dead & buried (as is before said) Malcolme nephue to him by his son Henrie succéeded in the estate. He was but 13 yéeres of age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modestie and vertuous conditions were such, that all men conceiued a good hope that he would prooue a right noble and woorthie prince. He was nourished and brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie, that deliting in chast conuersation and cleannesse of bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his life, and without mariage: wherefore he was surnamed Malcolme the maid. About the time of his entring into the possession of the crowne, there was a great derth through all the bounds of Scotland. And soone after followed a sore death both amongst men and beasts, though it was not perceiued that the disease whereof they died was anie thing contagious.

The educatiō of king Malcolme.

A dearth.

A death not contagious.

Hereof did one Somerleid the thane of Argile take occasion to attempt an higher enterprise than stood with the basenesse of his linage and estate: for considering that the one halfe of the realme was consumed by mortalitie, and the other halfe néere hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it an easie matter for him, now whilest the king was vnder yéeres of ripe discretion,

Somerleid thane of Argile goeth about to make himselfe king.

tion, to vsurpe the gouernance of the realme into his owne hands, and so assembling togither an huge companie of such as in hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, hée came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest, sleaing and spoiling all such in his way as went about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprise was shortlie repressed: for Gilcrist earle of Angus lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist Somerleids attempts, incountred with him in battell, & slue 2000 of his men. Somerleid hauing receiued this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into Ireland, and so saued his life.

Somerleids crueltie.

Gilcrist sent with an armie against Somerleid.

Henrie the second of that name king of England, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his domesticall enimies, feared least he being imboldened therewith, should now attempt somewhat against the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme, commanding him to come vp to London, there to doo his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington, in maner and forme as his grandfather king Dauid had before doone vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him all the said lands. King Malcolme obeied this commandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder condition (as the Scotish writers affirme) that it should in no maner wise preiudice the franchises and liberties of the Scotish kingdome. At the same time king Henrie had warres against Lewes the sixt, king of France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constreined king Malcolme to go with him in that iornie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a safe conduct frèelie to come and go. In this voiage king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and at length besieged the citie of Tholouse.

K. Malcolme summoned to doo homage.

K. Malcolme goeth with king Henrie into France.

Tholouse besieged.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might finallie be dissolued. But in the end king Henrie hauing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, returned into England, and then licenced king Malcolme to returne home into Scotland; who at his comming home, sent the bishop of Murrey, and one of his secretaries vnto the sée of Rome, as ambassadors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius the third of that name, to recognise the obedience which he owght to the Romane sée. Shortlie after also, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where king Malcolme was sore rebuked by his lords, in that he had borne through his owne follie, armor against the Frenchmen their old confederate friends and ancient alies: but king Malcolme excused the matter with humble woords, saieng he came vnwarilie into king Henries hands, and therefore might not choose but accomplish his will and pleasure at that time; so that hée supposed verelie the French king would take no great displeasure with his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the matter.

King Henries meaning.

Ambassadors sent to Rome.

A parlement at Scone.

K. Malcolme reprooued by his nobles.

K. Malcolmes excuse.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of this grudge betwixt the Scotish lords and their king, thought to renew the same with more displeasure, and therevpon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto Yorke, to a parlement which he held there, where at his comming he was burdened with a right grieuous complaint surmized against him by king Henrie, for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen all the secrets of the English armie, when he was with him in France, at the aboue remembred iournie, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which hée held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntington. And though king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons declared those allegations to be vntrue and vniustlie forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the generall consent of all the estates there in that parlement assembled. And moreouer, to bring king Malcolme in further displeasure with the nobles, king Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Malcolme returned backe into his countrie, how he had of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right, title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands, supposing by this means to make king Malcolme farre more odious to all his lieges and subiects, than euer he was before.

K. Malcolme goeth to Yorke.

Fond dealing and not likelie to be true.

Sentence giuen against K. Malcolme at Yorke.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that subtill contriued policie and slanderous report, was besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of Ernedale, and diuerse others. But after it was knowne how euill king Malcolme

K. Malcolme is besieged.

colme had been vsed, and most vntrulie slandered, they desired pardon of their offense, as induced thereto by vntrue reports, which once being granted, they brake vp their siege, and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like true and most obedient subiects. But king Malcolme sore mooued for that he was thus iniuriouslie handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to be made of all such things as had béene wrongfullie taken from him, and so deteined by th' Englishmen, proclamed open warres against them. At length, after sundrie harmes doone, as well on the one part as the other, they came to a communication in a certeine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where (to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that K. Malcolme should receiue againe Cumberland and Huntington: but for Northumberland, he should make a plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his successors for euer.

Open warres proclamed against the Englishmen.
A conclusion of agréement.

For the which agréement he ran so farre into the hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen, they remained quiet for a time. Howbeit shortlie after, there arose another péece of trouble, though lesse in outward apperance, by reason of the small power remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough, considering it was within the realme it selfe. One Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiuing he might not by secret practise atchiue his purposed intent (whatsoeuer the same was) determined by open force to assaie what luckie succes fortune would send him; hoping that those which through feare saté as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to occasion them thereto. Herevpon he assembled togither a great companie: but before he could worke anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilcrist earle of Angus (whose faithfull valiancie was before manifestlie approoued in the suppression of Somerleids rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sundrie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whiterne, where is a place of sanctuarie priuiledged for the safegard of all offendors that flie thereto for succor in the honor of saint Ninian.

K. Malcolme hated of his people.
Feare of outward enimies causeth quietnesse at home.
Angus the thane of Galloway raiseth a commotion: vpon what occasion writers make not anie mention.
Angus discomfited by Gilcrist.
Whiterne a place of sanctuarie.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre round about it, to watch that he should by no means escape awaie; so that at length wearied as it had bene with long siege, he yéelded himselfe to the king, who taking his sonne to pledge for his good abearing in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should please him: but the most part of his lands and liuings were confiscat to the kings vse. Wherevpon when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as he had doone before, he became a canon in Holie rood house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It was not long after the pacifieng of this trouble, but that a new rebellion was raised: for the Murrey land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called Gildo, wasted with fire and sword the countries of Rosse, Bowgewall, or Bougdale, Mar, Gareoch, Buchquhane, and the Mernes, in more cruell sort than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would haue doone; insomuch that when the king sent diuers of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of their rebellious dooings, they slue those messengers, contrarie to the law of nations.

Angus besieged in Whiterne.
Angus yéeldeth himselfe to the king.
Angus became a canon.
A rebellion mooued by the Murreis.
Gildo captein of the rebels.
The crueltie of the rebels.

To punish such iniurious attempts, the abouenamed Gilcrist was sent with an armie into Murrey land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the knowledge of his approoued prowesse, met him in the field, and put him to flight. Héerevpon the king himselfe, supposing that his presence was néedfull to incourage his people after this ouerthrow, came with a farre greater power than he had sent foorth before, with displaied banner, ouer the riuer of Speie, néere to the mouth whereof he fought with the enimies, and in the end (after sore and long fight continued with great slaughter and bloudshed) he gaue them the ouerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties shewed in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to all other his subiects that should go about to attempt the like, he commanded that none of those of Murrey land should be saued (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation shuld passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murrey land men being destroied according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their roomes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

Gilcrist discomfited by the Murreis.
The Murreies are ouerthrowen.
The Murreies destroied.

In this meane time, Somerleid the thane of Argile, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, vpon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolme was run, with the most part of

all

all his nobles and commons, through this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murrey land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so therevpon returned with certeine Kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Renfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolme hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters mariable, he coopled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the yoonger called Adliama he maried with Florens earle of Holland.

Somerleid returneth into Scotland.
Somerleid vanquished at Renfrow.
Somerleid is hanged.
King Malcolmes sisters maried.

After this, there was a councell holden at Scone of all the Scotish nobilitie, where when they were assembled togither in the councell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a verie pithie oration, tooke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vow, which (as appeered) he had made to liue chast. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not choose a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceiued. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a woorthie ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of griefe and gladnesse, she being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in wo, an helpe both in sickenesse & health, redie to asswage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through studious trauell and care of mind.

A parlement at Scone.
The oration of Arnold bishop of saint Andrewes.
Matrimonie instituted by God.
The pleasure of mariage.
The commodities by a wife.

Then shewed he what an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-wealth, and in warre supplie their roomes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enimies. Wherefore sith men are not borne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to persuade with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subiects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing mooue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeeres affianced his virginitie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subiects. Thus brake vp that councell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Children an aid.
Men not borne for themselues.
Commendable before God and man.
K. Malcolme might not be persuaded to take a wife.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolme fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set woorkemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Rewles abbeie, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie peece of woorke, and verie costlie, as may appeere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned foorth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous cheere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbeie liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or inlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbeie of Couper of the Cisteaux order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finallie, being vexed with long infirmitie, he departed out of this life at Iedburgh the 12 yeere of his reigne. A certeine comet or blasing starre appeered 14 daies togither before his death,

A peace concluded with England.
The Abbeie of saint Andrewes builded.
Superfluous rents of abbeies, prouocations to inordinate lusts.
The abbeie of Couper founded.
The death of king Malcolme.
A comet.

with long beames verie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the
1185. incarnation 1185 yéeres. In the daies of this Malcolme, Roger archbishop of Yorke, con-
Roger archbishop of Yorke the popes legat. stituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, bicause he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to inrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

WILLIAM.

William surnamed the Lion.

After Malcolme succéeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earledome of Northumberland, sith it apperteined by good and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there doo his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonablie could wish or demand. Héerevpon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had doone his homage for Cumberland and Huntington, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would doo therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

Ambassadors sent to the king of England.
King William is required to doo homage.
K. Williams request for the restitution of Northumberland.
The answer of king Henrie.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iournie. For K. William would not disobeie his commandement at that present, in hope to atteine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scotish writers doo affirme) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceiued no comfort to recouer his lands, he got licence with much adoo to returne home: and so comming backe into England, passed through the realme with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indeuour to vnderstand the state of the common-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he tooke order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties doone by theeues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by théeues and robbers were equallie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which dailie grow by open warre against anie forren nation, it may well appéere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enimies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to represse the licentious outrage of such arrand théeues and priuie murtherers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of forren enimies.

King Henrie saileth into Normandie.
King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.
K. Williams zeale of iustice.
Scotland more indamaged by domesticall théeues than by foraine enimies.

When he had once clensed the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent eftsoones his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would assaie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiuing that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather K. Malcolme had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he receiued not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scotish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yéeres after, king Henrie féeling what hinderance it was for him to forbeare the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vp to the Scotish kings

Ambassadors sent to king Henrie.
Sée more thereof in England.
A portion of Northumberland restored to the Scots.
King William receiued a péece of Nor-

vse,

vse, repented him of that bargaine: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands perteining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Northumberland, with his right saued to the residue.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scotish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but forsomuch as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got togither a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on ech side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselues as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterprise in reuenge of the displeasures doone by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and therevpon they ceassed on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit atchiued, woorthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

King Henrie repenting himselfe of that which he had deliuered to the Scots seeketh new occasions of warre.

Warres with England.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Gilcrist, whose approoued valiancie often shewed in the time of king Malcolme, had aduanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings coosen, who was also lieutenant of the horssemen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto king William, offering vnto him, not onelie large summes of monie, if he would returne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redresse of all maner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be prooued. But king William for answer heerevnto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of bloud, but that he would gladlie ceasse from all further attempts.

King William inuadeth Cumberland.

The offers of the Englishmen.

The answer of king William.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to woorke such feates as they had imagined, addressed foorth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scotishmen at some aduantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season neere vnto the place where the same Scotishmen laie in campe, & diuiding themselues into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselues to the enimies, to traine them foorth to battell: the other companie was laid closelie in a vallie not farre off, to take the aduantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approched so neere to the enimies campe, till they came euen within sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangnesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon incouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enimies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scotishmen to breake their arraie of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the vallie, brake foorth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselues about, and manlie abode their enimies, so earnestlie laieng it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constreined them to flee in good earnest, which they themselues had but onelie counterfeited to doo before.

The Englishmen seeke by policie to vanquish the Scots.

The Englishmen retire of purpose.

The king left but weakelie garded.

King William perceiuing his people thus discomfited, and himselfe inclosed on ech side amongst his enimies, after he had assaied to breake foorth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indeuour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enimies made onelie

The Scots constreined to flee.

King William yéeldeth himselfe prisoner.

at him, he yéelded himselfe. There was not much bloud spilled on either side at this bickering, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush laie, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking foorth of the ambush, abode the brunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiuing they could doo no good, they made the best shift they could ech man for himselfe, to escape the enimies hands. The king being thus taken of his enimies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandie, where he was as then remaining. The yéere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Sauiour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

King William conueied into Normandie. 1174.

Discord of writers.

¶ Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogither agréeable with that which we haue héere aboue remembred, who declare how K. William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumberland, not ceassing till he came to Anwike, where he staied for a time to haue had battell: but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close togither without noise or appearance, in such wise that no Scotishman could haue vnderstanding where they were. At length king William wearied with long tarieng thus at Anwike, and seeing no enimies to appéere, determined to woorke some exploit yet before his returne, and therevpon sent foorth the most part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to forreie the same, kéeping no great companie about him, till the returne of the other thus sent foorth. Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited Scotish ensignes, and were not once suspected for Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them on ech side, and so finallie taken and led awaie yer anie Scotishman wist thereof, saue a few which were left (as is said) with him for the time. In déed Wilhelmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbeie of Bridlington in Yorkeshire, in that his booke which he writes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes how there were not manie more than about three score horssemen with king William, while he was thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past foure hundred horssemen, which tooke vpon them that enterprise; whose capteins (as he reciteth) were these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanuill, Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Capteins of the Englishmen. *W. Paruus.*

The same author writeth, that after the taking of the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots: for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was present amongst them, they durst not vttet their malicious intentions: but now that he was thus taken from them, so manie of the English Scots as fell into the hands of the Irish, paid déerelie for the bargaine, being cruellie murthered and slaine: so that the residue were constreined to get them out of the waie into castels and towers, where they might be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that bicause there was no great slaughter made at the taking of king William, the warres notwithstanding continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the two before specified chiefteins Gilcrist and Rowland stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumberland. At length a peace was taken, during the time that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should continue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and Cumberland (with the earledome of Huntington) to remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the Scotishmen.

Gilcrist and Rowland resist the Englishmen.

Northumberland vnder the Englishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William thus at Anwike, his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme, till the king his brother might be redeemed. So soone therefore as he had once established the realme in good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of saint Andrewes, with diuerse other noble men, ouer into Normandie, to take order there with K. Henrie for the ransome of the king his brother, which was agréed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that king William should become and acknowledge himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, against all men for the realme of Scotland and his other lands; and for the same should doo fealtie to the said king of England, as to his liege souereigne lord, in like sort as other his liege people were accustomed to doo. And further, he should also doo fealtie vnto the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sauing alwaies the faith which he owght the king his

Dauid earle of Huntington.

The king of Scots dooth fealtie to the king of England for Scotland. *Rog. Houed. Matth. West.*

his father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and agréed, that all the prelats of Scotland, and their successors, should recognise their woonted subiection to the church of England, and doo fealtie to the king of England, so manie of them as he should appoint. And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and their heires for their part, should doo their homage and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as therevnto should be required.

The prelats of Scotland doo fealtie to the king of England.

The earles and lords doo homage vnto him, King William ransomed.

Moreouer, the king of Scots should paie for his redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure paiment of the other halfe, the earledomes of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland should be deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage, till the time that the same summe was paid. And for the more suertie of these couenants, and that the Scots should mooue no warre against the Englishmen, foure of the strongest castels within Scotland, that is to saie, Berwike, Edenburgh, Roxburgh, & Striueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens hands. These things being thus ordered the eight day of December 1175, & the king restored home, there followed a new stirre in Scotland, for Gilbert of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischiefous person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force, made great slaughter of all them that withstood his desire. And because his brother reprooued his dooings, he put out his eies, and cut off his hands. Against this Gilbert was Gilcrist sent with an armie by the king. There was fought a sore battell betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellowes, such commonlie as for murder and other heinous crimes by them committed were in danger of the lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired a change; but yet in the end, Gilcrist with multitude wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus repporteth this matter somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king William (saith he) when he was taken neere vnto Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Vared, that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with them a great retinue of their countriemen. These were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that prouince; after whose deceasse the king of Scots that is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie betwixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest brother found himselfe much grieued to haue anie part of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands, he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother, till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deliuered of the feare which had staied his mischiefous purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cruellie murdered him, after no common maner; but rather martyred him in beastlie wise, so to satisfie the instinct of his diuelish nature. And immediatlie after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth great slaughter of men on each hand. But his brother had a sonne called Rowland, which prouing a valiant yoong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vncles rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trouble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the foresaid Gilcrist the murderer was expelled, as before is expressed. In the yeare following came Hugo cardinall of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into England, with authoritie to reforme the English churches, in such cases as were thought requisit; and after he had made an end there, to doo the like in Scotland. When he had therefore finished with England, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They came according to his appointment, and being assembled there in consistorie, he went about in most earnest wise to persuade them to receiue the archbishop of Yorke for their metropolitane. But one Gilbert a yoong man, howbeit singularlie well learned, and for his holinesse of life much commended (as Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by king William vnto this conuocation, to foresée that nothing were concluded in the same, preiudiciall to the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme of Scotland, did argue so stifflie to the contrarie, that the cardinall left off the pursute of such maner of matter, and brake vp that councell without determination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe.

Foure castels deliuered to the Englishmen in pledge.

1175.

Gilbert of Galloway rebelleth.

Gilbert of Galloway vanquished by Gilcrist.

Wilhelmus Paruus.

Hugh cardinall of saint Angelo the popes legat.

The bishops of Scotland summoned to a conuocation at Northampton.

Gilbert a learned man defended the liberties of Scotland.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and liberties of the Scotish clergie, was afterwards made bishop of Cathnes, and finallie after his departure out of this transitorie life, registred for

Gilbert bishop of Cathnes.

his supposed perfect holinesse of life among the number of saints. The chiefest cause that mooued the Scotish cleargie to withdraw their obedience from the primasie of Yorke, was the dissention and continuall enimitie betwixt the two nations for superioritie in temporall causes.

Woonders. The same yeare that this councell was holden at Northampton, sundrie vnketh woonders were seene in Albion. On Midsummer day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint Iohn the Baptist, there fell such a storme of haile, that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie where abroad, were beaten to the earth with violence of that storme.

Haile.

The sun darkened. The sunne in September about noonetide was darkened for the space of two houres togither, without anie eclipse or cause naturall by interposition of clouds.

Thunder. In Yorkeshire was such terrible thunder with strange lightening, that manie abbeies and churches were consumed with the fire.

The foundation of the abbeie of Arbroth, or Abirbrothoke. About this season, the abbeie of Arbroth was built in most magnificent wise, and indowed with lands and reuenues in such ample sort, that few houses within the bounds of Albion might compare therewith.

1178. The church was dedicated in the yeare of Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his yoong yeares.

The abbeie or nunrie of Hadington founded. At the same time the abbeie of Hadington was founded by Adhama the mother of king William, and shortlie after she had built it, she died.

Ambassadors to the pope. Not long after, king William sent as ambassadors Iohn bishop of saint Andrews, and Reignald abbat of Arbroth vnto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto him his obeisance, according as he thought stood with his duetie.

A rose of gold. The pope séeming to reioise thereat, sent shortlie after vnto the king a rose of gold, filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges concerning the libertie of the church of Scotland.

Gilcrist murthereth his wife vpon suspicion of adulterie. At the same time Gilcrist, hauing his wife in suspicion of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards strangled hir in a village called Manis, not past a mile from Dundée.

The kings indignation against Gilcrist. The king (for that she was his sister) tooke such indignation therewith, that he seized vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue put him to death if he might haue got him into his hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he proclamed him traitor, and raced his castell (wherein he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where it stood.

Gilcrist proclamed traitor. This Gilcrist had a brother that hight Bredus, who before this mischance had got the lands of Ogiluie: of whome the house of the Ogiluies tooke their beginning, that after came to great authoritie in the court, though at this time (through Gilcrists offense) his whole familie was néere hand destroied.

Bredus the brother of Gilcrist. About this time also, the queene, king William his wife, deceassed.

The house of the Ogiluies. A daughter which he had by hir, named Adhama, he gaue in mariage vnto the earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of this his first wife maried Emengard, daughter to Richard vicount of Beaumount that was sonne to a daughter of king William the Conquerour.

The earle of Laon. Emengard.

1186. By this mariage and aliance, the peace was newlie confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to the other, by means whereof Gilcrist, that before was fled into England, was constreined to returne into Scotland, disguised in poore weed, with two of his sonnes, and there passed foorth his life a long time in great miserie amongest the woods and in out places, vnknowen to anie man what he was, by reason of his poore and simple habit.

The peace confirmed with England.

The miserable state of Gilcrist.

The castell of Edenburgh restored. Somewhat before the aboue remembred mariage, Henrie king of England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham rendered vp the castell of Edenburgh into K. William his hands.

Salad ne the Souldane. About this time the Souldane named Saladine prospered hugelie against the christians in the holie land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to heare thereof, all christian hearts were mooued to pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so much that Henrie king of England vowed to go thither with an armie to relieue the common necessitie of the christian publike weale, and had gone in deed, if he had not béene hindered by the conspiracie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused to be crowned king, that went about to vsurpe the sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers life time.

King Henries purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne. About the same time William went with an armie into Rosse, against Makulzen and Makbein, two capteins of the westerne Iles, which vsed vpon occasion to passe ouer into Rosse, Cathnes and Murrey land, spoiling and wasting those countries; & when they heard of anie power comming against them, they

Makulzen and Makbein capteins of pirats.

would

would streight returne to their ships, and repasse againe into the Iles. But at this time, the king had sent foorth a nauie to burne all those vessels, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had left at anchor, by reason whereof when they were inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken prisoners, they after had suffered death on the wheele, according to the maner of the ciuill law. Death on the wheele.

The king in his returne from this iournie, came by the abbeie of Abirbrothoke, to view the woorke of that house, how it went forwards, commanding them that were ouerséers and maisters of the works to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection, and that with most magnificence. After his departure from thence, he tooke the way toward Bertha, and by aduenture espied where Gilcrist was deluing vp turfes, togither with his two sonnes. And though he knew not what they were, yet he mused to sée two such goodlie yoong men, as by resemblance they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such toiling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gilcrist with his bald head came afore him, and falling downe on his knees at the kings féet said: "If there be anie mercie in thée (most ruthfull prince) for them that are brought through their offenses into extreme miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for the same; I beséech thée for the loue that Christ had to all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most pretious bloud for their redemption, to haue some pitie & compassion on me, & these my poore & miserable sons, which with me haue suffered much griefe and penurie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by them committed." Abirbrothoke is builded. Gilcrist deluing clods. Gilcrist asketh pardon of the king in vnknowne habit.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickeling from his eies, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: "I am Gilcrist (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy bloud, and was therefore disherited of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, wherevpon we remained in England for a time, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constreined to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we haue liued by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our liuing with trauell of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therfore if anie ruth or pitie haue place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, haue mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, wherby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pitie, being highlie renowmed for that vertue amongest all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giuer of all mercie, grace, and peace." Gilcrist declareth what he is.

The king mooued by these woords, and remembring the good seruice which Gilcrist had imploid so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitieng his case, to consider from what degrée of honor he was fallen into the déepest bottome of extreme miserie, he tooke him wholie to his fauour, and not onelie forgaue him his former offenses, but also restored vnto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes apperteined vnto them, except so much as the king had alreadie giuen vnto the abbeie of Abirbrothoke. Gilcrist euer after perseuered in due obedience to his prince. And forsomuch as his eldest sonne deceassed before him without heires, & that his yoonger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnméet for mariage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse vnto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His yoonger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands therevnto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Katharine within the church of this abbeie, as the superscription of their toomes sheweth. The king taketh Gilcrist to his fauour, and restoreth vnto him his lands. Gilcrists gift vnto the house of Abirbrothoke.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the aduancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserued. He made also sundrie new laws for the restreining of théeues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Yorke, he obteined Laws deuised by king William against théeues.

of

of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were conteined the bishops sées of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dublaine, Brighne, Aberden, Murrey, Rosse, and Cathnesse) was declared exempt from all other forrein iurisdictions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolike sée of Rome should speciallie appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obteined was at the popes palace of Laterane, the third Ides of March, and first yéere of the said pope Clements gouernment. Shortlie after, to wit in the yéere 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succéeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceassed before his father.

The death of Henrie king of England.

K. Richard.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and herevpon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he rendred into their hands the castels of Roxburgh, Berwike, and Sterling: and moreouer that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he tooke him prisoner. He also deliuered the earledomes of Huntington & Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castels and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his capteins and souldiors, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castels laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iournie. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castels by surrender, he made his brother Dauid earle of Huntington, who therevpon dooing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance deuised by king Malcolme the first, went with him also in that voiage with fiue hundred Scotishmen, or rather fiue thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

The castels of Roxburgh, Berwike, and Sterling rendred to king William.

Earle of Huntington, Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

As the christian armie laie at siege before the citie of Acres, otherwise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scotishman borne, was within the towne reteined in seruice among the Saracens; for being conuict of felonie in his natiue countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their toong verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countriman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduenture to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of Dauid earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named Iohn Durward, with whom of long time before he had béene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinentlie he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certeine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet vtterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at a certeine houre vnto earle Dauid, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle Dauid would sée him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle Dauid came with a great power of men to the gate before rehersed, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinentlie with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scotishman.

Iohn Durward

Earle Dauid entered the citie Acon.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiuing the citie thus woone, entred the same, and shortlie after wan a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres woone from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scotishmen. But now touching their returne from this voiage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were atchiued therein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that streinable tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was dispersed in his comming homewards (as in the historie of England is more at large expressed) the ship also that earle Dauid was in, chanced to be throwne on land on the coasts of Aegypt,

where

where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redéemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redéemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, hée hired a vessell at Sluis, therwith to returne into Scotland; but being loosed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenlie arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, néere to the coasts of Norwaie and Shetland.

Earle Dauid taken prisoner. He is redéemed.

He went to Scotland.

Here in the midst of this extreame ieopardie (as hath béene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honor of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arriued at length in Taie water beside Dundée, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arriued before that time hight Alectum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundée, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had béene dead, he came spéedilie vnto Dundée to welcome him home, shewing himselfe most glad of his returne, insomuch that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle Dauid, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honor of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundée, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbie in what place it shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as hée should thinke good. There were also manie priuileges granted the same time vnto Dundée, which indure to this day.

Arriued at Dundée.

The name of Dundée.

Procession was holden.

A church buil

Priuileges granted to the towne of Dundée.

Earle Dauid not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbeie called Lundoris, for moonks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be woondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet dooth no man catch hurt by anie of them, insomuch that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperour of Almaine) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, tooke his brother earle Dauid with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnfeinedlie conceiued for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had béene, aswell for furnishing of his voiage, as also for redéeming of his libertie.

The abbeie of Lundoris.

Adders without hurt.

K. Richards returne into England.

The gift of king William to king Richard.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vnquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were streightway put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead; and causing it to be bruted abrode, began to exercise all kind of misdemeanors by inuading the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie aliue, but also recouered of his infirmitie, and comming homewards, those raskals and wicked rebels withdrew vnder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, vnto the vttermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be doone on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort giltlesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

A brute raised that the king was dead.

Herald thane of Cathnes succourer of rebels.

Iustice not destitute of mercie.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Iles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire

The thane of Cathnes taken

Seuere punishment.

paire of gallowes. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a weed. In the yeere next insuing was more dearth felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scotish called a boll, was sold for fiue crownes; and yet in the yeere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauior 1199, was more plentifull abundance than euer had beene seene afore. The same yeere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yoong sonne named Alexander. The same yeere also died Richard king of England, & his brother Iohn succeeded in his place. About three yeeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yeere came a legat from the pope sent to K. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in maner of a diademe of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturdaie should be kept as holidaie from noone forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in dooing anie bodilie worke from saturdaie at noone, vntill mondaie in the morning.

Great dearth.

1199.

Alexander the prince of Scotland.

Alegat sent from the pope.

A hat.

Defender of the church.

Saturday after noone to be kept holie.

After this, king William returned againe into England to doo his homage vnto king Iohn, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland. Immediatlie wherevpon king Iohn willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And bicause he refused so to doo, king Iohn made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the same; so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled K. Iohn to make restitution of all the goods so taken; bicause they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being alreadie in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so vehement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellers, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreouer, from the Twelfthtide till Februarie, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

King William did homage to king Iohn of England.

Ale sold by weight.

Earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king Iohn hauing made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell in Northumberland ouer against Berwike, vpon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots. King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadors vnto king Iohn, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to seeke anie occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he receiued no towardlie answer againe from K. Iohn, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king Iohn had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and raced it to the earth. King Iohn sore offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William readie to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolued, & both the kings repairing to Yorke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeeres then next insuing were once expired, should be coupled in mariage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king Iohn, vpon this paction and couenant, that if the one died, the other should succeed to the crowne. For the which it was couenanted, that king William should giue a right large dower. Also the castell which king Iohn had builded, and king William raced, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repared. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king Iohn. In that assemblie there at Yorke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king Iohn, the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to doo homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of

A castell ouerthrowne.

A peace established at York betwixt the kings Iohn and William.

The couenats of the peace.

Scotish hostages deliuered to king Iohn.

A surrender made to a vse.

England, as superior lords of the same. During the abode of these two kings at Yorke, there was brought vnto them a child of singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being sore vexed with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eies was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his féet was so taken, that he had no vse thereof; and his toong likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Neuerthelesse, king William making a crosse on him, restored him immediatlie to health. By reason whereof, manie beleeued that this was doone by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of so godlie a prince might bée notified to the world. A child healed by K. William.

After his returne from Yorke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Newbottell, Melros, Holie rood house, Dunfirmling, and Aberden, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made therof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected one new bishops see called Argile, giuing therto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a floud, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Taie & Almond, that through violence of the streme the towne wals were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yet they could make anie shift to saue themselues, insomuch that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of that great danger and ieopardie, his yoongest sonne yet named Iohn, with his nursse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. Héere was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rorings and dreadfull shrikings, as is vsed in time when anie towne is suddenlie taken and surprised by the enimies: for as the cõmon prouerbe witnesseth; Fier & water haue no mercie: and yet of these two, water is more terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenlie breake in. Churches indowed by king William. The erection of the sée of Argile. The towne of Bertha drowned by inundation. The king in danger of drowning. Iohn ye kings son drowned.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroied and ouerflowed with water, began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that owght the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie beneficiall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1210 yéeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called saint Iohns towne, which name it beareth euen vnto this day. About the same time there rose eftsoones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothred the sonne of Makuilzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rodes the countrie of Rosse, and other bounds there abouts. His companie increased dailie more and more, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the westerne Iles. King William, to represse these attempts, sent foorth the earles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing six thousand in their companie, the which incountering with the enimies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothred their chiefe capteine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads. Gothred himselfe was sore wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more spéed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus béene doone on him accordinglie as was appointed. The towne of Perth builded. Fréedoms granted to the towne of Perth. Saint Iohns towne. Gothred mooued a rebellion in Cathnes. His companie increaseth. The earles of Fife and Atholl sent against him. The rebels ouerthrowne. Gothred taken and beheaded.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt Iohn king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said Iohn with such summes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortlie after, William king of Scotland, worne with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yéere of his age, and in the 49 yéere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yéeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yéere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appéered in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; The dissention betwixt the pope and king Iohn. The cause. The death of king William. 1214. Two blazing starres.

hold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yéere next following, there was a cow in Northumberland that calued a verie monstruous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in déed, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were séene also two moones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the moone in hir increasing or waning. King William in his life time founded the abbeie of Balmernocht, but his wife quéene Ermengard indowed it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yéere of this king Williams reigne, two moonks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberden, to conuert the same into an abbeie for them to inhabit; and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

A monstruous calfe.

Two moones.

The abbeie of Balmernocht founded.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone.

A time of mourning.

AFTER the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie; which being finished, he went vnto Abirbrothoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the funerall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yéere, to the intent the death of his father might be lamented through the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yéere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edenburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinances deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had borne offices vnder him, should still inioy the same. Namelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

A parlement at Edenburgh. Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

When this parlement was ended, bicause the old queene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman queene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castels & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen foorth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and good towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt Iohn king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres insued, as in the English historie dooth appéere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof when king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to absteine from dooing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortlie after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires perteining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The lands of Forfair giuen to the old quéene.

A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king Iohn and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The French king aduertised thereof, came downe to Bullongne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the couenants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortlie wherevpon, king Iohn died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succéeded him. And in the meane time had the pope

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best approoued writers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king Iohn.

pope accurssed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king Iohn, which cursse was pronounced in a generall councell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king Iohn, returning homewards with his armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoiance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenlie inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in straieng abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so mooued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Lewes and king Alexander accursed.
A councell at Rome.
King Alexander returneth into his countrie.

Shortlie after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboue remembred, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their fautors, wherevpon he accurssed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, insomuch that in the end Lewes was constreined to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agréement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came K. Henrie with an armie into Scotland, sore indamaging the countrie: but so soone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all spéed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisit, and the king of Scots but onelie fiue hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scotish armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with axes, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beléeuing, that to lose this present life héere in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returneth into France.
King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.
Ex codice antiquo S. Albani, written by *Mat. Paris* (as I take it.)

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castels and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carleill, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laieng siege vnto Norham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchiued enterprises in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken vp his campe, incontinentlie got eftsoons his people togither, and comming to Berwike, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie alongst by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Hadington, putting all such to the swoord as were found in the waie; women, préests and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue woone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

King Alexander in Northumberland.
Carleill woon by the Scots.
Berwike woon by king Henrie.
Hadington.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder processe of interdicting, & namelie he accurssed king Alexander most terriblie, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These cursses so inflamed the hearts of the Scotishmen with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the vtter destruction and ruine of both their realms. Neuertheleese at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Yorke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a finall peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agréed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carleill into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe of Northumberland, to the Recrosse. And further, that king Alexander should be absolued of the censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced against him.

Scotland interdicted.
Bishops of Yorke and Salisburie.
A peace concluded.
The conditions.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foresaid bishops comming vnto Berwike, absolued king Alexander, and deliuered his realme of interdiction, by such authoritie as they had

The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Anwike.

procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the same cardinall, not minding to depart with emptie hands, summoned all the prelats of Scotland to appeare before him at Anwike, there to receiue their full absolution, to the intent by such means to trouble them, till they had disburssed to his vse some large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loued quietnesse more than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refused vtterlie so to doo, taking great indignation that spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie, and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no otherwise than secular possessions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie therevpon Gualo cited them to Rome, supposing that rather than to take vpon them so long a iournie, they would haue compounded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went vnto Rome, and at their comming thither, made vnto the pope their complaint in most grèeuous maner, of the insufferable iniuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his most couetous legat the foresaid Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of sundrie such letters & informations as dailie came out of England and Scotland, from other bishops & abbats, conteining right grèeuous accusations, concerning the insatiable auarice of Gualo, the pope reuoked him home to Rome, to make answere in his presence vnto such matters as were laid to his charge.

Sale of spirituall promotions.

The Scotish cleargie cited to Rome.

The complaint of the Scotish cleargie to the pope.

The auarice of Cardinall Gualo.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine for his trespasse and transgressions. And those Scotish bishops, which were come for their absolution, were absolued by the pope, and suffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye haue heard before how he went in the iournie made by the christian princes into the holie land) deceassed, and was buried within an abbeie in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be more desirous of peace than of warres. Wherevpon at Yorke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall aliance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Iane the sister of king Henrie was promised to be giuen in mariage to king Alexander, and two sisters of king Alexanders were despoused vnto two great princes of the English nobilitie. These mariages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

Cardinall Gualo condemned in a summe of monie.

The Scotish bishops absolued.

Dauid earle of Huntington deceassed.

1219.

An interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Mariages concluded.

In the yeare next following, came a legat into Scotland from pope Honorius, with buls to gather a summe of monie towards the furnishing foorth of an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who hauing purchased no small quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the same in riot and outragious insolencie, making his excuse at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certeine Brigants and robbers. Within short while after, was an other legat with semblable commission sent into Scotland from the foresaid pope. But king Alexander, being aduertised of his comming, called a councell, in the which one of the bishops (as should séeme) tooke great indignation, to sée how couetousnesse reigned in most shamefull wise amongest the Romish legats, and spake in maner as followeth.

A legat sent from pope Honorius for a collection.

Alegats excuse.

An other legat.

An oration of a bishop.

"Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from vttering such things as be most preiudiciall to the common-wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, giuen to nothing more than to the defense and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all maner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea euen that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifest wrongs doone to vs these manie yeares now passed, had come by the popes themselues, the same might somewhat more sufferablie haue béene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, haue not onelie interdicted our realme, without lawfull commission; but haue also consumed in maintenance of their wanton and insolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, vnder colour of raising an armie

Tyrannie intollerable.

Men of base linage.

mie to go against the Turks and Infidels; I am of this opinion, that their curssed auarice ought to haue no further place amongest faithfull people, speciallie amongest vs, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they haue in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye complained of the iniuries doone by Gualo, when he had put your realme vnder the censure of interdicting, and the most part of your prelats vnder the curse; because they would not answer him with monie, according to his couetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outragious lusts. Which Gualo also (as should appeare) by most certeine coniectures, was of such a diuelish nature, that though he were sent to treate a concord betwixt the Englishmen and Scots; yet to satisfie his auaritious desire, he ministred such occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter béene the sooner taken vp) were at a point to haue entered so far into malitious hatred the one against the other, that it was not like that anie peace would haue taken place, till the one or both had béene vtterlie destroied. But since these heinous and terrible déeds are manifest inough; to what end should I here remember them, sith the same cannot be doone without your great griefe and displeasure? Moreouer, after we were deliuered of this Gualo, shortlie after commeth another, one shewing himselfe to come foorth of the same shop; for in conuersation of life he was to be iudged no whit better, but rather woorse: for after that he had got vp amongest vs of this realme large summes of monie, vnder pretense of redéeming the christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands, and waging of new armies against them; he wasted the same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, feining, when it was gone, that it was béereft him by Brigants. Therefore sith we haue had experience, and are alreadie sufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembred legats, to our heauie griefs and no small damages; we may be woorthilie reputed vnwise and verie fooles in déed, if we now admit the third. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat shall vse the matter in anie better sort, than his fellowes haue doone before him. And verelie, if anie man shuld demand of me, what I thinke ought to be doone in this matter, I doo for my part protest, that neither this legat, nor anie other in times to come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath béene wasted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke whatsoeuer commeth into their hands, is but cast away and clearelie lost."

The Scots sore offended against Gualo.

The practise of Gualo.

The bishops oration.

These words of this bishop (whatsoeuer he was) were liked so well of all the councell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this councell, the mariage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Ione, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had beene sealed vp for a more full and certeine assurance. Shortlie after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gilespie Rosse, who hauing liued most licentiouslie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaing diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforetime in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprise, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Enuernes, which he tooke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhane comming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gilespie in such earnest wise, that finallie he tooke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their three heads, sent the same to the king as a witnesse how he had sped.

Legats cannot be receiued.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen.

Gilespie Rosse a rebell.

Enuernes burned by Gilespie Rosse.

Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhane.

Gilespie Rosse beheaded

This businesse being thus quieted, an other insued after this maner: The men of Cathnes sore offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusall to pay their tithes he had accurssed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then soiourning at Edenburgh, he hasted foorth with all speed to punish the offendors, not ceassing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused

New trouble.

Adam bishop of Cathnes slaine by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked séed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stones. The place where they were so geided, is called euen to this day the stonie hill.

The stonie hill.

The earle of Cathnes loseth his lands.

The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of néed, nor yet sought to punish the offendors that did this cruell déed, was depriued of his earledome, and the lands belonging to the same.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The pope highlie commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murthered their bishop.

The priuileges of Aberden.

After this, king Alexander comming vnto Aberden, gaue manie large gifts and priuileges therevnto, although the same before this time inioied sundrie notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The buls which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were committed by the king to

The archdecon of Murrey.

the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Murrey, who succéeded next after the foresaid Adam in the sée of Cathnesse. In the third yeare after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermingard were sitting at their banket on the twelfe day in Christmas, otherwise called Yule, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunitie thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King Alexander taking ruth & pitie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paied in maner as was agréed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuerthelesse the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iust iudgement (as some thought) of almightie God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the fame went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might séeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murthered by his seruants.

The first comming of blacke friers into Scotland.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectlie than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into woorse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of thrée hundred yeares, at length were

Iohn Adamson.

perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named Iohn Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberden, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scotish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie.

The first comming of friers minors.

On the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Manie of them also after his deceasse fell to dissolute liuing, kéeping no such streict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scotish people inioied peace a long

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongest his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men,

His bastard sonne raiseth a commotion.

in hope to atteine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with fiue thousand of those that tooke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Steward of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in mariage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes deceasse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was maried vnto Iohn Ballioll; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into thrée, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

appeased

appeased thus within the realme, K. Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agréement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife quéene Iane, and Isabell his sister. Through his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were remooued, and the parties throughlie accorded. Which being doone, he maried Isabell his sister vnto the earle of Norfolke, and in the meane time his wife quéene Iane deceassed, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which chance caused the king hir husband to returne with great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no succession begot of his bodie) maried at Rocksburgh the daughter of Ingelram lord of Coucie, a virgine of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.

K. Alexander goeth into England.

Isabell the sister of king Alexander maried to the earle of Norfolke.

Iane quéene of Scotland deceasseth.

1239.

King Alexander marieth the daughter of the lord of Coucie.

About the same time, Iohn Cumin earle of Angus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French king, died by the way. Also at Hadington was holden a roiall tornament, where knights and esquiers aduanced themselues by valiant prowesse to win honor: neuerthelesse the end of all that pleasure and pastime ended in sorow. For Patrike Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night, and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But yet was Iohn Bissart, with Walter Bissart his vncle shrewdlie suspected for the matter, insomuch that though no euident proofe could be had against him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After these things were thus passed, a conuocation was called of the cleargie at saint Iohns towne. In the which were diuerse prouinciall ordinances and statutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of the realme, which were obserued in the church of Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time also, one Somerleid thane of Argile, the sonne of that Somerleid of whome ye haue heard before, following his fathers steps, rebelled against the king, sore indamaging by rodes & forages the parts bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Argile, till at length the earle of March brought him to the brinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was faine to yéeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke in token of submission; and being so brought before the king, obteined pardon of his heinous offense.

John Cumin earle of Angus departeth this life.

Patrike earle of Atholl murthered.

Iohn Bissart suspected.

A conuocation of the cleargie at saint Iohns towne.

Somerleid thane of Argile rebelleth.

Somerleids humble submission.

In the same season, Henrie king of England, prouoked by the setting on of such seditious persons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust against Berwike, in the same place where the other was begun afore by king Richard, which (as before is shewed) was raced and throwen downe by king William, by the articles of agréement with couenant that it should neuer be builded vp againe. This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of England (considering that the building vp of this castell was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had not staied the woorke, and so therevpon that beginning of new trouble betwixt the English and Scotish nations for that present ceassed.

A castell begun to be builded by king Henrie against Berwike.

Matth. Paris disagréeth frō the Scotish writers touching the occasion of this warre, as in the English chronicles ye may read.

In the yeare following came ambassadors forth of France into Scotland, declaring that K. Lewes was readie to passe forward on that iournie, which he had taken in hand to make into Iewrie, and therefore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in those warres against Gods enimies. With these ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certeine chosen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of Patrike earle of March, Dauid Lindseie of Glenneske, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, thrée capteins of great wisdome, and perfect experience in feats of chiualrie. The most part of all those Scotishmen, that thus went foorth in that iournie, perished in Aegypt either on the sword or by sickenesse, so that few or none of them returned home againe. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not long: but falling into a sore and grieuous sickenesse within a certeine Ile called Carnere, not far distant from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same Ile shortlie after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (according as he had commanded in his life time) was buried in Melrosse.

Ambassadors foorth of France.

Scotishmen that went with Lewes king of France into Aegypt.

The death of king Alexander the second.

38. *Io. Ma.* but that cannot be.

ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER.

Alexander the third crowned.

AFTER that Alexander the second was thus dead and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of that name, not passing nine yéeres of age, was proclamed king. There was no small adoo on the daie of his coronation amongest the nobles, for that by reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the diademe. And againe some held opinion, how he ought to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so that thus they were at strife togither, in such earnest maner, that it was doubted, least this contention would haue bred some great inconuenience, had not the earle of Fife preuented the same, in causing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, according to the custome, without regard to the friuolous allegations of them that spake to the contrarie. When the solemnitie was ended, there came before him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit the mounteine countries of Scotland) who in a kind of méeter of the Irish language, saluted him as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak Alax, mak William, mak Henrie, mak Dauid, and so foorth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pedegrée, all the kings in order of whome he was descended, till he came vp to Gathelus the first beginner of the Scotish name & nation.) The woords in English are as followeth: "Haile king of Albine, Alexander the sonne of Dauid, the sonne of Alex, the sonne of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Dauid," and so foorth as before. This Hilland Scot was highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, according as was thought requisite.

An infortunate day.

The earle of Fife preuenteth the occasion of further troubles.

The salutation of an Hilland man.

In the second yéere of his reigne, king Alexander (or rather such as had the gouernement of the realme vnder him) assembled togither all the prelates and barons of the realme at Dunfirmling, and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grandmother quéene Margaret, which being doone, he caused them to be put into a shrine of siluer, the 21 day of Iulie, and minding to place the same where it resteth at this present, as it was borne foorth toward that place, when the bearers came against the sepulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were not able to remooue the relikes anie further, till by the councell (as is said) of an aged man that was then & there present, they tooke vp the bones of the same Malcolme also, and bare them foorth with hirs to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great veneration of the people. Such as were appointed gouernors (during the minoritie of king Alexander) doubting least the tender yéeres of their souereigne might imbolden the enimies of the relme to attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Henrie king of England, requiring that the peace might be ratified anew with him and his people, and further to make a motion of mariage to be had betwixt king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.

The translation of quéene Margarets bones.

They were affianced in the daies of king Alexander the faire, as in the English chronicle it may appeare.

Shortlie after, vpon this motion, both the kings met at Yorke with a great number of lords, as well spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where king Alexander (according to the promise before that time made) maried the ladie Margaret daughter to the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephans day in Christmasse, with all solemnitie and ioifull mirth that might be deuised. The charges whereof were borne partlie by king Henrie, & partlie by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new maried wife. During the minoritie of K. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extortions doone by some of the péeres of his realme against the poore people, and therevpon determined to sée redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the earles of Menteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt so to doo, were proclamed traitors, and as the Scotish men tearme it, put to the horne.

An interuiew of the kings of England and Scotland.

1250.

Complaint made of the Cumins.

The Cumins put to the horne.

The

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, tooke the king at Kinrossie, and brought him vnto Striueling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Through which aduenture much harme insued, by reason of misruled persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischiefous acts prouided, sith the king who should haue séene iustice ministred, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yéere of Henrie the third. The king taken by the Cumins.

The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of ofspring, riches, lands, possessions, and mainrent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre vpon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracie, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Menteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obteining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

The great power of the Cumins.
Thirtie and two knights of one surname.
The height of great families the cause oftentimes of their fall.
The earle of Menteith is poisoned.
The king set at libertie.

This woman did thus make awaie hir husband the erle of Menteith through instigation of an Englishman called Iohn Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namelie, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scotish nobilitie, she tooke the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hirs, he was iudged a match farre vnméet, and therevpon constreined to flie with him into England, she died there in great miserie. About this time pope Vrbane the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yéere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friers came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chappell of our ladie without the walles of saint Iohns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a moonke of Melrosse was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Peplis in Louthian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As soone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then beléeued.) King Alexander for deuotion hereof, builded an abbeie in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that péece of the crosse was so found. In this abbeie afterwards there were moonks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Iohn Russell an Englishman.
The feast of Corpus Christi instituted.
The first comming of the Carmelite friers.
A part of the holie crosse found.
An abbeie built.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met togither at Warke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realms continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was séene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be séene at this day, right sumptuouslie builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that sée, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yéere following, which was the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet haruest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

An interuiew. *Matth. Paris* writeth that in the yeare 1256, both K. Alexander & his wife came into England to visit king Henrie, whom they found at Woodstoke, as in the English chronicles further appeareth.
1262.
A great derth.

Acho king of Norwaie, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them wholie to his dominion. Herevpon, preparing an armie and a fléet of ships conuenient for such an enterprise, he landed with the

Acho king of Norwaie.

The westerne Iles vnder subiection of the Danes & Norwegians.

same in the westerne Iles, on Lammas day otherwise called *Petri ad Vincula*. Those Iles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Iles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Aire a certeine time, hée tooke the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

Acho landed in Albion. The castell of Aire besieged and woone.

King Alexanders purpose to infeeble his enimies force.

King Alexander being sore astonied with these newes, for that he was yoong, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enimies, imboldened vpon such frequent victories as they had atchiued, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that waie to diminish the enimies force, by long soiorning in campe without triall of anie battell. Hérevpon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed therto, being well languaged and wise, at their first comming before him spake in this manner.

Ambassadors sent to Acho.

The oration of one of the ambassadors.

"Were it not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doo vse first to séeke redresse of all iniuries receiued, before they offer to be reuenged with the swoord; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordinance of battell comming towards you to giue the onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so much gaines by victorie of the enimies, no though they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that we account it much better to haue peace, if we may haue restitution of wrongs doone to vs, by some maner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may be, than to séeke for that by fier and swoord, which may be purchased with faire and quiet woords? Neuerthelesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions are refused of the enimies, when we find them not willing to haue peace (for the obteining whereof all warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that their onelie séeking is to haue warres, not respecting the quarrell: we are readie to rise wholie togither in reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and violence against our aduersaries. We are sent therefore from our king and souereigne, to inquire what occasion you haue thus to inuade his realme and subiects, in violating that peace and league, which hath beéne obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation, the space of this hundred yéeres, and not onelie to take from him his two Iles of Bute and Aran, but also to inuade the maine land of his dominions, with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or person séemeth to be had; but that women, children, and feeble old persons haue passed by the swoord, as well as those that haue stood at resistance with weapon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue the Scotishmen at anie time committed either against you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may séeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such crueltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath mooued you to burne the churches of God and his saints, with the murther of his people that flee into the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread not God that gouerneth all things (by his diuine prouidence) which heere in this world we sée; if ye dread not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied togither in bond of amitie and mariage, which shall come against you with such puissance, that ye shall not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may depart with honor, wé on the behalfe of him from whom we are sent, doo admonish you, that better it is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue alreadie doone, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduenture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that when ye shall be constreined to séeke for mercie, the same in no wise will be granted vnto you." ¶ These woords were spoken by the ambassadors, vpon purpose to put some terror into the hart of this hardie king Acho.

Peace to be preferred before warres.

Wherefore warres ought to be mooued.

The cause of their message.

Burning of churches.

King Achos answer.

Neuerthelesse he was abashed so little therwith, that he answered them in this manner. "Your beliefe is (I perceiue) ye ambassadors, to abash vs with your fierce and awfull words, supposing

supposing vs so weake harted, that we should leaue off our enterprise through your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceiued suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye exaggerate our iniuries doone to you in taking from you certeine Iles, we perceiue you are not méet nor indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that cause, neither doo we mind to learne of you, what we ought to estéeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why we haue inuaded Aran and Bute, we saie and affirme, that not onelie those two Iles perteine to vs and our people by good title and ancient right of inheritance, but also all the other Iles of Scotland, as we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue. And therfore are we now come to take presentlie so much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in issues and profits out of those Iles in times past from vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither his menacing woords, nor yet anie other violence that he can shew against vs. Notwithstanding, if he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lusteth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes, and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to sée the vtter extermination of his realme afore his eies, command him to send vnto vs foorthwith ten thousand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken vp and receiued by him and his elders in times past, and further that he make a cleare resignation of all claime or title that he may séeme to pretend vnto the said Iles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder our dominion in perpetuitie without anie contradiction."

The cause of Achos coming into Scotland.

His demand.

When king Alexander had heard what the answer of his enimie was, he was therewith sore mooued, & perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that he should be constreined to trie fortunes chance, he assembled togither an armie of fortie thousand men, that though he were not able to match his enimies in prowesse, he might yet passe them in number. He diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, nephue to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of Paslie. He had with him all the men that came foorth of Argile, Leuenox, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left wing was Patrike Dunbar, hauing with him the men of Leuthian, Fife, Mers, Berwike, and Striueling shire. In the middle ward was the king himselfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger appéered. These battels were ordered in such arraie, that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of their owne language, to exhort them to manhood, thereby to win praise and honor.

King Alexander assembleth his power.

The ordering of the Scotish host.

Alexander Steward leader of the right wing.

Patrike Dunbar capteine of the left wing.

The king in the middle ward.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham, where he came first within sight of his enimies, he called his people togither, and exhorted them to doo their dutifull indeuors like hardie and valiant men, against those enimies that inuaded their countrie without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put their trust in almightie God, desiring him to grant victorie vnto that part, which had most right and iustest cause of battell. He further shewed how necessarie it was for them to behaue themselues valiantlie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children, liberties, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that their whole safegard rested in this point, either to vanquish their enimies with manhood, or else to liue in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable thrals, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scotland should sée them fight that day, noting both their manhood & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust, and mooued onlie in defense of their native countrie and ancient liberties, he trusted they would shew the more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These with other the like woords king Alexander vttered with bold spirit, to incourage his people. And on the other part king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be afraid of the great number and huge multitude of the Scots.

King Alexander exhorteth his people to doo valiantlie.

Hope of suertie in what point it rested.

The necessitie of the cause.

Séekers of bloud & spoile.

Achos exhortation to his people.

The chiefest point to incourage them to doo valiantlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and therefore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought thither with them (which could not be small) but also all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if

Hope of spoile incourageth men of warre.

they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant seruice. But for that high enterprises and famous exploits might neuer be atchiued without extreme ieopardie, it behooued them to atteine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of swoord the arraied battels of their enimies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might soone coniecture. For through dearth and famine, which so long hath reigned amongst the Scotish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so woonderfullie infeebled, that they appeere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

High enterprises atchiued with extreme perill.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be ouercome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misaduenture they would yet sell their liues déerelie, and not to die vnreuenged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to doo what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enimies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to doo their indeuors, they arraie their battels. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scotish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: wherefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (bicause he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first incounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they preassed still with great violence on that part where they saw anie danger, not ceassing to exhort & incourage their men to stand to the bargaine with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings plaied the parts of verie valiant capteins.

The ordering of the battels.

The battels ioine.

The valiancie of the kings.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assaied sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed euen the ranks with fresh men where he saw it néedfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse crueltie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiuing themselues ouerpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrinke, and first those in the left wing, constreined to breake their order, fell to running awaie. Alexander Steward therfore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enimies a certeine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into araie, brought them against the enimies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncerteine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enimies, at length they began to flee amaine.

The great number of Scotishmen.

The left wing of the Norwegians are put to flight.

Achos nephue is slaine.

The maine battell of the Norwegians fléeth.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselfe was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomforted: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enimies was put to flight, they recouered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceassing from the pursute of the enimies, till night made an end of that daies woorke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had woone before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had susteined: for his fléet conteining the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outragious tempest, that there were not past foure

The left wing of the Scots in danger.

The Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots.

The losse of Achos ships by tempest.

of all that number saued, the residue being drowned and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constreined to come on land for safegard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped. The losse of the mariners.

Acho being thus abashed with these two infortunate mischances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arriued in Orkneie. Acho fléeth into Orkneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largis on the third day of August, in the yeere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about fiue thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon séemeth not to agrée altogither héerewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and tooke them both, spoiling also the churches alongst the sea coast, and after arriuing at Largis in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drowned togither with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountring with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dondonald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drowned in the sea, into the which they were driuen. Amongest other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yoong gentleman of great valiancie, and sore lamented of his vncle. Acho had much adoo to escape himselfe, he was so egerlie pursued of his enimies. 1263. *Iohn Fourdon.*

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appéere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countriemen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to procéed. King Acho at his comming into Orkneie, sent into Norwaie and Denmarke for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselfe departed out of this life in the beginning of the yéere next following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceassed, that is to saie, the 21 day of Ianuarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whome he begot on his wife quéene Margaret, the sister of Henrie king of England, was borne, to the great reioising of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & gladnesse héereof, bicause that both a new prince was borne, and that enimie dead which sought the destruction of the whole realme. After the deceasse of king Acho, his sonne Magnus succéeded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eies. Acho preparéeth to make a new inuasion into Scotland, but dieth before his prouision was readie. Alexander prince of Scotland, as eldest sonne to the king is borne.

In the second yeere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadors (of whome the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaie) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at saint Iohns towne, and there signified vnto him, that king Magnus their maister would willinglie giue ouer all his title, right, and claime vnto Aran and Bute, so that the residue of the Iles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time comming. Héerevnto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Iles by right of old inheritance perteined vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie agréement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recouered the full possession of the same Iles. The ambassadors being dispatched and sent awaie with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Pasleie, and Iohn Cumin were sent with an armie ouer into Man, which Ile they then recouered (though not without bloud) foorth of the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yéeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appeere by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seeme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Iles. And therefore that the same may the better appéere to the readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to set downe what I haue read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Man, and Ambassadors sent from Magnus K. of Norwaie to king Alexander. In time of the trouble betwixt the sons of Malcolme Cammore and their vncle Donald bane Magnus K. of Norwaie the son of Olaue subdued these Iles. *Richard Southwell.*

and those Iles which for a season (as should séeme in déed) were substituted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may also appéere, that sometime there was a certeine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had beene by waie of inheritance.

Guthred king of Man. Reginald. 1228.

In the daies of king Iohn therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Gothred reigned as king in Man. And in the yeere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Iles, was murthered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olaue reigned in his place. In the yéere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Husbac, the sonne of Osmund (surnamed Hacon) to gouerne the said Iles called Sodorenses, that is to say, the Ile of Man, & the other Iles there abouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbac, togither with two other capteins Olaue and Godred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arriued at Bute, where they wan the castell: but Husbac was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olaue and Godred came vnto the Ile of Man, where they diuided the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them, so as Olaue had Man alotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Iles. But after that Godred was also slaine, Olaue gouerned both in Man, and in all the other Iles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somerléid held in possession.) In the yéere 1237, in the moneth of Maie, Alane king of Man, the sonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose deceasse his sonne Harold succéeded him, and reigned 12 yéeres, being but 14 yeeres of áge when he began his reigne.

Olaue, or Olauus. 1230.

Husbac. Insulæ Sodorenses. Olauus and Godredus, Bute. Husbac slaine. Olauus and Godredus diuide the kingdome of the Iles betwixt them. 1237.

Alane. Harold. 1247.

In the yeere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent for Harold king of Man to come vnto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obteined king Hacos daughter in mariage: but as he returned from thence, in the yéere 1249, togither with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succéeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of Iune the same yéere, by the seruants of a knight called Yuarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godred Don gouerned Man one yéere, being remooued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olaue began his reigne ouer Man & the other Iles, by consent of the Manskemen themselues. But in the yeere 1254, one Yuarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroy of those Iles, & gouerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Iles vnto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whome the first was called Godred mac Mares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Okarfaire succéeded; and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

Harold passeth into Norway. Is drowned in his returne. 1249.

Reginald. He began to reigne the sixt of Maie. Yuarus. Harold. Magnus. 1254.

Yuarus. Lieutenant or bailife of the Ile of Man vnder the Scots.

For the time of the resignation made, I follow Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeares assigned to the reignes of those Iland kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of those Iles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirteene ships, and fiue hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argile, and Lennos, sent with a puissant armie vnto the other of the westerne Iles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much a doo vnder the obeisance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselues.

The westerne Iles recouered out of the hands of the Norwegians.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent eftsoones his chancellor in ambassage vnto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recouer againe those Iles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to compound with him for a yeerelie tribute. The first motion of the chancellor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceassing to spend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which tooke effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great seale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his successors to all the Iles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of

The chancellor of Norwaie ambassador to king Alexander.

The release of Magnus king of Norwaie to the Scotish Iles.

Norway,

Norway, foure thousand marks sterling, togither with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yeare. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeares of age, was promised in mariage vnto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same mariage to be consummat when she came to yeares mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had beene made, it was couenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of poore folks.

A yearelie pension.

Margaret K. Alexanders daughter.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whome the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. K. Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested K. Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Herevpon shortlie after, was Alexander Cumin, with fiue thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right valiantlie bare themselues in that war which king Henrie held against his barons, whereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood liued, with his fellow little Iohn, of whome are manie fables and merie iests deuised and soong amongst the vulgar people. But Iohn Maior writeth that they liued (as he dooth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

Warre in England.

King Henrie required aid of the Scots.

Alexander Cumin sent into England.

Robin Hood and little Iohn his companion.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domesticall enimies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leuieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbeie foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase fauor to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer herevnto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrées, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall councell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendors are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go foorth of the realme: neuerthelesse if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send foorth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise foorth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of théeues, as it had béene aforetime.

A legat from pope Clement.

The legats demand.

The answer of king Alexander to the legats message.

The more precepts the more offendors.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisedome of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortlie after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the quéene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxsburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that K. Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in siluer: and vnto Lewes the French king, that required his aid in that iournie which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, Iohn Steward brother of Alexander Steward, Alexander Cumin, Robert Keth, George Durward, Iohn Quincie, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with K. Lewes into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enimies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not béene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fiftéene yeares of age. This yoong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as the vse is, fortuned by aduenture to méet with a noble yoong man one Robert Bruse the sonne and heire to Robert Bruse the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabell the second daughter of

King Alexanders wisedome praised by king Henrie.

A thousand marks sent to the pope.

Scotish captens sent into Affrike.

1270.

Thomas earle of Carrike.

Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

Robert Bruse.

Robert Bruse maried to Martha daughter to the earle of Carrike.

of Dauid earle of Huntington. The ladie immediatlie became so inamored of this yoong gentleman, that she led him with hir home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priuie to the matter) she maried him in all hast, least anie man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this mariage was borne that Robert Bruse which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) atteined the crowne of Scotland.

King Alexander displeased with the foresaid Martha.

As soone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he tooke such indignation that she should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom she neuer saw before, that he seized hir castell of Turneberie into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had maried without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he tooke pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paied for hir mariage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembred Robert Bruse that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceassed; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the quéene their sister, & their brother in law the K. & after did attend them in their iournie to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned foorth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

Robert Bruse that was after king of Scotland is borne. 1274.

King Alexander with his wife the quéene came to London.

A Norman of passing strength. Ferquhard a Scotishman ouerthrew the said Norman.

At the same time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whome he wrestled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scotishman borne, of the countrie of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & aduancement in honor: for king Alexander in guerdon of so woorthie a déed there doone in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earledome of Rosse for euermore. Of this Ferquhard succéeded fiue earles all of his surname, but the sixt earle was named William Rosse, otherwise Leslie, in whose sonne the seuenth earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earledome of Huntington, as the Scotish writers doo testifie. Shortlie after that king Alexander was returned foorth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife quéene Margaret deceassed, and was buried in Dunfirmling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was maried about three yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hanigo, or rather Aquine king of Norwaie, and deceassed in the second yeare after the solemnization of the mariage, leauing behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

The earledome of Rosse giuen to William Rosse alias Leslie.

The death of quéene Margaret.

The mariage of Margaret king Alexanders daughter.

The death of Dauid sonne to king Alexander.

The mariage of Alexander prince of Scotland. 1279.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of quéene Margaret the mother, hir yoonger sonne Dauid deceassed: by reason whereof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a mariage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was maried vnto the said prince in Jedwoorth, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this mariage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fiftéene daies togither. ¶ This yeare a number of the Scotish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Norwaie, were lost by shipwracke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the consummation of hir mariage there with king Hanigo or Aquine. Shortlie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint, two grécuous losses chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leauing anie issue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret queene of Norwaie deceassed also, leauing behind hir one onelie daughter (as before is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

The death of Alexander prince of Scotland.

The death of Margaret quéene of Norwaie.

In

In the same yéere was a generall councell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelats of christendome being there assembled. To this councell were summoned to appeare all the prouincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging friers. And for that there were so manie sundrie orders of them, each man deuising of his owne braine some new alteration; all those orders were reduced into the foure orders, which after by the church of Rome were approoued and allowed. A generall commandement was also giuen, that no man should go about to begin anie new forme of such vaine superstitious orders, which appoint themselues to eschue labor, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idlenes, vpon the trauell of other mens browes. In this mean time, after that the christian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan (that truce notwithstanding) ceassed not to make great slaughters and inuasions upon those christian men that remained behind. The christian princes sore mooued herewith, made their apprests for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth penie of all their lands, or rather (as some bookes say) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iornie: notwithstanding through such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said princes, that iornie brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the christian faith.

A councell at Lions.

The foure orders of friers.

A commandement giuen against diuising new orders of friers.

The Soldan contrarie to the truce inuadeth the christians.

The Scots contribution for a iournie into the holie land.

King Alexander hauing lost his wife and children, in maner as is before expressed, not onelie hée himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great pensiuenesse and sorrow, each man by a certeine foreiudgement and misgiuing in mind, doubting the mishap that might thereof insue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champaigne in France, named Iolant. The mariage was celebrated at Iedburgh with great feasting and triumph: but that ioy and blithnesse indured not long after. For the same yéere on the 18 day of Aprill, as he was gallopping vpon a fierce horsse at Kingorne, forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was throwne ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a woonderfull misfortune so rudelie, that he brake his necke, and so therewith immediatlie died in the 42 yeere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yéere after the incarnation 1290. It is said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwise named Thomas the rimer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) Thomas Ersilton (who in those daies was reputed for a noble prophesier) or (as we may call him) a soothsaier, what weather they should haue on the morow? To whome the said Thomas answered, that on the morrow [before noone] should blow the sorest wind and tempest that euer was heard of in Scotland at anie time before.

K. Alexander maried the daughter of the earle not of Champaign but of Dreux, saith *Southw.* *R. Southwell* varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in report of K. Alexanders death. See more in England.

35. *H. B.*

1290.

1285. *H. B.*

1286 *Io. Ma.*

On the morrow when the skie appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule weather, and that it drew néere vnto the midst of the daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme and quiet, the earle of March sent for the forenamed Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his marks, in prophesieng of anie such notable tempest as he had spoken of the night before, considering it prooued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto, sauing that he said it was not yet past noone. And incontinentlie herevpon came a post to the castell gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then laie, bringing woord of the kings sudden death, as before is recited. Then said the prophesier: "That is the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of the whole realme of Scotland." This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, shewing sundrie things, as they afterward chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of darke and obscure spéeches.

Thomas of Ersilton or the rimer.

A prophesie of a tempest.

Manie strange woonders and vnketh sights were séene in the daies of this Alexander the third. In the 17 yéere of his reigne, there was such an infinit number of woormes through all the parties of Albion, that not onelie the leaues and fruits of trées, but also flowres & herbs in gardens were eaten vp and consumed with them. And in the same yeere, the waters of Forth and Taie rose with such high tides in flowing ouer the banks, that manie townes and villages were drowned, to the great destruction both of men and beasts. In the 20 yere of his reigne, there was a comet or blasing starre séene of a meruellous quantitie, shining euerie day

Vnketh sights and woonders.

High tides.

A blasing starre.

Great winds. day toward the south, euen about noone daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such vnmeasurable great hailestones, that manie townes were throwne downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning vp steeples with such force of fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as though it had beene in a fornace. Amongest other, those of the abbeie of Abirbrothoke were most pretious, which were as then consumed togither with the steeple wherein they hoong. The townes of Aberden and Perth were burned the same time: also part of Lainrike, with the temple, and all the townes and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise manie townes and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, too long here to rehearse.

Fire caused through wind.

Bels melted.

The first comming of the pestilence into Scotland. In the 31 yeere of his reigne, was the first comming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this sicknesse had come within that realme before that time. In the solemnization of the second mariage of king Alexander, as the bridegroome (according to the manner) led the bride in a danse, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same danse, there appeared in their sight as it were closing vp the hindermost of the dansers, a creature resembling death, all naked of flesh & lire, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the companie were so astonied, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the third, liued sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

A strange sight in dansing.

Learned men.

Michaell Scot a physician.

Francis Thins addition, to this marke.) The lawes of Alexander the third. * This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitablie by him deuised, seeme rather by report to haue beene ordeined, than that they are by custome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, through which he made his progresse almost euerie yeere, remaining about three moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poore, at what time the meanest person might haue free accesse vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which trauelling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which time of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; bicause he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restreined the troope of horssemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, bicause he supposed that the multitude of horsses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbad his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the vnskilfulnes of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselues to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extreame pouertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yeere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arriued such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbad his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland without a K. and gouernor. King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceassed, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reson he had neither left anie issue behind him to succeed

succéed in the gouernement thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the roome of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinit misorders, by the presumption of wicked and vngratious persons, the which vpon hope to escape vnpunished (bicause iustice was like to want due processe) ceassed not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the grieuous oppression of the people: which misruled demeanors and disordered enterprises of those outragious persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood dailie to multiplie and increase, they thought it appertained to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and therevpon called a councell togither, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finallie agréed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thrée should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquane. The other thrée were appointed to the gouernance of the south countries, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glascow, sir Iohn Cumin (a man of high estimation for his wisdome and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and Iames high steward of Scotland.

Mischiefes insuing for lacke of a king.

Six gouernors chosen to haue the rule of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Norwaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie yoong in yéeres, & not able for mariage: yet to compasse his purpose that waies foorth, he sent his ambassadors vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme withall, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruile subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceassed, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this mariage to succéed them, then shuld the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward or anie of his successors in time to come.

How can this be true, when K. Edward had a wife at that time? but verelie the Scotish writers shew themselues ouercome with too much malice in most things which they write in the defamatiõ of K. Edward.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir Iohn Scot of Albawore, and sir Iames Wemis, were sent into Norwaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their comming thither, shee was deceassed, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceassed. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they seuerallie made and pretended to the crowne. There were thrée chieflie that séemed by néerenesse of bloud to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: Iohn Balioll, Robert Bruse, and Iohn Hastings. This Robert Bruse was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruse, which maried Isabell the yoongest daughter to Dauid earle of Huntington, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that maried the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruse was, that now claimed the crowne. Iohn Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid Dauid earle of Huntington: for Alane lord of Galloway, which maried the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest namd Deruogill, was giuen in mariage vnto sir Iohn Balioll, father vnto this Iohn Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle Dauid, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, sith none other person aliue approched so néere vnto him in bloud.

The daughter of Norwaie deceassed.

The contention betwixt the kinsmen of K. Alexander for the crown.

Sée more of this matter in the English histories.

The ancestors of Robert le Bruse.

The line of the Balioll with his title to the crowne.

* Here I thinke it conuenient, before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat

Fr. Thin.

somewhat (besides that which is alredie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William K. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as saith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This brall comming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench those flames of vnkindnesse betweene the said brethren, and for that cause with indifferencie (as he supposed) he meant to pacifie and satisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betweene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in grudge (bicause he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious against him, and the other as an vnequall iudge, in giuing his right from him. Wherfore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to vtter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the sudden, he tooke his brother prisoner, put out his eies, cut out his toong, and not contented with a simple death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most miserablie a long time togither put him to paine, by dismembring the seuerall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English nation, and taking preies on the borders, he did vnnaturallie and traitorouslie (as it were an vtter enimie to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murther and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephue Rowland (gathering a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had vtterlie spoiled all the countries adioining to England, or else would wholie haue brought them into his subiection. For this Rowland a lustie yoong gentleman, bold of spirit, indued with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncle, but did manie times (and that sometimes most happilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his natiue soile, or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

Buchanan. Hect. Paruus nameth him Vtred.

Of this matter though not so fullie is somewhat intreated before.

Th crueltie of one brother to another.

At length when king William was deliuered of restreint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauor in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortlie after departing this life, they which had serued vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft and blood, did yéeld themselues to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatrike, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had béene authors and executors to Gilbert, of all such euils as were by him performed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battle slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the conflict, did flie to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euerie place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe tooke in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vtterlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incountering with this Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was

Gilpatrike & other spoile Scotland.

Gilcombe spoileth his countrie.

Maketh himselfe lord of Gallowaie.

valiantlie

valiantlie slaine, with the greatest number of his followers, by the said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few missing. Gilcombe slaine.

The king of England highlie offended therwith (bicause the yere before they had sworne themselues to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne bloud) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill to séeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appease the king of Englands displeasure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought so with the English, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the presence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordinglie. At what time before the king of England, refelling the slanderous accusations of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he had doone nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against his and the common wealths enimie) he was honorablie by the English king suffered to depart from Carleill. These things thus doone, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall constancie and good seruice, which Ethred the father of Rowland had manie times doone to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the woorthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which considerations he woorthilie recompensed the said Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countrie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vndeserued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of the said Gilbert. All which William Paruus reporteth to haue happened in the yéere of Christ 1188. Rowland restored to the fauour of the king of England. Rowland made lord of Galwaie. Carrike giuen to the sonne of Gilbert.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, maried the sister of William Mooruill constable of Scotland, who dieng without issue, obteined the same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whome did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his notable seruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the said king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permission of William king of Scotland, he professed himselfe the liege man of John king of England, and sware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before said) maried Margaret the elder daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, of whome he raised thrée daughters, whereof the eldest being Dornagill, was maried to Balioll, the second to Bruse: in right of which Dornagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the elder sister.) On the other side Robert Bruse, albeit he was descended of the yoongest daughter to earle Dauid, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his father was first borne, and therefore if king William had deceassed without issue, the crowne had descended to him: for which consideration he mainteined that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for his part, bicause he was come of the yoongest daughter of king Dauid, maried to his father Henrie Hastings, wanted not allegations to propone, why he ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute. This controuersie being brought before the gouernors, was at sundrie times argued with much contention, not without the assistance of the nobles fauoring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kinred mooued them, namelie Balioll and Bruse had no small number that leaned vnto their parts, by reason whereof, the gouernors were in doubt to procéed to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, an other would attempt to vsurpe the crowne by force. Rowland constable of Scotland. Alane lord of Galloway, constable of Scotland. The title of Robert Bruse. Hastings. The doubt the gouern

Héerevpon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constreine the parties repugnant to obeie his sentence. Heerevnto was none thought so méet as Edward king of England, and therfore they chose him. [Of whose faith and loue towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, bicause Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and vpright tutor to his realme. Wherevnto also *Fr. Thin. Buc anan.*

also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Wherevpon king Edward tooke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certein day to come vnto Berwike, willing that their councell might be assembled there against that time. At his comming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on ech part, and throughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceiued the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discusse the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scotishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to choose foorth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appeere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he tooke a solemne oth of the ambassadors of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitiue sentence, further therevpon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proofes as were proponed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

The title doubtfull.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. The nobles sweare to stand to the order of king Edward.

¶ Heere the Scotish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing vprightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eies of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniustlie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doo write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scotish writers. King Edward to be satisfied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the plee should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarietie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

This report of the Scotish writers smelleth altogither of malice conceiued against him, for that he scourged them so eore for their vntruths.

Howbeit the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruse, both for the woorthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with Iohn Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwike, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that finall sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwike, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appéering before him in a chamber prouided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be suerlie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And bicause he knew that Robert Bruse was a man of singular manhood and wisedome, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he minded to trie what the Balioll would do.

Respect of persons in deciding controuersies is not to be considered.

K. Edward commeth to Berwike.

The purpose of king Edward, as the Scots doo vntrulie report.

When Robert Bruse had throughlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he wcied the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had béene frée) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to atteine the crowne, that he passed not whether he inioied the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue

The answer of Robert Bruse.

haue it. Héerevpon when this Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would doo homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

The Balioll promiseth to doo homage to king Edward.

It is said, that the earle of Glocester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (séeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruse without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is doone by thée this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thée to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thée. Shortlie after, Iohn Balioll went in great arraie vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yeere from the incarnation 1292. In the yeere next insuing, on saint Stephans dav in Christmasse, he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he séemed to submit his realme, (which had remained in freedome vnto those daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succéeded therof. * And héere it appeereth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it gréeuouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cinders of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and proofe whereof, there was shortlie after occasion offered to Makduffe, by the death of the earle of Fife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six gouernors of the realme: for this earle was not onelie killed by these of Abirnethie (which familie did then greatlie flourish in riches and authoritie within Scotland) but the brother also of the said earle was called into law by the Abirnethians, for whome the king in assemblie of the states did giue sentence against the other. This Makduffe after the land whereof the contention grew was so adiudged, supposing therein the king to be more vniust against him than was cause, and that the king was not so seuere a reuenger of his brothers death, as he hoped that he would be; forsooke the Balioll, and appealed to the king of England, before whom he commensed his sute against Balioll. The deciding whereof was appointed to be holden at London, where was an assemblie or parlement of the nobilitie, after the English manner, amongst whome this Balioll had his place also.

The saieng of the earle of Glocester (as the Scots write, but not like to be true.)

King Edward was no man so to be dealt with.

Iohn Balioll crowned king of Scotland. 1292.

Iohn Balioll dooth homage to king Edward.

So say the Scotish writers, but how trulie, read more héereof in England. *Fr. Thin. Buchana. li. 8.*

The parlement begun and Balioll there summoned or cited, would haue answered by his proctor or attornie: but this (not being allowed) Balioll was compelled to rise out of his seat, and to defend his cause himselfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie when he durst not at anie time redresse, secretlie he still bare in mind, vntill fit opportunitie might answer the reuenge thereof. But when he would, and then could not deliuer himselfe of such disgrace; he returned home with a mind of deadlie anger, rolling mounteins of choler therein, who still bending himselfe on euerie side to satisfie his anger, dwelled on this point; how he might reconcile the hearts of his subiects: and offend the state of the English. Whilest Balioll with this meditation was feeding his hot stomach, a fit means was now offered to performe his desire, by reason of the wars newlie growen betweene England and France, as after shall appeare. For vpon this occasion of wars, king Edward of England commanded this Balioll by tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his warres against the king of France.

Iohn Balioll king of Scots answered a sute cõmensed against him in the parlement of England as an inferior person should.

King Iohn Balioll incontinentlie herewith became repentant, in that he had indangered himselfe thus by doing his homage; and therevpon sent his ambassadors to king Edward, as then soiourning at London, to renounce his act touching the same homage, alledging

Iohn Balioll repenteth him.

alledging that for somuch as it was doone without the aduise of the three estates of Scotland, it was of no strength in it selfe, and not meete to be obserued being doone by force; for which cause he would renounce his friendship and aliance, aswell for manie other iniuries doone vnto him and his; as for that he would seeke to restore his countrie to his former libertie. Which message when none of the better sort durst take in hand to execute, a certeine moonke (or as other haue the abbat of Alberbrethie) caried these letters into England, vpon the receit whereof, king Edward answered the ambassadors (whom he tawnted with innumerable contumelies) that since we perceiue (saith he) your king will not come vnto vs, we intend shortlie to come vnto him, wherewith the ambassadors departed. Butus (saith Buchanan) could scarselie returne home in safetie: being at his returne into Scotland rather had in contempt of his owne people, than anie iot reuerenced for such an ambassage.

Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors into England.

After this, king Edward the better to accomplish his purpose against the Scots, found means to conclude a peace with the king of France, and for the more confirmation of the same peace, the French kings daughter was giuen in mariage vnto king Edward his sonne. Neuerthelesse (as saith the Scotish chronicle) he purposed (when he had wrought his will once against the Scots) to inuade France as fiercelie as before, notwithstanding anie bond of amitie or mariage by him contracted. After this, he procured the friendship of Robert Bruse, and vpon promise (as it is to be thought) to make him king, the same Robert deliuered into king Edward his hands all such castels as he held in Scotland. Iohn Balioll the Scotish king, vnderstanding that king Edward minded to make a conquest vpon him, sent William bishop of saint Andrews, and Matthew bishop of Dunkeld, with sir Iohn Sowlis, and sir Ingram Vmfrauile into France, to renew the ancient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as then king of France; which accordinglie was doone: and for the more corroboration thereof, the eldest daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Aniou, brother to king Philip, was promised in mariage vnto Edward Balioll, the sonne of king Iohn, which Edward should inioy lands of yearelie rents & reuenues to the summe of fiftéene hundred pounds sterling, in places not of the demesnes belonging to the crowne, as Ballieuille, Dampiere, Harecourt, and Horneie, which his father held in France with Lanarke, Kidion, Maldeseie, Cuningham, and the castell of Dundee, with the appurtenances in Scotland: and hereto was annexed a prouiso, that if those seigniories and places exceeded the value of fiftéene hundred pounds of yearelie reuenues, then should the surplusage remaine to the K. of Scotland: but if the same amounted not to that summe, then should the said king make them good, and supplie the same with other rents in Scotland, or otherwise, as should be thought meet. And further, the said summe of fiftéene hundred pounds in yearlie rent was assigned as it were the dower of the said ladie, to inioy to hir selfe during hir life after hir husbands deceasse, if hir hap were to suruiue him.

The league renewed betwixt France and Scotland.

Ex chron. Abindon, as I take it.

In consideration whereof, king Philip couenanted to content and pay vnto king Iohn in name of the mariage monie, the summe of 40000 crownes, or (as other write) 25000 pounds Turnois. The charter conteining the articles, couenants, and agréements of this mariage and league aboue mentioned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters procuratorie made by king Iohn to the said bishop of saint Andrewes, & the other his associats, bare date at Striueling, the third nones of Iulie the same yeare. Shortlie herevpon, king Iohn was aduertised that king Edward purposed to come and besiege Berwike; wherefore by aduise of his nobles he sent the most part of all the lords and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian vnto Berwike, to defend the towne against the enimie, if he came to besiege it. The Englishmen came not onelie with a mightie power by land, but also with a great nauie by sea towards the said towne of Berwike. Of whose comming the Scots being aduertised, came foorth against those that approched by sea, tooke 17 of their ships, and chased awaie the residue.

Hector Boetius. Abindon.

1295.

The gentlemen of Fife, and Louthian sent to Berwike to defend it against the Englishmen.

English ships taken at Berwike.

King Edward rather prouoked than feared with this misaduenture, came with a farre greater puissance than before, to renew the siege: but when he perceiued his purpose tooke

Berwike besieged.

not

not so spéedie effect as he hoped it should haue doone, he deuised how to take this towne by some slightfull policie. Héerevpon he feined as though he would haue broken vp his siege, and so raising his campe, withdrew a little from the towne, and then hauing prouided banners and ensignes, resembling altogither such as diuerse noble men in Scotland vsed, he suddenlie returned toward the towne, euerie one of his souldiers wearing a crosse of saint Andrewes aboue on their harnesse, after the manner of the Scotishmen. There were also sent before vnto the towne, certeine Scots that serued the king of England, which gaue knowledge to the capteins within the towne, that their lord king Iohn was comming with his armie to their succors. The Scots that were within the towne, beleeuing it had béene most true, set open the gates, and came foorth against their king (as they supposed) to haue receiued him with all ioy and gladnesse.

The policie of king Edward to win Berwike.

The Scots deceiued and intrapped.

But when they came néere vnto the Englishmen, they perceiued both by their language and habit what they were: but this was not before the Englishmen were hard at the gates, so that when the Scotishmen would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne againe, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the héeles, that they entered the gates with them, and so tooke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, children, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassion, so that they left not one creature aliue of the Scotish bloud within all that towne. Thus was Berwike woone the 30 day of March, in the yéere 1296. Such abundance of bloud was spilled thorough all parts of the towne (as the Scotish chronicles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water was not able to driue about the mils, some of the same mils yet, were now at a low water set on gate, by reason the streames were so hugelie augmented with bloud. There were slaine aboue seuen thousand persons that day, with the greatest part of all the nobles and gentlemen of Fife and Louthian.

The crueltie of the Englishmen.
Berwike is woone.
The 29 of March being good friday.
1295. *H.B.*

The abundance of bloud spilled.
Streames augmented with bloud.

King Iohn hearing of this slaughter of his people at Berwike, in great desire to be auenged, gathered his power, and sent the same foorth against king Edward, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar, and there incountring with him in battell, the Scotish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and Menteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dunbar, but they were besieged so streictlie by the English power, inuironing the castell on ech side, that in the end they were constreined for lacke of vittels to yéeld themselues to king Edward, on condition to haue their liues saued, which couenant was not obserued; as the Scotish writers affirme: for king Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused them foorthwith to be put to death. It was reported that Robert Bruse vpon secret conference had with king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, sollicited all his friends in the Scotish armie, to flée vpon the first ioining, which the residue perceiuing, were so discomforted, that incontinentlie they threw awaie both armor and weapon, and so were vanquished without resistance.

The Scots discomfited at Dunbar.

The castell of Dunbar rendered to king Edward.

Robert Bruse occasion of the ouerthrow of Scots at Dunbar.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruse submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring him to performe his promise touching the right which he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he receiued no answer to his liking touching that request: for K. Edward had no lesse desire to inioy the kingdome of Scotland, than Bruse, as the Scotish writers affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruse concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is said; Beléeuest thou that we haue nothing else a doo but to conquere realmes, and to deliuer them ouer againe vnto thee? Robert Bruse hereby perceiuing the subtile meaning of K. Edward, returned right sorrowfull vnto his lands in England, hauing great indignation in his mind, that he had obeied king Edwards requests: but yet considered with himselfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion serued to reuenge the iniuries receiued, which he minded to doo, and that in most cruell maner, as afterwards it will appeare. King Edward after he had thus woone the castell of Dunbar, got likewise both the castels of Edenburgh and Striueling, and pursued king Iohn, till he had constreined him to take

Robert Bruse submitteth himselfe to K. Edward.

The answer of king Edward to Robert Bruse.

The castels of Edenburgh and Striueling woone.

King Iohn driuen into the castell of Forfaire.

for his refuge the castell of Forfaire. Herewith Iohn Cumin lord of Strabogie came to king Edward, and was sworne his liege man.

Iohn Balioll king of Scotland resigneth all his right to king Edward. A charter.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same Iohn Cumin, king Iohn with his sonne Edward came to Mountros, where perceiuing himselfe vnwiselie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward, through feare of death which he doubted by reason of the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie abilliments, and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is) presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning there vnto him all his right and title which he had to the crowne of Scotland, vtterlie renouncing the same both for him and his heires for euer. Hereof was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confirmed with the hand and seale of king Iohn, and other the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might be deuised, bearing date the fourth yeare of his reigne.

Homage of the barons of Scotland to king Edward. *Fr. Thin.*

After this, king Edward assembled all the lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he caused them to be sworne his liege men, and to doo homage vnto him as to their souereigne lord and supreme gouernor. Which William Dowglasse (a man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) refused to doo, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison, where after a few yeares he ended his life. And for the more suertie of their allegiance, he constreined them to surrender into his hands all the strengths & holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the inner parts of the countrie.

The holds of Scotland deliuered into king Edward his hands.

These things doone, and order taken in each behalfe as was thought requisit for the quiet keeping of the countrie, he sent king Iohn and his sonne Edward Balioll vnto London, where they were kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the said king Iohn to returne into Scotland: but leauing still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he should attempt anie new rebellion after his departure; which after was deliuered at the request of the pope.

Iohn Balioll kept as prisoner in England.

He returneth into Scotland. He renounceth the administration of Scotland. He returneth into France, and deceasseth in castell Galliard.

King Iohn vpon his returne into Scotland, perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the administration of the Scotish dominion, and finallie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inheritance and lands there, where at length falling blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed out of this world in the castell Galliard, leauing those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, vnto his sonne Edward Balioll, who being released out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father before his deceasse.

King Edward his purpose to inuade France.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in remembrance the warres which he had intended to make against France, had he not bin staied through the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing all the strengths & forts in Scotland to withstand the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham regent there, whilest he should be occupied in France, which Cressingham before was treasuror.

Hugh Cressingham regent of Scotland.

Then hauing prouided a great nauie of ships, he passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots would not stur, sith they had of late susteined so manie ouerthrows and sore losses one after an other by the last wars: but tyrannie is of such a nature, that by no kind of prouision it may anie long time be suerlie defended. For those people that be oppressed by anie tyrannicall seruitude, will not faile to séeke to deliuer themselues from the yoke of that importable burden when soeuer opportunitie of time and occasion serueth.

King Edward burdened by the Scotish writers of tyrannie.

Therefore the lords of Scotland hauing knowledge that king Edward was passed ouer the seas, they got them all togither straightwaies, and assembled in councell at Striueling, where by generall agréement, twelue noble men were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie one in their limits appointed, that they might the better prouide to resist the enimie.

The Scotish lords assemble at Striueling. Twelue gouernors elected in Scotland. Iohn Cumin.

Amongest these gouernors, Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhan was principall, a man of great wisedome and singular knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war. This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie, and with the same entered into Northumberland, where he wasted with fier and sword all that countrie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan nothing there, the towne was so well

well defended. In that season also, the fame of William Wallase began to spring, a yoong gentleman of so huge stature and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and knowlege in warlike enterprises, and hereto of such hardinesse of stomach in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not anie where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one sir Andrew Wallase of Cragie, knight, and from his youth bare euer an inward hatred against the English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the Scots, and was of such incredible force at his comming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or foure Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

William Wallase beginneth to wax famous.

Sir Andrew Wallase knight father to William Wallase.

When the fame therefore of his woorthie acts was notified thorough the realme, manie were put in good hope, that by his means the realme should be deliuered from the seruitude of the Englishmen within short time after. And herevpon a great number of the Scotish nation as well of the nobilitie as other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises. By reason whereof he might not easilie be intrapped nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to haue got him into their hands. At length, when occasion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chiefteine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Scotishmen as gouernour vnder Iohn Ballioll, to deliuer his countrie from bondage of the English nation. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall benefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands. Neuerthelesse, this William Wallase by commission had of William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, auoided and put them foorth of all parts of Scotland, leauing neither temporall nor spirituall person of their bloud within that realme. For shortlie after, by publike authoritie, he receiued the armie that Iohn Cumin earle of Buchquhan had led before, and constreined those Scots that fauored king Edward, to obeie his commandements, in renouncing all such faith and promise as they had giuen or made vnto him.

Abbeies of Scotland in Englishmens hands.

This doone, he passed foorth with great puissance against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castels within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & manhood he wan the castels of Forfair, Dundée, Brechen, and Mountros, sleaing all such souldiers as he found within them. Wallase now ioifull of this his prosperous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chiefest capteins and officers of those Englishmen that kept the castell of Dunoter, were gone foorth to consult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them adioining, came suddenlie to the said castell, & tooke it, not leauing a man aliue of all those whome he found as then within it. Then after he had furnished that hold with his owne soldiers in most defensible wise, he went to Aberden. The towne he found in maner void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so stronglie garnished with men and munition, that considering it might not be woone without great murder, he raised from thence, and returned into Angus. King Edward as then being in France, hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallase his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble capteins vnto his lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into Scotland to redresse the matter.

Castels woon by William Wallase.

Dunoter woon by William Wallase.

Hugh Cressingham sent into Scotland.

Wallase in the meane time had laid siege vnto the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of the comming of this armie against him, he raised his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie shuld not passe the same, according as the report went his intent was to doo. Heere incountring with the enimies, the third Ides of September, he obteined a verie woorthie victorie, for he slue not onelie the foresaid Cressingham with a great part of his armie being passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee, in such sort, that a great number of them were drowned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing gotten the vpper hand of his enimies heere at Striueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper, which shortlie after vpon his returne thither, was rendred vnto him by those that were within in garrison. There were manie of the Scotish nobilitie the same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie and vittels, if he would onelie receiue them into fauour, wherevnto he granted. By which meanes, sundrie other castels were yeelded vnto him, the which after he had garnished with men, munition, and vittels (according as

Hugh Cressingham slaine at Striueling and his armie discomfited by William Wallase.

The castell of Couper rendred to Wallase.

was thought requisit) he brake vp his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faithfull friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Dearth in Scotland.

The policie of Wallase to relieue the peoples lacke in time of dearth.

Afterwards perceiuing that through scarsitie of corne, great dearth arose on each side within the realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that behalfe, and herevpon he determined to passe with a mightie armie into England, and to soiourne there the most part of the winter, in susteining the whole number of his men of warre on such prouision as they might find within the bounds of their enimies countrie. He commanded therefore that all the Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournie, should be readie at a certeine day and place prefixed. But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aberden and other) for that they disobeied his commandements set foorth by letters and proclamations, were hanged as rebels and traitors to their countrie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his commandements were the better obeied, so that hauing got togither an huge host of men, he entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting and spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastell. Thus putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe into Scotland, loden with spoile and glorie of their prosperous atchiued iournie. They entred into England (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, liuing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Disobedience punished.

Wallase inuadeth Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

K. Edwards message vnto Wallase.

Edward king of England, being informed of the great slaughter of his people, and what damage the Scots had doone in Northumberland, returned in great displeasure out of France into England, and sent his ambassadors vnto Wallase, sore menacing him, for that he had inuaded his realme in such cruell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him word) full little haue doone, if he had béene at home himselfe. Wallase herevnto answered, that he had taken the aduantage for the atchiuing of his interprise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort as king Edward had doone for the conquest of Scotland, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne natiue countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole indeuor to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the iniuries doone to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadors to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Easter in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armor against him.

The answer of Wallase to K. Edwards message as the Scots doo write.

Wallase entred England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling togither an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was readie with an armie vpon Stanesmoore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were readie to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seeme) to fight with the Scots at that time; who perceiuing them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed foorth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting least the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saieng (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor inough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe togither in order of battell, and so preseruing them from the deceitfull malice of their enimies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honors saued, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this iornie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he tooke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renowmes, such as were farre his superiors in birth and linage, that fauor which manie bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins bloud, and Robert Bruse.

Wallase is enuied.

King

King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chiefest amongst those that thus enuied the high glorie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reson of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vantgard, which is reputed a most high honor among the Scotishmen. And among other, Iohn Steward, and Iohn Cumin, thought scorne, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agréement and consent of the thrée estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith Iohn Maior, the lord Steward had before vpbraided him with his pride, comparing him to an owle, which from his originall had begged a feather of euerie bird, and being now inriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland.
Wallase raiseth a power to resist him.
Strife for the leading of the vantgard.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon them right fiercelie, before the Scotish chiefteins (hauing their brests filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enimies) could bring their men into anie perfect araie. Herewith at the comming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruse seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndoone that might perteine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his indeuors notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerset with multitude of enimies, as the Scotish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constreined to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left aliue. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, & namelie one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Iaie, a templer, whome Wallase perceiuing to be within his danger, stepped foorth vnto him, and slue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursute likelie to befall them. In this infortunate battell, were slaine on the Scotish side, Iohn Steward of Bute, with his Brandans (for so they name them that are taken vp to serue in the warres foorth of the Stewards lands) Makduffe earle of Fife, with sir Iohn Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whome he highlie estéemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Manie other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was striken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yéere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

The Cumins fled.
The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.
Frere Brian Iaie slaine by the hands of William Wallase.
Nobles of Scotland slaine at the battell of Falkirke.
Marie Magdalens day prosperous for the Englishmen to fight against Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the riuer Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his dispersed people, Bruse desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them (drawing alone by themselues without any arbitrers to the bankes of the riuer, in such place as it was narowest, and they might without anie companie best heare one another; Bruse began to say as followeth. "I doo much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncerteine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and dailie to offer thy selfe to euerie danger, and that for no reward assured to thée for all thy labors. For if thou shouldest ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thée to the kingdome, and if thou be ouercome, there resteth no refuge for thée, but onelie the mercie of thine enimie. And doost thou not sée the Cumins, and mée, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither doost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thée? Looke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lesleus epis. Ross. li. 6. p. 235.
Conference betweene Wallase & Bruse.

(which are more vncerteine than the wind) to follow thée, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne." All these words Iohn Maior supposeth that Robert Bruse did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whome Wallase answered in this sort. "The end of all my trauell was not to atteine the kingdome; for my birth and fortune neither did or could deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the negligent slouth of thée (to whome the right of that diademe doth apperteine, and who doth greedilie hunt therafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselues destitute of faithfull gouernors) to follow me, and caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather butcherlie torne, than in honest seruitude to be oppressed) to séeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had obteined for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so euillie striued against me, refrained themselues for comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds (which till their land) foorth to the battell, at which time I had scarse 10000 men, & those of cõmon sort. Trulie if the princes had not béene impediment thereto, I could haue brought foorth to fight a hundred thousand bold and chéerefull souldiers. But now in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the kingdome, I giue thée faithfull warning, especiallie to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more regarded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret malice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken the field, what hate soeuer they had conceiued against me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of England, they are not bound to kéepe it: in a wicked promise no oth is to be performed. I am now wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued countrie. Wherefore imbrace you this thraldome (which is so much estéemed of you) to whome filthie seruitude with ease séemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie with danger: for I had rather choose willing death with fréedome (in which I meane to spend my bloud) than to doo as yõu haue doone, because the loue of my countrie shall not depart from my hart, before the life of my bodie depart from his office." Which being said, Bruse burst foorth in teares, considering the nobilitie of the mind of Wallase, although perhaps he nothing misliked the misfortune of the man, as doubting the end of all his pretense to be, to atteine to the crowne. This being thus doone, they both depart to their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee bishop of Rosse) this good was wrought to Scotland (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirke) that Wallase partlie by the bitternesse of his woords, and partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw Bruse from the English, to take part with the Scots.)

1298. But notwithstanding all these valiant spéeches of Wallase, when he considered the infortunat discomfiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to Perth, and there vttering by complaint the iniurious enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had béene committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme, and went into France, as saith Lesleus. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that chieflie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassadors vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie before maried his daughter, requiring that there might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted. At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast of All saints, till the feast of Pentecost next following.

Wallase renounceth his office.

Philip king of France.

A truce.

Scotish ambassadors sent to pope Boniface.

The Scots in the meane time sore oppressed by reason of long warres, sent ambassadors to pope Boniface, in presenting a verie gréeuous complaint vnto him, for the great affliction doone to them by king Edward, who was fullie bent by iniurious meanes (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and therefore they besought him to constreine king Edward by vertue of his prerogatiue, which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of England, to stand

to

to his order in deciding the right concerning the liberties of Scotland, which might no othe waies be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people through blind desire and couetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is said) after he had by good and deliberat aduise heard the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of their countrie, against K. Edward and his fautors. ¶ But for this matter, looke in the English chronicles, where it shall well appéere, that the pope by these letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his superioritie ouer Scotland.

The opinion of the pope.

The Scots somewhat recomforted héerewith, shortlie héerevpon chose Iohn Cumin to their gouernor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised, sent foorthwith an armie into Scotland, which passed through the countrie to saint Iohns towne, with great damage of those that were adiudged rebels to king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner vnto Forthrie, at this season was subiect to the Englishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countrie, than to anie desire of preseruing their goods or liues. Iohn Cumin therefore, desirous to redresse this heauie miserie and lamentable case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser fellow with him in the administration of the warres against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, setteth in hand to reuenge the iniurious doings of the enimies, chasing out of the realme all such officers with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in anie roomes within the bounds of Scotland; and such as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not sparing to put them vnto the swoord in all places, where he might find them.

Iohn Cumin the yoonger elected gouernor of Scotland.

An armie of Englishmen sent into Scotland.

King Edwards officers chased out of Scotland.

King Edward sore kindled in displeaure with these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same into Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie stout and valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Confraie. This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, tooke small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided his armie into three parts, euerie part conteining ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe foorth to forraie the countrie, and to meet altogither at Roslin, in such sort and time as he prescribed. Iohn Cumin and Simon Fraser being aduertised héereof, gathered their powers togither, to the number of seuen or eight thousand men, and determined to trie the chance of battell with one part of the English armie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the vpper hand of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more easie to deale with. The Scotish capteins resolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remember how they were to fight in defense of their wiues, their children, their goods, and liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

Scotland againe inuaded.

Radulph Cõfraie.

I remember not that anie of the English nobilitie bare this surname in those daies, wherefore I thinke it was the lord Iohn Segraue.

Iohn Cumin and Simon Fraser.

With which woords the Scots were so imboldened, that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enimies, that the first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouerthrowen and vanquished. But scarselie had they gathered the spoile, when an other part of the Englishmen came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the other before: neuerthelesse, the Scots incouraged with their fresh woone victorie, got themselues spéedilie into arraie, & receiued their enimies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the vpper hand of these also. But scarse had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand readie to charge them, being now sore infeebled, what thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former incounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by exhortation of their capteins, and the valiant presence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed foorth on their enimies with such earnest forwardnesse to receiue them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scotishmens hands, had they not béene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chase.

The first battell of the Englishmen ouerthrowne.

The second battell ouercome.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is before rehearsed, vpon saint Matthewes day,

The third battell of the Eng-

lishmen vanquished at Roslin. 1302.

in the yéere after the birth of our Sauiour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & throughlie appointed for warre, should be thus in one day vanquished with an handfull of Scotishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long inioy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoigns, Irishmen, and such Scots as tooke his part, and hauing all his furniture and purueiance readie both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to inuade the Scots on ech side. The Scots perceiuing they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

The matter is amplified by the Scots to the vttermost.
The great preparation of king Edward to inuade the Scots.
The Scots withdraw to their holds.
The English armie passeth through Scotland from the south parts to the north.

It is said, that king Edward required by a messenger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he should haue at his hands great lordships and possessions within England, to mainteine his port as was requisit to a man of verie honorable estate. But Wallase refused these offers, saieng that he preferred libertie with small reuenues in Scotland, before anie possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not inioy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The castell of Sterling at the same time was in the keeping of one sir William Vthred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie summons or other meanes, till after three moneths siege he was constreined to giue it ouer vnder these conditions; That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuerthelesse king Edward caused the said sir William Vthred to be conueied to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeeres after.

K. Edward sendeth vnto Wallase.
Wallase refuseth the offers of K. Edward.
The castell of Sterling rendred.
This Vthred the Scotish bookes name Olises.

Sundrie other castels were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within anie of them, slaine without mercie or ransome. Amongest other, the castell of Vrquhard in Murrey land was taken by force, and not one left aliue *that* was found in the same (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with child, was in that respect preserued. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Englishmen tooke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where she was deliuered of a son, that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Bruse, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to doo heerein, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had beene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, shewed in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it to keepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarell by iniurie of the common enimies.

The castell of Vrquhard taken by force.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he deuised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Mar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largeness and fertilitie) than the other of Vrquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfied, and no man should seeme to haue wrong in being depriued of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he slue a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the surname of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots liuing togither with Englishmen,

The beginning of the name of the Forbesses.

men, vnder one vniforme maner of lawes, they should finallie sort themselues to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the supreme gouernement of their publike weale, as also in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scotish nation, with all manner of bookes, as well those conteining diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of profane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish: and thereto appointed greeuous punishments for them that should disobeie his commandements heerein, in keeping anie of the said bookes vndefaced. And he ordeined also, that the Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of Sarum, and none other. Moreouer, he compelled all such Scotishmen as were of anie singular knowledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Oxford, doubting least the Scotish nobilitie increasing in politike prudence by their instructions, should seeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scotish writers doo report) to extinguish the name of Scots, togither with their rule and empire, passed through the most part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scotish antiquities, at his comming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe, which was builded (as before is shewed) in the honor of Claudius the emperor, and the goddesse Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immediatlie put in execution, he changed his purpose, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the superscription of his name, should be taken awaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hoif (as ye would say) Arthurs court.

Chronicles and other bookes burnt.

Scotishmen learned, commanded to be resident in Oxford.

The temple of Claudius was at Colchester, and not in Scotland, whatsoeuer *Hector Boetius* or other dreame thereof.

Arthurs hoif.

Moreouer king Edward at his returning into England, tooke the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conueied vp to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet vnto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scotish lords to assemble at Scone, where he caused them to take a new oth, that from thencefoorth they should take him for their souereigne lord, and to obeie him in all things as loiall subiects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworne to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschued more than the companie of a serpent, to haue anie thing to doo with the Englishmen, touching anie agréement to be made with them, agréeable to their desires. Moreouer, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Odomare de Valence to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And hauing thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

The marble chaire is conueied into England, and placed in Westminster.

The nobilitie of Scotland sworne to K. Edward.

Wallase eschueth to agrée with the Englishmen.

Odomare or Aimer de Valence gouernour of Scotland vnder king Edward.

In the meane time, Iohn Cumin surnamed the red, and Robert Bruse hauing conference togither, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length vpon offers made betwixt them, it was agréed, that if by anie meanes they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Bruse, and the other, that is to say, the Cumin, should inioy all the Bruses lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honors and dignities, as next vnto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betweene them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seales interchangeablie, for the full ratifieng of couenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortlie after, vpon deliuerie of those writings, Bruse went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren vnto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

Conference betwixt Cumin and Bruse.

Indentures of agréement betwixt Cumin & Bruse, touching the conspiracie.

Iohn Cumin (after that he and Bruse were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie deuised betwixt them, would not sort to anie luckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not

Iohn Cumin dooth doubt.

Cumin discloseth the conspiracie.

be great, if the Bruse once atteined the crowne: and heerevpon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, conteining the couenants of the conspiracie, signed and sealed with Bruses owne hand and seale. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret wise to king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter, as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Bruse and his maister, according to instructions giuen him in that behalfe. But king Edward at the first gaue light credit either to the writings or woords of the Cumin, supposing that the same proceeded onelie through enuie, which he bare towards the Bruse, euer dreading lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Bruse once atteined anie authoritie within the same. Yet at length, king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he shewed the counterpane of the indenture vnto Bruse himselfe, questioning with him, if he knew his owne hand? Bruse stoutlie denied that he was priuie to anie such deuise or writing, and therefore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forfait all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he coniectured at the first how this accusation of Cumin was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did vnwiselie: but such was the ordinance of almightie God, that Bruse should escape that danger, to accomplish that wherevnto he was appointed. The earle of Glocester immediatlie after that Robert Bruse was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he coniectured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the waie in most speedie wise, wherevpon he causing a smith to shoo three horsses for him, contrarilie with the calkins forward, that it should not be perceiued which waie he had taken by the tract of the horsses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

Robert Bruse is examined. He denieth his writing.

Robert Bruse dooth flée.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horssmen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Bruse hasted foorth with such speed in his iournie, that the seuenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Annandale, and there found Dauid, or (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a woorthie yoong gentleman, vnto whome (they musing what he meant by his sudden comming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cumin, and how narowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his flight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cumins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cumin, signifieng by the same, that if Bruse were not the sooner put to death, there would insue shortlie such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against K. Edward, that it would be much adoo to appease it.

He commeth to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A seruant of Cumins taken with letters on him.

These letters being found about Cumins seruant, through means of yoong Fleming, the Bruse after he had apposed the bearer throughlie in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cumin was in the friers at Dunfrise, he first slue this fellow that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfrise, by the guiding of the same Fleming, where in the quier of the friers church there he found Cumin. And reasoning the matter there with him, for that he had vsed him so euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after some multiplieng of words togither) Robert Bruse plucked foorth his sword, and stroke the foresaid Cumin a sore blow in the bellie, and therevpon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, Iames Lindseie, and Roger Kirkpatrike, who

Cumin was at the friers in Dunfrise.

who beholding his countenance altered, and comming foorth of the church in such hast, demanded of him what was the matter: I trow (said he) that Cumin is slaine. Why (said they againe) hast thou attempted so high an enterprise, and left it doubtfull? And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cumin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie deaths wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian. And for that he answered how he trusted to doo well inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they gaue him three or foure other wounds so grieuous and deadlie, that foorthwith vpon the same he yeelded vp the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the same time was William Wallase taken at Glaskow by the means of sir Iohn Menteth and others, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promised by king Edward to such as could helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was apprehended at length by Odomare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in sundrie great townes there for a spectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puissant champion William Wallase, praised amongst the Scotishmen aboue all other in that age, for so much as he would neuer yeeld or consent to acknowledge anie superioritie in the Englishmen ouer his countrie, no not when all other had submitted themselues to king Edward as his liege subiects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when he was yoong and went to schoole, he learned by heart two verses of his schoolemaister, which euer after he bare in mind, and vsuallie would rehearse them, (when a toy tooke him in the head) as followeth.

Cumin is slaine. 1305.

Wallase is taken.

Wallase is brought to London. He is put to death.

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam seruili, sub nexu viuito fili.

Iohn Fourdon.

My sonne I say, freedome is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thrals arrest.

Iohn Maior.

Of this William Wallase one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie (saith Iohn Maior) composed a whole booke in vulgar verse, in which he mitred all those things vulgarlie spoken of this Wallase. But I doo not in all points, saith the same author, giue credit to the writings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was most woorthie) by reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

BRUSE.

But now touching Bruse; after he had slaine Cumin (as before is mentioned) he purchased an absolution from Rome for that act: and to the end he might then through authoritie obteine some aid to resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward, he went by support of friends vnto Scone, & there caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that tooke his part in the beginning, as shortlie after well appeared. For when he should assemble an armie against a power of Englishmen that were sent against him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get togither anie sufficient number to resist his aduersaries, though with those few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so incountring with Odomare de Valence lieutenant of the English armie at Meffen the 19 day of Iune 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the slaughter was not great, yet for that it was iudged to be an euill signe to haue such infortunat lucke vpon his entering into the estate, the peoples fauor shranke greatlie from him.

Absolution from Rome. Robert Bruse is crowned king of Scotland, the first of that name.

Iohn Maior. King Robert is discomfited at Meffen.

Odomare de Valence after he had obteined this victorie against king Robert, banished the wiues of all those that supported the same Robert, by means whereof, manie ladies and

King Robert eftsoones discomfited in Atholl.

gentlewomen were constreined to flée into woods, and other desert places, to eschew the crueltie of their aduersaries. King Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cumins and other such Scots & Englishmen as were assembled in those parties readie to pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Meffen; for he was put to flight after the same maner, though he lost here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Buchan lib. 8, which is also called Dawkie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruse had so hard a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cumin, slaine in the church by him and his friends. Whereupon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so desolat and vnprouided of all friendship, that he was constreined for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his companie, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes for want of other food.

Fr. Thin.

The miserable state of K. Robert in the beginning of his reigne.

The earle of Leuenox and Gilbert Haie faithfull seruitors to king Robert.

Whilest he remained in this estate of aduerse fortune, there were two that shewed themselues right trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the rest, the earle of Leuenox, and Gilbert Haie: for though either inforced by persecution of enimies, or constreined through some other necessitie, they departed sometimes from his presence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their souereigne lord and onelie king, readie at all seasons to serue and obey him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie, did clearelie forsake him; so that sometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to kéepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no person lightlie vsed to resort. His wife & quéene fled to saint Dutho, and chanced to be taken by William Cumin earle of Rosse, who deliuered hir to king Edward, by whose commandement she was committed to safe kéeping at London, where she remained till after the battell of Bannocksborne. His brother Nigell was also taken, and so afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome some were executed at Carleill, and some at Berwike. Nigell was taken at the castell of Kildrome whither he fled, and came to Berwike. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Locreis, and carried to Carleill, and so behedded. Io. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finallie the most part of all such as had aided him before, and were now shroonke from him, were within one yeare after, either slaine or kept as prisoners in England.

King Roberts wife taken.

Nigell Thomas and Alexander brethren to king Robert are taken and put to death.

Yet though he was thus left desolat of all aid and succor, hauing his brethren and other of his friends murthered and slaine to his vtter discomfort and ruine (as was to be supposed) he neuerthelesse liued euer in hope of some better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enimies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof to the former estate. As for the paines which he tooke in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots, & lodging ofttimes on the bare earth, without house or other harborough, he was so accustomed thereto by haunting the warres in his youth, that the same greeued him little or nothing at all. But to conclude, such was his valiancie and most excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no iniurious mischance of froward aduersitie could abash his inuincible heart and manlike stomach. At length, after he had wandered from place to place in sundrie parts of Scotland, the better to auoid the sleights of them that laie in wait to apprehend him, he got ouer into one of the Iles, where comming vnto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbeloued of the people in those parts, he was most hartilie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

King Roberts good hope in time of extreme aduersitie.

His inuincible hart and vndaunted stomach.

King Robert getteth ouer into the Iles.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, hee got support of men, armor and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed ouer vnto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he slue all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his souldiers and men of warre. His friends that laie hid in couert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings,

King Robert purchaseth aid in the Iles. He winneth the castell of Carrike.

dooings, began from each side to resort vnto him, by whose assistance shortlie after he wan the castell of Inuernesse, and slue all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castels in the north, racing & burning vp the same till he came to Glenneske, where being aduertised that Iohn Cumin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, bicause he was vpon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and woondering at his manlie courage, durst not approch to giue him battell, but sent ambassadors vnto him to haue truce for a time, vnder colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being doone, they pursued him more fiercelie than before. Neuerthelesse K. Robert receiued them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie aduantage, but were still driuen backe with slaughter and losse; though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light incounters, where the battels come not to ioine puissance against puissance. The fame whereof procured him the fauour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

His power increaseth. Inuernesse castell taken. King Robert commeth to Glenneske.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie fauouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cumin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, Iames Dowglasse ioined himselfe to the part of king Robert. This Iames being the sonne of William Dowglasse, was a yoong gentleman very actiue and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. Who when he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortlie after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the aduise of his friends. But being without liuing, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the seruice of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whome hée was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well interteined: vntill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried Dowglasse to attend vpon him, to the end to prefer him to his liuing and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at conuenient leisure, besought him to be fauourable to this Dowglasse; to restore him vnto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yoong man into his fealtie and defense) it would please him to imploie him in his faithfull and warlike seruice: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of Iames, as for that time he thought most conuenient. But the king vnderstanding his name and kinred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubbernesse of his father William Dowglasse; further answering, that he would neither vse the same Iames, nor his trauell in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, bicause he had with the same gratified other that well deserued it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops seruice, vntill Bruse came into Merne, at what time (least he might loose the opportunitie to offend king Edward, whome he secretlie in heart disdeined) this Dowglasse departed from Lambert his maister, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best horsses, with the which, hauing in his companie diuerse other hardie yoong gentlemen, priuie to his dooings, he fled with all spéed vnto king Robert, offering him his seruice, and to spend his life in his quarell and defense.) The bishop was priuie to his cousins going awaie, yea and counselled him therevnto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might haue run in danger for his cloked dissimulation. The Dowglasse was ioifullie receiued of king Robert, in whose seruice he faithfullie continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Fr. This. Simon Fraser and Walter Logan executed.

A craftie dissembling prelate.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglasses was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honor chanced through this Iames Dowglasse: for by meanes of his aduancement, other of the same linage tooke occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puissance in mainrent, lands, & great possessions,

The rising of the Dowglasses to honor.

sessions, at length was (through suspicion conceiued by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the dooings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioising in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would reuolt wholie from the English obeisance: and herevpon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than euer he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right sore and grieuous maladie, whereof he died shortlie after at Burgh vpon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie dooth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The crueltie of king Edward as is noted by the Scotish writers.

The Scotish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought vnto him 55 yoong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Kildrummie, after it was woone by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be doone with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinentlie, without respect to their yoong yéeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might haue mooued him to pitie. After his deceasse, his sonne Edward of Carnaruan succéeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprise, called a councell at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to doo their homage vnto him, as to their superior lord and gouernor: but yet diuers disobeied his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, vpon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Edward of Carnaruan, sonne to Edward Longshanks. Homage to king Edward of Carnaruan.

Shortlie after this, the said Edward of Carnaruan returned into England, and in the meane time Iohn Cumin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enimies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a horselitter to be caried foorth with the same against his enimies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight; but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cumin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Enuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberden, on the Ascension daie, wherewith king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie thervpon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberden, which he vtterlie destroied, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enimies might haue no more refuge thereby.

Iohn Cumin discomfited by king Robert at Enuerrour. 1308.

Fr. Thin.

In the same yere Donald of the Iles came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against K. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruse the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obteining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obeisance, but also tooke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shortlie after he deceassed. In the yéere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where ioining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie vnto Ranfrew, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprise woorthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

Donald of the Iles discomfited by Edward Bruse.

Argile subdued by king Robert. This was in 1309, as *Iohn Ma.* saith. K. Edward commeth into Scotland. Anno 1310 as should séeme by *Io. Maior.*

In the same yeere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarsitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generallie through the countrie laie vntilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were

A sore dearth.

driuen

driuen awaie, as booties taken by the enimies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constreined to eat horsses, and other lothsome flesh & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yéere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of the which he raced and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yéeres before, by the outragious force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Ianuarie next insuing, King Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Perth, sleaing and hanging all the people both English and Scotish, which were found in the same. He threw also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

1311.

Castels recouered by king Robert.

King Robert inuadeth England.

1312. *Io.M.*

The towne of Perth recouered, otherwise called S. Iohns towne.

Castels woon.

The castell of Rokesburgh was taken by sir Iames Dowglasse on Feastings euen, in the yéere 1313, when they of the garison were ouercome with immoderate surfetting by meats and drinks excessiuelie taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yéere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Murrey, wan the castell of Edenburgh. In which yéere also, Bruse wan the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yéere Edward Bruse besieged the castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, what by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his trauell and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, proued vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Mowbray, a Scotish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of purueiance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finallie Edward Bruse, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprise, which he had rashlie taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well inough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once mooue him to giue anie eare thereto, insomuch as at length he sought to trie him another way foorth, which in the end tooke better effect than was likelie it would haue doone, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

Rokesburgh woone on Shrouetuesday.

1313.

The castell of Edenburgh woone.

Striueling castell besieged.

Sir Philip Mowbray.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good doone, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortresse were not succoured within twelue moneths next insuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vnwiselie made, as most men iudged: for euerie man of anie wisedome might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so stronglie, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie shewed in this behalfe: but yet hée would not go about to breake the couenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid hée might not well want.

An vnwise composition.

King Robert offended with his brother.

In the meane time king Edward sent foorth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subiects, but also vnto all his confederats and alies, to haue men of warre taken vp and reteined to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to folow to the vtter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onlie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselues of their owne accord to go in that iournie, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scotish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Gascoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either

K. Edward taketh vp souldiers.

Out of what countries K. Edward had aid of men.

either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

But the number of naturall Englishmen excéeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie what of one and other, conteined (as the fame went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horssemen, beside cariage-men, coistrels, women, and lackies, but the fame herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre excéed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number togither, not for that England it selfe is not able to set foorth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient prouision, or else they will not streine themselues thereto. Neuerthelesse, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wiues, their children, and whole houshold-meinie with them, in hope after the countrie were once subdued, to haue dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt togither, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

Fame oftentimes excéedeth the truth.

K. Edwards promise.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, tooke no héed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his comming to the borders, he tooke aduise with his councell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somwhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole maner of his conquest and victorie ouer the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or deuise. This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled *A summarie of the writers of great Britaine*, was named Robert Baston, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

K. Edward thinketh himselfe sure of victorie.

Robert Baston a Carmelite.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by good & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and throughlie exercised in wars, came foorth against his enimies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike araie, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannocksborne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little hee doubted the puissance of his enimies, least they shuld haue him in contempt, it is vncerteine. Indéed there were diuerse expert warriours amongest the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisedome and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not ieopard himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellowes about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Iohn Ma. hath in his booke 35 thousand. King Robert his comming toward the battell.

The opinion of expert warriors of king Edwards.

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had cast déepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should ioine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer slightlie with gréene turfes or sods, in such wise that a few footmen might passe ouer well inough; but if anie great number should come preassing togither, or that anie horssemen came thereupon, the sods would shrinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horsses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitfals. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannocksborne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to bée made commonlie

Trenches made by Scots to ouerthrow the Englishmen.

Bannocksborne.

at the mils standing on the banks of the said water. It falleth into the Forth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought néere to the same.

When both the armies were approched within a mile togither, king Edward sent eight hundred horsmen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Striueling, to giue notice to sir Philip Mowbraie the capteine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. K. Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they tooke, he sent Thomas Randall with fiue hundred Scotish horsmen to saue the countrie from spoile, who with singular manhood incountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there insued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with vncerteine victorie. In the meane time sir Iames Dowglasse, dreading that his speciall friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to K. Robert, and falling on his knées before him, required licence to go foorth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enimies: which bicause the king would not grant at the first, he rushed foorth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, hée might put the enimies in some feare.

The fight of Th. Randall with 500 Scotishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.

Notwithstanding, when he was come néere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murther of the Englishmen, be staied and went no further; least he should by his comming séeme to beréeue them the glorie of the victorie, which had woone it with so great prowesse & singular valiancie. All those in the Scotish campe were relieued, in good hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprise by so happie a beginning. The Englishmen passed litle thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not waxe proud, and take ouermuch courage thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselues readie to receiue the enimies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traine them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that euerie man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vniust inuaders of their realme and countrie.

The Englishmen determine to giue battell.

King Robert prepareth to receiue the enimies by battell.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enimies, as should séeme to them good, and most for their owne auaile. But king Robert all the night before the battell tooke litle rest, hauing great care in his mind for the suertie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his praier to God and saint Phillane, whose arme as it was set and inclosed in a siluer case, he supposed had béene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his praiers, the case suddenlie opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonied therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue beene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the armie otherwise than well.

Saint Phillane.

A subtill chapleine.

The king verie ioifull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thankesgiuing. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffraie did celebrate before the king that day, and ministred vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their woonted manhood, considering that such an huge multitude of people was brought thither against them

A matter deuised betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as alies to the Englishmen, with full purpose vtterlie to extinguish the Scotish name and memorie, and to plant themselues in their seates and roomes, as in possessions vtterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scotishmen against the enimies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing woords and insolent brags of the same enimies, able to mooue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their harts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed what a number of rascals were amongest them, without anie skill of warrelike affaires, not taken vp by choise and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference togither, in hope of spoile and booties, hauing not else wherevpon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against iniurious inuaders, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enimies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they atteined the victorie. Finallie, the more to stirre their harts to doo valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to atchiue, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enimies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approoued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie vndertake for them that they would slea two of the enimies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to incourage his people.

Fr. Thin. * But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruse, further saieng, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he vttered these woords, and bareheaded imbraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached *to* euerie man his hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was ouerwearied before he *had* shaken 35000 men by the hands.) On the other part, king Edward caused the coronels of ech nation within his campe, to exhort their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinit riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superioritie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance what irrecouerable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

The exhortation of king Edward.

Fr. Thin. Iohannes Maior maketh K. Edward to speake (by his pen) what he list himself. *Io. Maior* forgot that guns were not yet inuented.

* Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. "If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiors farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doo want. They are onelie couered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clokes like vnto the wild mounteine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall ioine, will soone subdue them. Maruell not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue ouercome (in fight) some weake companie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruse (nourished by my good father) to the end that he might receiue woorthie punishment for his wickednesse.

His

His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aliue) these other two wicked and wauering men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdome. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recouer the same, at this day possessed by the vniust and vnrightfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure foorth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men." Thus much Maior.)

K. Edward a good mathematician by *Maiors* hyperbolicall spéeches.

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarse be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuerthelesse, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoo, by reason of the vnrulie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongest the horssemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the middest of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into thrée parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randulfe, & Iames Dowglasse, capteins of verie approoued valiancie, vnder whome went seuen thousand of the borderers, and thrée thousand of the Irish Scots, otherwise called Katerans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobrietie and circumspection, to qualifie his hastie and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftéene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, shewing a verie chéerefull countenance amongest them, so farre foorth, that euerie one that beheld him, conceiued in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succéed.

Incombrance in an armie.

The order of the English battels.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

The first battell.

The second.

The third.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie aforesaid (who as before is mentioned, did celebrate that morning afore the king) came foorth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard [admonishing them valiantlie to take in hand the defense of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not euerie man fight as it were for his owne priuat defense, his owne house and children, but euerie man for all men, and all men for euerie man must fight for the libertie, life, patrimonie, children, and wiues of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie, as they which deface or spoile it, are to be punished with perpetuall fier, and they which do preserue it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And héerewithall this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the loue of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preseruation and libertie therof, none should refuse anie danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which doone, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse.] Incontinentlie whervpon, the Scotish armie fell on knées before it, deuoutlie commending themselues to almightie God.

The abbat of Inchchaffraie bearing a crosse. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus episc. Ross. li. 7. pag.* 244. saith, it was Mauricius the abbat a man of singular pietie and puritie of life, such vertue they can find in their clergie.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knées, thought verelie they had yéelded without stroke striken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forward, they began to be somewhat doubtfull. And herevpon rushing togither, at the first ioining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arraied on the vtter skirts of the English wings, sore annoied the Scots, till finallie Edward Bruse came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horssemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing togither all at once in shocke, to haue borne downe and ouerridden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one vpon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recouerie. Neuerthelesse the Scots in maner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enimies,

The first ioining.

Thirtie thousand English horssemen ouerthrowen in trenches.

Fr. Thin. Nothing omitted for the glorie of their nation, since valure is commendable in all men, but most in a king. *Et virtus in hoste laudatur.*

were neere at the point to haue beene vanquished. [During which conflict saith Buch. this happened (which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no small benefit to the perfection of their businesse) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his gouernement) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and keeping the first order in the arraie) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Bruse with his speare. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English aduersarie, ouerthrew him by the force of his horsse, in the end killed him with his mace & so left him dead. Wherevpon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierce and fierie minds (and not by the kings persuasion) fall vpon their enimies in such sort, that they seemed to haue had the victorie of the aduerse battell of their enimies: had it not beene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruse (sending out certeine light horssemen) did soone represse: whereby the Scots incouraged, made their partie good, rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots deuised, and an error by the English therof conceiued, did far more hurt to the enimie, than the power assembled in the field. For that deuise in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in this sort.]

King Robert killeth an Englishman.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maisters, friends, & countriemen stood, put on shirts, smocks, and other white linnen aloft vpon their vsuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their speares, and to other such staues as they got in their hands, placed themselues as well as they could in arraie of battell, and so making a great muster and shew anew, came downe the hill side in the face of their enimies, with such a terrible noise and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with vncerteine victorie, and beholding this new reenforce comming downe the hill vpon their faces, supposing verelie it had beene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, for that they saw themselues vneth able to susteine the violent incounter of the Scots then present. And herevpon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquished: on whome the Scots followed with insatiable ire, and slue them down on all sides where they might ouertake them. Sir Iames Dowglas with foure hundred chosen horssemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie if he might ouertake him.

The Englishmens hearts begin to faint. The Englishmen put to flight.

Dowglas (according to his charge) followed him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, laie in wait to haue taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being receiued into the castell of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftéene earles in his companie, was by the same earle of March conueied into certeine vessels, lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst by the shore into England, to shew an example of the vnstable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not vnlike sometime to the great armie of king Xerxes, yet he was constreined before the euening of the same day, to saue his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scotish writers affirme) amongst whome was the earle of Glocester, with two hundred knights. On the Scotish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, sir William Wepount, and sir Walter Rosse. The spoile was so great of gold, siluer, and other iewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scotish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse monie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this mortall battell, was so displeasant to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him in England, that he reioised little of all the gaine got by so famous a victorie. He caused his bodie to be buried right honorablie in saint Patriks church,

King Edward escapeth.

The vnstable state of worldlie puissance.

The number of Scots slaine.

Sir Giles Argentine slaine.

church, beside Edenburgh. The quéene king Roberts wife, who had béene kept in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England now deliuered by exchange for one of the nobles of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich clothes of silke, veluet, and gold, which were found in the English campe, were distributed to the abbeies and monasteries of the realme, to make thereof vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The Carmelite frier, of whome ye heard before, brought thither by king Edward to describe the victorie of the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst other, and commanded by king Robert to write contrarilie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had séene: who therevpon gathered his rustie wits togither, & made certeine rude verses beginning thus.

The quéene king Roberts wife restored to hir husband.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cùm tali themate ludo.

With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theame I take.

Verses made by Robert Baston the Carmelite.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie was atteined by the singular fauor of almightie God, by reason of miracles which they rehearse to happen at the same time. The night before the day of the battell, there came to the abbeie of Glastenburie two men in complet armour, desiring to lodge there all night: the abbat kéeping an house of great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and making them good cheare, demanded what they were, and whither they were going: who answered that they were the seruants of God, and going to helpe the Scots at Bannoxsborne. On the morrow the chamberlaine found them departed before anie of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer night. The same day that the battell was foughten, a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the people at Aberden, how the Scots had gotten a famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was séene shortlie after to passe oûer Pictland Firth on horssebacke. It was supposed by the people that this was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkenie, and for that cause king Robert endowed the church of Orkenie with fiue poundes sterling of the customes of Aberden, to furnish the same church, with bread, wine, and wax.

Miracles if ye list to beléeue them.

Manie noble men for their approoued manhood shewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming, by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought against him by Iohn Cumin, with slaughter of the same Iohn, had the lands of Cumnernald giuen him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the said Cumin. It is reported by writers, that two knights of Brabant that serued amongest the Englishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words spoken in the English campe against king Robert, who being somewhat mooued therewith, and misliking such dismeasured talke, wished in words that the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which wish K. Edward informed thereof, caused them by a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scotish campe, with commandement to aid king Robert to the vttermost of their powers, purposing to punish them according to his mind, if he atteined the victorie, as he had no doubt but he should. Herevpon, before the ioining of the battels, he caused proclamation to be made, that whosoeuer brought their heads vnto him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

Robert Fleming rewarded for his faithfull seruice.

A proclamation.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches of the spoile got in the field, with the which they returning into Brabant, built a goodlie house in Antuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing the Scotish armes, and the picture of Bruse to be set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to receiue them of the Scotish nation that should resort vnto that towne, as may appeare euen vnto this day. And this was doone for a memoriall, to shew what loue and hartie beneuolence these two knights bare towards king Robert and his people, for the great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glorious victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

The Scotish house in Antuerpe builded.

1314.

About

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

* About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so small a course of yeares) happened a thing not vnwoorthie the reporting. For Iohn Mentith, which before betraied his déere friend Wallase to the English, being therefore (as of right he ought) extremelie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gardianship of the castle of Dunbriton: which fort (after all the other castles before said were recouered to the Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few others) that remained in the hands of the English: and because this fort was by nature inexpugnable, king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraie the castle into his hands, promising great recompense therefore. Wherevnto this Mentith by no means would agrée, vnles K. Robert would giue to him the earledome of Lennox for his reward. Wherevpon the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein, (though in déed he vehementlie longed for the said castle) because he did not thinke the obteining thereof to be of such good vnto him, as that he would therefore offend or loose the earle of Lennox; who had in all his calamities béene the most certeine, and almost the onelie friend of the king: which doubt, when the earle vnderstood; he foorthwith came vnto him, willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; whervpon the bargaine was concluded betwéene Iohn Mentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was most solemnelie confirmed.

Iohn Mentith maie capteine of Dunbriton castle.

Now, when the king should come to receiue this castle (according to compositions) as he was in the wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a certeine carpentar called Rowland came thither secretlie vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake to the king, for he would discouer a great matter touching a treason that was deuised and prepared against him, by the capteine of Dunbriton. Which pardon obteined, he opened vnto Bruse, that below in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number of English inclosed, which at dinner should either take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he had obteined the castle. Wherevpon the king nothing abashed, but kéeping on his former determination, & being (according to appointment) receiued by the said Iohn Mentith in the castle of Dunbriton: after that he had searched all other places, and was courteouslie inuited to sit downe to dinner; answered that he would not eate, vntill he had looked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse, and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the smith was absent and caried the key away with him. But the king not waiting for the comming of the smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar doore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which, the armed men were brought foorth before the king, who being seuerallie examined, confessed the whole matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in the hauen to haue caried the K. prisoner into England, if they had taken him aliue. Wherevpon the rest being punished, Iohn Mentith was onelie cast into prison, & reserued from further paine: because the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so dangerous a time as that was. For this Mentith had manie beautifull daughters maried to men of great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this Mentith was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruse, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

Englishmen inclosed in a cellar to kill king Robert after his enterance into Dunbriton castle.

1314. Immediatlie after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by consent of the three states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruse, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decréed, that if the king were in his minoritie, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to Iames Dowglasse.

The crowne of Scotland intailed.

Margerie the daughter of king Robert by his first wife.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was maried by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceassed, maried shortlie after Elizabeth the daughter

The second mariage of king Robert.

daughter of the earle of Vlster, on whome he got a sonne named Dauid, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Mauld. The first was maried to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named Iohn: the second departed this world in hir infancie. After the mariage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and townes in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, aswell townes as baronies, sundrie new prerogatiues and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie the townes of Perth, Dundée, and Aberden.

The issue of king Robert by his second wife.

Liberties by king Robert.

In the yeare following, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they tooke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recouer their libertie, now after so notable an ouerthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruse, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iournie in hand, and so with a small power of Scotishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and ioining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he tooke the towne of Vlster, and slue a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruse was proclamed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and procéedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the gréeuous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they séemed to passe little of his commandements in that behalfe, for they dailie sought how to make themselues strong in that part, least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enimies were about to get foorth of their hands.

1315.

The lords of Ireland require aid of king Robert.

Vlster.

Edward Bruse proclamed king of Ireland.

The English men passe little on the popes commandements.

King Robert being informed how through the reenforcement of the English armie, being dailie refreshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir Iames Dowglasse gouernor in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittels & other prouisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constreined to eate horsses and other such lothsome meats, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approched within a daies iournie of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vnwiselie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the ouerthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is vncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staied till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Sée more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passeth ouer into Ireland.

Edward Bruse is slaine in Ireland.

Sée more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, eftsoones to inuade Scotland: and herevpon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue doone some great feat. But sir Iames Dowglas the gouernor, hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine three notable capteins on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne capteine of Berwike, with sir Iames Neuill, and the third sir Iames Dowglasse slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should doo anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way foorth the Englishmen commonlie were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore

K Edward sendeth a nauie into Scotland.

therefore a fléet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and tooke manie rich booties from the inhabitants néere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties doone by the Englishmen, came foorth with fiue hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceiued that the enimies were of greater number than he was able well to incounter, hauing but an handfull of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclare bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thrée score armed men in his companie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enimies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onset vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first incounter to the number of fiue hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their botes lieng at Dunbrissell, which they entred in such haste, that one of the botes being pestered with ouer great number, sanke with them before they could get to their ships. K. Robert euer after customablie called this Wil. Sinclare his owne bishop, for the noble prowes which he shewed in this enterprise.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclare called K. Roberts bishop.

In the same yeere Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruse was borne, which Robert after the death of K. Dauid le Bruse was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, the second day of Aprill recouered the towne of Berwike out of the English mens hands, which they had held for the space of twentie yeeres before. It was taken now by practise, through meanes of one Spaldein an Englishman, who for his labour had certeine lands giuen him in Angus, which his posteritie inioieth to these daies.

Robert Steward borne. 1318.

Berwike recouered.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

* Trulie it were a woonderfull processe to declare what mischiefes came through hunger and other misfortunes, by the space of 11 yeeres in Northumberland; for the Scots became so proud after they had gotten Berwike, that they nothing estéemed the English nation. But (amongst other things by the Scots attempted) much about this time, Adam de Gardonne came with 160 men, to driue awaie the cattell pasturing by Norham, which the people of the towne perceiuing, ran foorth and incountered with the Scots, who had gotten the victorie of them, had not Thomas Grey capteine of the castell, séeing them in some ieopardie, *issued* foorth with 60 of his souldiers, & slaine most part of the Scots, and their horsses. The which Grey had beene twise before besieged in the castell of Norham, once almost by the space of a whole yéere, and another time by the terme of seuen moneths, in which he behaued himselfe like a woorthie gentleman, in that his enimies got none aduantage of him, although that during the siege, they had erected manie fortresses before the castell, to annoie such as were within: of which forts they made one at Vpsitlington, and one in the church of Norham, the castell whereof had beene twise teinted and in danger of losse, had not the lord Persie and Neuill (being great succourers of the marches) rescued the same. For at one time the vtter ward of Norham castell was taken in the time of this Grey on saint Katharins eeuen, which the Scots kept not but thrée daies, and their purpose in winning the same did vtterlie faile them.)

Ri. Southwell. The Scots enter further into England thã they were accustomed, euen vnto Wetherbie (as *Fourd.* saith.)

After that the earle of Murrey had recouered Berwike, he and the lord Iames Dowglasse in the moneth of Maie inuaded England with a puissant armie, passing further into the countrie than the Scots had béene accustomed to doo before time, burning as they went forward the townes of Northallerton and Burrowbridge; and comming to Rippon, they spoiled the towne of all the goods found therein; but compounding with them that kept the church against them for a thousand marks, they forbare to burne anie of the buildings. After they had taried here thrée daies, they departed thence, and went to Knaresburgh, which towne they burnt, and beating the woods (into the which the people were withdrawne with their goods and cattell) they got a great bootie, and returning homewards by Scipton in Crauen, they first spoiled the towne, and after burnt it, and so marching thorough the countrie, came backe into Scotland with their spoiles and prisoners without anie resistance. [This castell of

Fr. Thin.

Knaresburgh

Knaresburgh was taken by Iohn Lilleborne, which after rendered himselfe to the king vpon certeine conditions.]

In the yeere following, king Edward came and laid siege vnto Berwike, but the towne was so well defended, that he was constreined with small honor to returne home, and leaue it as he found it. For in the meane time, while king Edward lay at the siege before Berwike, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and the lord Iames Dowglasse assembled their forces togither; but perceiuing themselues too weake to remooue the siege by force, they passed by, and entring into England, wasted and spoiled all before them, keeping on their way vnto Burrowbridge: whereof when the citizens of Yorke were aduertised, with their capteins William Melton their archbishop, and the bishop of Elie, not making them of the countrie once priuie to their purpose, but hauing in their companie a great number of priests and men of religion, they gaue battell to the Scots one day in the after noone, not farre from the towne of Mitton vpon Swale, twelue miles distant from Yorke northwards. 1319.

Berwike besieged. *Ri. Southwell.*

William Melton archbishop of Yorke.

The battell of Mitton vpon Swale.

But forsomuch as the most part of the Englishmen were not expert in the feates of warre, and came not in anie orderlie arraie of battell, they were easilie vanquished & put to flight by the Scots, who were readie to receiue them in good order, close togither in one entier squadrone, and after their accustomed maner, at their first ioining they gaue a great showt, wherewith the Englishmen out of hand began to giue backe: which when the Scots perceiued, they got them to their horsses, and followed the chase most egerlie, beating downe and sleaing the Englishmen, neither sparing religious person nor other, so that there died to the number of foure thousand Englishmen that day, and amongst the rest was the maior of Yorke one. In the water of Swale (as was said) there were drowned to the number of a thousand. To be short, if night had not come the sooner vpon, it was thought scarse there should anie of the English part haue escaped.

The English men discomfited.

The maior of Yorke slaine.

When king Edward lieng as yet at the siege of Berwike, vnderstood what mischiefe the Scots did within his realme, he raised his siege, in purpose to haue incountered with his enimies: but the Scots aduertised of his purpose, returned with all their prisoners and spoile by Stanemoore, and so through Gilsland, and the west marches, withdrew home into their countrie. About the feast of All saints, when the inhabitants of the north parts had got in their haruest, so that their barnes were now stuffed with corne, of the which prouision they were to liue all the yeere after, the Scots vnder the conduct of the said two capteins, the earle of Murrey, and the lord Dowglasse, entered into England, and burnt the countrie of Gilsland, taking away both such people as they tooke prisoners, and also all the cattell which they might meet with, and so kept vpon their iournie till they came to Burgh vnder Stanemoore, destroieng all afore them, & then returning through Westmerland, practised the like mischiefe there, in burning vp houses and corne in all places where they came, as they had doone before in Gilsland. And finallie passing through Cumberland with the like hauocke, at length they drew home into their owne countrie, with no small number of prisoners, and plentie of great riches which they had got in that iournie. [And the souldiers going backe againe toward Scotland, fought with the commons of Newcastell at the bridge end, for certeine displeasures doone vnto them, in which conflict sir Iohn Perith knight was slaine, and manie other squires belonging to the constable and marshall. About which time also, king Edward (lieng at Lieth to go vnto Edenburgh) was constreined to returne for lacke of vittels.]

The Scots inuade England.

Burgh vnder Stanemoore.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

About the same time died Margerie Bruse king Roberts daughter. Shortlie after also was a truce taken betwixt the two realmes of England & Scotland for a certeine time. Then king Robert hauing no trouble, neither within his realme nor without, caused a parlement to be holden at Perth, where hee required the lords to shew their deeds and charters whereby they held their lands. The lords after long aduisement taken herein, at length pulled out their swoords all at once, declaring that they had none other euidence nor charter to shew for the tenure of their lands. King Robert was somewhat amazed at this sight, and tooke no small indignation therewith, but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuerthelesse, he purposed to be reuenged of their

Margerie Bruse deceaseth.

A parlement at Perth.

The euidence and charters whereby the lords of Scotland held their lands.

Conspiracie of the lords against king Robert.

proud presumptions, when more opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselues how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkeling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, insomuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

A palmer taken with writings on him.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastilie sent for the whole number of them, as though there had beene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but streightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castels, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwike, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named sir William Soulis, and caused him to be conueied to Perth (committing the said William Soulis (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straherne, to perpetuall prison) where shortlie after he called an assemblie of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was Dauid Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioine with them therein, he refused so to doo, but yet for that he did not vtter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great valiancie which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorablie manie yeeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chiualrie.

The lords that had conspired, are committed to ward.

The black parlement. 1320.

Dauid Abernethie loseth his head.

In déed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saued his life, but for that he minded to doo iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution to procéed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought foorth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, hé commanded without delaie that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plaine answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the sauing of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuouslie, in comparison of them for whome they now made sute; and therfore he bad them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make hast with the execution, which was doone incontinentlie without anie further respit.

Among other were these, Gilbert de Malet, Iohn Cogi knights, and Richard Bron a notable warriour. *Iohn Maior.*

Execution without respit.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Maxwell, with Walter Berclaie shiriffe of Aberdene, Patrike Graim, Hameline Neidrinton, and Eustace Rathre, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straherne & William de Soulis were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchquhanes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of Iohn Quincie, who likewise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Reth, togither with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the sée apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to ceasse from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as

A legat sent from Rome to the Scots.

were

were surmised that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made héerevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie procéed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, séeking to conquer that realme without anie iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppresse the loftie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were anie thing woorthie to be reformed on their behalfes, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [sauing (as saith Buchanan) he curssed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

The answer made to the legat.

Fr. Thin.

Shortlie after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and wasted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemoore. Howbeit it should séeme by that which Richard Southwell writeth héereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iournie, but that he appointed the earle of Murrey to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and comming to Darington, staied there for a season, whilest the lord Iames Dowglasse, and the lord Steward of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on ech side, the one of them passing foorth towards Hartilpoole and Cliueland, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondshire, hauing no capteine amongest them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuasion of the enimie, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had doone, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

King Robert with an armie in Scotland. *Ri. Southwell.* 1321.

The bishoprike of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondshire redeemed from spoile with a summe of monie.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repared vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Pomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoeuer the matter went, king Edward sore grieued in his mind with such inuasion made by his enimies the Scots, he gaue order to leauie an armie of an hundred thousand men, what on horssebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lammas next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, ment to preuent him, and thervpon in the octaues of the Natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist, he entered into England with an armie néere to Carleill, and burnt a manor place that sometime belonged to him at Rosse, and Allerdale, and spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding his fathers corps was there interred.

The duke of Lancasters disloialtie.

King Robert inuadeth England.

The abbeie of Holme burnt.

From thence he marched forward, destroieng and spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so kéeping vpon his iournie, passed Doden sands, towards the abbeie of Fourneis: but the abbat méeting him on the waie, redéemed his lands from spoile, and brought king Robert to his house, and made to him great chéere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands from burning and spoiling diuerse places; and marching forward vnto Cartmele beyond Leuin sands, burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a priorie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they also burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke moonks, and a house of preaching friers. Héere came to them the earle of Murrey, and the lord Iames Dowglasse with an other armie, wherevpon marching further southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis, and burnt that towne also, the house of friers minors onelie excepted.

Fourneis abbeie.

Leuin sands.

The towne of Lancaster burnt.

Preston in Anderneis burnt.

And thus being foure score miles within England from their owne borders, they returned homewards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other booties which they had got in that iournie, comming to Carleill on the éeue of saint Margaret, and lodging about that towne the space of fiue daies, they wasted and destroied the corne, & all other things that came within their reach. Which doone, on saint Iames euen they entred into Scotland againe, hauing béene within England at this time thrée weekes and thrée daies. Immediatlie heerevpon, to wit, about the feast of Lammas, king Edward with his armie came to Newcastell, and desirous to be reuenged of such iniuries doone to his subiects, entered into Scotland, and passing foorth till he

K. Edward raiseth an armie.

He entered Scotland.

he came to Edenburgh, through want of vittels and other necessarie prouision, he was constreined to returne home within the space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in the countrie to be conueied out of the waie into certeine forts, wherevnto the Englishmen might not come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue themselues therewith. But in their returning homeward, somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Driburgh, with diuerse other religious houses and places, not sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the inhabitants that fell into their hands.

The abbeies of Mewrose or Melrose & Driburgh burned.

In reuenge heereof, king Robert shortlie after entred with a puissant armie into England, spoiling & wasting the countrie, till he came almost to Yorke. At length, hearing that king Edward was comming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of ground betwixt the abbeie of Biland and saint Sauiour, there to abide battell; which king Edward refused not to giue, though in the end he was put to flight with his whole power, and chased with great slaughter both of Englishmen and Normans, which were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie were taken prisoners, as Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, and Henrie Sowlie, with others. This battell was fought in the yéere of our Sauiour 1323, 15 daies after the feast of saint Michaell the archangell. King Edward lieng the same time at the abbeie of Riuale, aduertised of this ouerthrow, fled and got him into Yorke, leauing his plate and much other stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sudden departure, which the Scots comming thither found, and tooke awaie with them. And from thence they passed foorth into Yorkeswold, spoiling and wasting the countriemen vnto Beuerleie, which towne for a summe of monie they were contented to spare, and so then they returned homewards, entering againe into Scotland on All soules day, which is the second of Nouember, after they had remained within England at that time the space of a moneth and foure daies.

King Robert ambitiously inuadeth the north parts of England, approching almost to Yorke.

K. Edward is put to flight.

The earle of Richmond is taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell.

Riuale abbeie.

Yorkeswold wasted by Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Shortlie after, king Robert sent an ambassador to the French king [to pacifie him offended with them for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, which was accomplished with this new condition added to the former articles, that if it chanced that succession failed touching the inheritance of the crowne of either realme, so that a doubt should rise, who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles of both the realmes; and further, that they should not onelie remooue and exclude all such as went about wrongfullie to vsurpe the crowne, but also to defend and mainteine the true inheritor to the vttermost of their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both the kings receiued the sacrament. And for further ratifieng of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas (then) they had the popes consent héereto, neither he, nor anie of his successors héereafter should dispense with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void and of none effect.

The bond of amitie betwixt Scotland and France renewed with new articles.

A prouiso.

Ri. Southwell.

In this yéere 1323 (as Richard Southwell reporteth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto Newcastell, there to treate of some agréement of peace. For the king of England came Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke, the lord Hugh Spenser the yoonger, and foure other persons sufficientlie authorised. And for the king of Scots came the bishop of saint Andrewes, Thomas Randall earle of Murrey, and foure other persons likewise of good calling. After much talke, in the end they agréed vpon a truce to indure for 13 yéeres, which was proclamed in both realmes about the feast of saint Barnabie next insuing. About this time also, or not long before, an Englishman descended of noble linage, called Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine woords in commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance with one of king Edwards priuie chamber, named Iohn Spenser; insomuch that fighting togither about the same woords, Hamtons hap was to slea this Spenser, & therevpon knowing there was no waie but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman, the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he called by the name of Hamilton.]

Hamton an Englishman, of whome the Hamiltons are descended.

Fr. Thin.

The

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scotland vnto this day, increased so in kinred and honor, by reason it was in processe of time mingled with the kings bloud, that few linages in that realme are of like estimation. They are now called Hamiltons, somewhat changed from the name of their first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made by king Edward the second gardian or capteine of the castell of Bristow in England, the which he kept vntill the comming of quéene Isabell against hir husband Edward the second, at what time he deliuered the same into the hands of the said queene, and returned into Scotland.] The Hamiltons mingled with the kings bloud. *Fr. Thin.* 1325.

In the meane time, Edward king of England being ruled altogither by two of the Spensers, as Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre into the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as commons, that in the end he was deposed of all kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murthered, as in the English historie more plainelie appéereth. *Scala chron.* K. Edward deposed.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his roome, and crowned the 26 day of Ianuarie, in the yéere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he receiued the crowne, the Scots ment to haue stolne the castell of Norham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the wals: but the capteine of this castle Robert Maners being warned aforehand of their comming by one of his souldiers that was a Scotishman borne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and tooke fiue prisoners aliue, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue beene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement. His son Edward the third crowned. 1326. *Ri. Southwell.* The castell of Norham.

Whilest these things were a dooing in England, king Robert though he might séeme to haue title iust inough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onli by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yéeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put awaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Balioll from all claime, which heereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir Iames Dowglasse into France vnto the lord Iohn Balioll, to require him to transpose and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might séeme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for euer, to king Robert le Bruse, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed foorth in Scotland. Iames Dowglasse sent into France to the Balioll.

The Balioll being now sore worne with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he tooke it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scotish kingdome, as most woorthie and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enimies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen togither, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or héereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir Iames Dowglasse foorth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie ioifull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne Dauid deceassed without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Steward begotten on Margerie Bruse his daughter, should succéed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to mainteine this ordinance. The resignation of the Balioll to king Robert. A parlement at Cambuskenneth. An act for the succession of the crowne.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusion thereof insued, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortlie after fell sicke, by reason whereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to trauell himselfe, he committed the administration of all things The rule of things committed to

Thomas Randall and to Iames Dowglasse. They inuade Northumberland. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan.*

things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall, earle of Murrey, and to the lord Iames Dowglasse, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble valiancie in those daies greatlie renowmed. These two hardie chiefteins assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, wasting & spoiling the countrie on ech side. [And incountring with an assemblie of the English at Darlington, there slue manie of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horssemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their comming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and townes, where the enimies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without soiorning here or there, the Englishmen might not cõme néere to fight with them.

1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortlie, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies foorth. But comming to the riuer of Tine, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horsse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constreined to incampe there for the space of three daies, in great scarsitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastell (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carleill (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horssemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Vpon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yéerelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokesbeie after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not past sixe miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had séene and learned of the enimies doings.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

King Edward right ioifull of the news, causeth his armie to be diuided into three battels, and foorthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enimies laie. And comming about noone daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, what with the heigth of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to choose foorth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to doo, alledging that sith the Englishmen were three to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen for their owne defense.

The Englishmen sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

Thus were they incamped néere togither either in sight of other for the space of three nights, euerie day shewing themselues in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horssemen, which on either part now and then came foorth and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceiued how they were gone, and thereupon sending foorth light horssemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same riuer, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie herevpon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with

The Scots dislodge.

The English armie raised.

with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, Iames Dowglasse tooke aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

He chose foorth two hundred of perfect good horssemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed slilie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the moouing of the horsse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet yer the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had persed through, euen vnto the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue beene slaine, had not the Scots withdrawen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enimies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglasse yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scotish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this brunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, tooke better heed after to their watch. An enterprise exploited by sir Iames Dowglasse.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightéene daies, till at length the Scots priuilie in the night conueied themselues away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had doone sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scotish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglasse at a certeine houre the same night, but whither they intended to go, it was vnknowne, saue onelie amongest the capteins. Herevpon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camisádo that night, placed themselues in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might sée about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scotish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scotish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselues to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 20000 paires of hieland shooes, which are made of the gréene hides of beasts vntanned. Also they found thrée hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreouer, they had left behind them fiue hundred dead carcasses of beasts & sheepe, which for that they could not driue them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found fiue Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trées, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgians. The enimies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his councell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time. The Scots secretlie returne home to their countrie. King Edward breaketh vp his campe.

In this yeare died Walter Steward, father to Robert Steward, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, Q. Elizabeth mother to Dauid Bruse the prince deceassed, and was buried in Dunfirmling in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert wan the castell of Norham, and shortlie after besieged the castell of Alnwike, where were slaine William de Mountalte knight, Iohn Clapauen, and Malisius de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadors sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that K. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and 1326. as *Io. Maior* saith, but that cannot be, if she died the same yeare that the Scots were besieged in Stanhop parke. Norham castell woone. Alnewike besieged. Ambassadors sent from K. Edward for a peace.

A peace concluded with England in the yeare 1328, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Christmasse.

and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages doone to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this finall agréement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Iane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in mariage with Dauid Bruse the prince of Scotland.

Iane, or rather Ione, the sister of king Edward, maried to Dauid Bruse prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwike within a while after, on the eightéenth day of Iulie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardros the seuenth day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was gréeuouslie vexed with a leprosie, which thus finallie made an end of him, in the twentie fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knowen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not béene the greater, it might haue brought him in despaire of all recouerie: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enimies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted), the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the vttermost of his* power: yet he nothing discouraged herewith, ceassed not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruile bondage (which he beléeued would succéed by the gouernment of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chances) he atteined the effect of his whole indeuors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

The death of king Robert. 1329.

King Robert tasted both prosperous and aduerse fortune.

[* *Sic.*]

His fame therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst his owne people, but also amongst strangers, insomuch that his due praise was not wanting, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his verie enimies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banket amongst his nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterprises, and of such notable capteins as had excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, after much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by, commanding him to declare which were the three most worthie & valiant capteins that he had knowne in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all the companie were quiet, longing to heare his answere therein, both for that they knew his skill was such as was able best to giue sentence in such a matter; and againe, for that manie of them thought hée would haue numbred some of those that were there present amongst those three. But the herald did not onelie know all the noble men within the realme of England, but also all such strangers as had in anie wise excelled in Martiall prowesse, hauing all their acts and valiant doings in fresh memorie, and therevpon boldlie vttered his mind as followeth.

The fame of king Robert.

His praise amongst the enimies.

A question proponed to an English herald by king Edward the third.

"The first, most woorthie and valiant chiefteine (said he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie the emperour: for he subdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteined his imperiall estate and prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of their principall capteins with his owne hands. The third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruse king of Scotland:" whom the herald had no sooner named, but all those that were present, with scornfull laughter began to ieast at the heralds presumption, for that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at the heralds request, the king commanded them to be still. The herald then began againe thus: "I beséech your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to take my woords in good part: for

The herald's answer to the question.

The herald is scorned.

The herald's excuse.

I haue beene euer of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case be vttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence; namelie, where your highnesse commandeth anie man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I shall desire you to consider, that if a man must néeds be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be vanquished of him that is knowne for a right valiant personage, than of him that is but a coward. Moreouer, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much I estéeme the valiancie of king Robert (whome I perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred with the two former most valiant capteins) if truth might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with good cause before them both: for the valiant acts atchiued by Henrie the emperour may be ascribed rather to the wisedome of his councellors, than to his owne valiantnesse and prudence: but contrarilie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie, and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, recouered the realme of Scotland, by his singular manhood, out of the hands of your noble father, and established it with such tranquillitie, that he appeared more terrible to his enimies of England, than euer they had béene afore to his subiects of Scotland." ¶ These or the like words vttered by the herald, were well allowed of the king, and stopped the mouths of them that tooke the matter so strangelie at the first.

The heralds opinion.

The opinion of the herald concerning king Roberts valiancie.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert a little before the time of his death, called togither into the chamber where he laie, the chiefest péeres of his realme, and there in presence of them all, committed vnto them the gouernment of his sonne Dauid, a child as then not past seuen yéeres of age. He also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued was at hand. And first he counselled them, that in no wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord ouer the Iles, bicause the people of the same are of nature vnstedfast, and soone seduced and brought to mooue rebellion against the king; into the which being once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their due obedience againe, by reason their countries are of such strength, that they cannot be approched but by sea, as inuironed with the same. Secondarilie, he aduised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the Englishmen, nor to ieopard the realme vpon the chance of one field: but rather to resist and kéepe them off from indamaging their countrie, by often skirmishing, & cutting them off at streicts & places of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be discomfited, they may haue some power yet reserued to make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbad them in anie wise to make any long peace with England; for naturallie men wax dull and slouthfull by long rest and quietnes, so that after long peace, through lacke of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to susteine anie great paines or trauell.

The aduise giuen by king Robert vnto his nobles before his decease.

Moreouer, he alledged, how the Englishmen would continue in peace no longer than there wanted oportunitie and conuenient occasion for them to attempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best, that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetuall peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than for thrée or foure yéeres at the most. He willed them further, to consider one thing, that when their appeared least occasion of warres with England, then they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduenture their enimies should come at vnwares, and find them vnprouided for timelie resistance. Herevnto he desired them, that after his deceasse, they would choose some one of the most worthie capteins within the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Ierusalem, and there to sée it buried within the temple, before the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had not beene for a long space hindered by vrgent businesse of warres at home, and lastlie preuented by death, he had vowed to haue passed with an armie into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, against the Turkes and Saracens.

His desire to haue his heart borne to the holy sepulchre.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one assent, appointed sir Iames Dowglasse to take this enterprise in hand, who willinglie obeied their order, as he that had euer during the life of king Robert, serued most faithfullie the bodie wherein the same heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Dowglasses beare the bloudie heart in their armes. * The commendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth foorth (to comprehend manie things in

The cause why the Dowglasses beare the bloudie heart.

Fr. Thin.

few words) to be: that he was euerie way a most woorthie person, and that there were few to be found (from the former heroicall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of vertue. For as he was in battell most valiant, so was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though his vndiuided good successe and perpetuall course of victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or rather weried with his misfortunes) were verie great, yet he seemeth to Buchanan to be farre more woonderfull in his aduerse fortune: whose valure of mind was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much as weakened) by so manie euils as happened vnto him at one time: whose singular constancie appeared by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his valiant brethren. And besides that, his friends were at one time vexed with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Bruse oppressed at one time with all these kinds of euils, that he was driuen into extreame pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recouerie of the kingdome, neither did or said anie thing vnbeseeming the noble mind of a king, for he offered no violent hands to himselfe, as did the late Cato and rcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enimies with continuall hatred. For n he had recouered his former estate, he so liued with them that most occasioned his our and trouble, that he rather remembred himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an nie vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when ieuous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present te of the kingdome, and prouided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subiects did not much lament his death, as that they were depriued of so iust a king and godlie father.)

There is no bodie but hath his shadow, no rose but hath his pricke.

Hyperbolicall commendations.

Sir Iames Dowglasse then chosen as most worthie to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclare and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed foorth till he came to the citie of Ierusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This doone, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enimies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honor to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he tooke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was driuen on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granado, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, readie to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The valiancie of Iames Dowglasse shewd against the Turkes.

Iames Dowglas commeth on land in Spaine.

The Dowglasse, to make his manhood and prowesse the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enimies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) hée waxed negligent, and tooke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enimies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglasse, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turkes, as it is written at length (saith Bellenden) in Scotichronicon. He might haue beene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had béene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

Iames Dowglas slaine by the Saracens in Spaine. How often Iames Dowglasse had got the victorie.

1330.

DAUID

DAUID.

BUT now to procéed in order with the historie, yee shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarse seuen yéeres of age, was proclamed king, and afterwards crowned at Scone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yéere of our Lord 1331. 1331.
During the time of his minoritie, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernor of the realme, who for the space of foure yéeres in the latter end of K. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernor by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recouered their hinderance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addressed therefore certeine ambassadors immediatlie after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadours found the king of England easie inough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of thrée yéeres.

Earle Thomas Randall gouernor of Scotland.

Ambassadors sent into England.

A truce for thrée yéeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie through the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be prouided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if necessitie so required. [Wherefore when he was going to Victone (a towne in Galloway) woord was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of théeues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: whervpon sending foorth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion. For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saieng, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Moreouer, for the better proofe of exercising iustice amongst them that coueted to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that ment the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bridles, with all other such instruments and stuffe as perteined to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stollen or taken awaie, the shiriffe of the shire should either cause the same to be restored againe, or else to paie for it on his owne pursse. Finallie, such punishment was exercised against théeues in all places, that both theft and pilfering were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Manie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuere chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might bée cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund or idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meanes he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slouthfull roges and vagabunds.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Punishment of théeues.

A laudable ordinance against vagarant persons.

It is said, that during the time whilest such streict punishment was exercised against offendors, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorised and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, bicause he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the shiriffe: neuerthelesse, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search and triall, who had the plow irons, that finallie the truth came to light, wherevpon for his craftie falsehood the partie giltie was hanged, as he had well deserued. The gouernor himselfe, for that he saw how hard it was to reduce them that had béene brought vp in slouthfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that hée might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offendors, which would not submit themselues to his commandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, tempered with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Vpright iustice.

Iustice tempered with mercie.

Stubborne rebels sharpelie punished.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered togither, robbed and spoiled the people on each side: and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a purseuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all taken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which followed the said purseuant at the heeles, and without respit hanged them vp on gibbets to giue example to others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebellion was heard of within the realme of Scotland manie yeres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed, that not onelie theeues and loitering lubbers were daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enimies thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great felicitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of England: for the singular manhood and high prowesse of this earle was by him and other his nobles sore suspected.

K. Edward enuieth the felicitie of the Scots.

K. Edwards purpose to destroie earle Thomas (as the Scots doo write.) But this is a kind of practise amongst men to forge slanderous reports to bring princes in contempt.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by sleight, which might not be doone by force, that afterwards the realme of Scotland might be the more infeebled, and as it were made open to receiue displeasure at his hands. For king Dauid was yoong, and manie of his nobles bare small good will either towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement. Herevpon he deuised, which way he might best destroie earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his imagined hope, as to atchiue anie luckie enterprise against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch him by poison: and after he had long debated by whome he might worke that feat: finallie he found none so fit for his purpose, as a moonke of the order and facultie of those, that wandering from place to place, can with dissembling visage say that thing with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for oftentimes men of that order, put no difference betwixt shame and honestie, cloking their execrable wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypocriticall cowles.

A moonke sent into Scotlād to poison the gouernor. The fittest instrument to bring such a thing to passe.

This moonke, fullie instructed in that wherabout he was sent, came into Scotland, and feining himselfe to be a physician, got credit within a while amongst the people, to be a man of most excellent knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that being made priuie to the matter, set foorth his cunning and practise to the vttermost, declaring what notable and most desperat cures he had taken in hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer: namelie hē bruted it abroad, that for healing of the stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both in England and France. This he spake, for that it was knowne, how the lord gouernor was sore vexed with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie worke his diuelish enterprise.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe: for being taken for such a man as he was named to be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming before him, he handeled the matter so with woords, that the gouernour was contented he should take him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention, that persuading him to keepe such diet as he prescribed, and héerewith to take such sirrups & other things as he would giue him, at length he most traitorouslie poisoned him in deed. The venem was of such mixture, as would not slea him out of hand, but by little and little waste his entrails, that the moonke might haue leasure to escape home into England, yer it were perceiued what he had doone. He therefore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found meanes to conueie himselfe out of the waie, and returned most spéedilie into England, informing king Edward how he had delt. The gouernor féeling himselfe tormented dailie woorse and woorse in his stomach and wombe, and hearing that the moonke was gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he began to doubt the matter, and shortlie after learned by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the venem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it was not possible to remooue it.

The gouernor is poisoned.

The moonke fléeth.

In

In the meane time was king Edward come with an armie to the borders, purposing to inuade Scotland, for that he thought how the gouernour was either dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion to atchiue some enterprise, highlie to his aduantage. But the gouernour aduertised heereof, raised a power, and though he were not able either to ride or go, yet he caused himselfe to be caried foorth in an horselitter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour was comming towards him with an armie, & that himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation, he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communication of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended, though nothing else was ment but that he should espie how all things in the Scotish campe stood. The gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arraied himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appéere he was rather recouered of his infirmitie, than otherwise weake and féeble thorough his disease, and then causing the herald to be brought before him, where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his message was, which consisting in certeine demands not greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold countenance answered, that he trusted within short time to make it knowne, what right the Englishmen had to mooue such vnreasonable requests, and thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such gorgeous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time when he thus talked with him.

K. Edward his purpose to inuade Scotland.

The gouernour in an horsselitter is caried foorth to incounter the Englishmen.

An herald sent to the gouernour.

The gouernours answer to the herald.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the gouernor was in health, he returned immediatlie with his armie into England, and licencing euerie man to depart to his home, laid hands on the moonke, and as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he tooke it) caused him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus was the wretch righteouslie recompensed, as he had most iustlie deserued. In the meane time, the gouernour returning homewards, through force of the venem still increasing, deceassed at Muscleburgh, and was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yéere of our redemption 1331. [He left behind him two sonnes, Thomas and Iohn, woorthie such a father, they being persons of great valure, and friends to their natiue countrie.]

The moonke is burnt.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1331.

After his deceasse, by common consent of the thrée estates of the realme in councell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and Dauid earle of Mar were chosen gouernors, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of Mar) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortlie after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the sonne of Iohn Balioll before remembred, as thus: It chanced there was one Twinam Lorison, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions, as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which being put vnder censures of the church by the officiall of Glascow: he tooke at length the same officiall as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paied two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long vnpunished: for sir Iames Dowglasse, before his passage to the holie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constreined him to flée into England for his more safegard.

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

Twinam Lorison.

At his comming into England, he met with Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and manie other Scotishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driuen out of the realme, and confederat altogither in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to sée some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne natiue countrie. And now, hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceassed, this Twinam Lorison in name of them all was sent ouer into France to persuade Edward Balioll to attempt the recouerie of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pithie persuasions of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to atchiue, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scotishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough

Scotish lords banished into England.

Twinam Lorison sent vnto Edward Balioll.

within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered: finallie he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Edward Balioll commeth into England.

At his comming thither, he made sute to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarell towards the atteining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladlie vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the aliance contracted with king Dauid, by the mariage of him with his sister. Heerewith he appointed foorth six thousand men well apparelled and araied for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arriuall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumount a Frenchman, who had maried the earle of Buchquhanes daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl & Angus [the lords Persie and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferres, Iohn Mowbraie] & other Scotish lords such as were banished Scotland, when K. Robert le Bruse recouered it out of the Englishmens hands. These were appointed to go with the Balioll to assist him in that enterprise: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capteins, wherevpon when all their prouision was once readie, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboord, and sailing foorth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land néere the towne of Kingorne, and shortlie after, incountring with Alexander Seiton, they slue him, and put his folkes to flight.

The promise of the Balioll to K. Edward.

K. Edward dooth agrée to aid the Balioll.

The English writers speak but of two thousand, or 2500. at the most. *Ri. Southwell. Fr. Thin.*

Edward Balioll landeth in Scotland.

Alexander Seiton is slaine.

Balioll verie ioifull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called S. Iohns towne, whereof the earles of Mar and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hasted toward the enimies, not as though they should haue to doo with men of warre, but to chastise a number of théeues and robbers that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioine both togither in Stratherne, that they might iointlie set vpon their enimies both at once. The Balioll séeing the matter brought so far foorth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auaile him, boldlie came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Duplin néere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike constancie, he should weild his enimies well inough, notwithstanding *their* huge number. The same night came the earle of Mar with his power, and incamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fiue miles from thence, at Othirardour.

The earles of Mar and March gather their people.

Edward Balioll at Duplin.

The Scots that were with the earle of Mar, hauing knowledge of the small number of their enimies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither tooke héed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselues, but fell to singing, dansing, reuelling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion héereof, determined to assaile them the same night in their campe; and therevpon causing his people to make them readie to accomplish that enterprise, in the dead of the night he issued foorth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the foord, where one Andrew Murrey of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to shew them the waie. Thus hauing got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enimies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of Mar, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Héere at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asléepe in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as then buried in sléepe without all defense. And therevpon followed so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes readie to die, weltering togither in their owne bloud. And if it had not béene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrap a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The negligence of the Scots.

The earle of Mar is slaine in his bed. Sée more héereof in England.

The great slaughter of Scots. Sixteene thousand saith *Ric. Southwell.*

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the bloud and murder of them, so that they saued none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable

innumerable of the commons. A certeine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed themselues togither, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellowes, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselues euerie mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruse earle of Carrike, Alexander Fraseir knight, William Haie constable of Scotland, with all his linage so wholie, that had not his wife as then being great bellied, beene afterwards deliuered of a sonne, all his surname had beene vtterlie extinguished. [Wherevpon saith Buchan. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruse, William Saintclere bishop of Dunkeld, and Doncan Makduffe despairing of good successe, sware fealtie to Balioll.] There were slaine also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with manie of his surname, Dauid Lindseie of Glenneske, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Strathaquhen, Thomas Haliburton, and Iohn Skrimgeour knights, with manie other ouerlong to rehearse. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of August, in the yeare 1332. After that Edward Balioll had atchiued this victorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies vnto Perth (otherwise called saint Iohns towne) and giuing assalt thereto, quickelie entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of March that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past fiue miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and towne, came with his people arraied in good and perfect order vnto Perth aforesaid, to besiege the Englishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But hauing lien there a certeine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such aduantage, that it was thought if he had giuen the assalt, he must needs haue entered, he suddenlie raised from thence, and departed, to the vnspeakeable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scotish nation. The siege being thus raised, there came dailie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Balioll, offering him their aid and seruice as his loiall subiects, towards the atteining of his right to the crowne.

The earle of Mar was not slaine in the night as before ye haue heard, but now in the morow following as saith *Southwell*.

Noble men slaine at Duplin. *Fr. Thin.*

The earle of Fife taken.

1332 *H. B.*

Perth woone by the Balioll.

Perth besieged by the erle of March.

He raiseth his siege.

HEREVPON, perceiuing his power sufficientlie increased, and receiuing the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dunkeld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, vnto Scone, where he was crowned the 24 day of September, in the yeare last before remembred, and receiued there the same time the homages and fealties of a great companie of nobles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assembled. King Dauid being not past nine yeares of age, to auoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as destitute of succors, by aduise of his councell, was conueied ouer into France with quéene Iane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie receiued by Philip king of France the sixt of that name, so that they remained there with him for the space of nine yeares. And in the meane time diuers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king Dauid, vnderstanding that K. Edward le Balioll soiourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he hauing as then no great companie about him.

Edward Balioll crowned king of Scotland, not the 24 of September, but the fourth of October, as *Ri. Southwell* saith.

King Dauid is conueied ouer into France. *Ri. Southwell.*

Saint Iohns towne besieged.

Whereof when they of Galloway had aduertisement, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled togither vnder the conduct of the lord Eustace de Makeswell, and inuaded the lands of those Scotishmen that had thus besieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constreined the aduersaries to leuie their siege. Wherevpon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murrey, with the lord Andrew de Murrey, and the lord Archembald Dowglasse, with an armie assembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, dooing all the mischiefe they could deuise, with fire & sword, taking & bringing away from thence a great number of cattell and other goods; but they slue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawen out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

Galloway inuaded.

In

Saint Iohns towne fortified.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll fortified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whilest he with an armie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his aduersaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had beene slaine at the battell of Duplin, Robert Keith, Alexander Lindseie, Iames and Simon Fraseir wan S. Iohns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whither that is to be intended after the first besieging thereof, or now after their last comming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was woone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murrey of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were sent to the castell of Kildrummie, there to remaine vnder safe keeping; but Andrew Murrey for his treason afore committed, was beheadded. The towne being thus woone, was deliuered to the keeping of Iohn Lindseie. But Buchan. out of an other author supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The gaining of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succeed.

Saint Iohns towne woone.

And therevpon Iohn Randoll the earle of Murrey, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memorie, and Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, the brother of Iames Dowglasse latelie slaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fraseir and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same [and William Dowglasse lord of Liddesdale to Maufet] against the Balioll, who being aduertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where incountring togither, after cruell fight & great slaughter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the woorst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, hauing got an horsse without a bridle, and rested not till he came to Roxburgh, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slaine sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiancie, sir Iohn Mowbraie, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruse earle of Carrike, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and saued by the helpe of the earle of Murrey, for that they had submitted themselues to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the atchiuing of this victorie, Andrew Murrey a man of great puissance and possessions was chosen to be gouernor, as colleage and associat with the earle of March. These two gouernors, hearing that the king of England was minded to inuade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen vnto Berwike for defense of that towne and castell; [Alexander (as saith Buchan.) being capteine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar capteine of the castle and borders aioining.] Shortlie after, the new gouernor Andrew Murrey was taken prisoner at Roxburgh, by reason that hauing put his enimies to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bridge without the castell, he pursued ouer rashlie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yer he might be rescued. [At which time also William Dowglasse lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There was also taken beside the gouernor, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had doone manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransome him, but to his further griefe had slaine his sonne within Berwike, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had doone to the Englishmen before. The gouernor at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

Fr. Thin.

The battell discomfited and put to flight in Annandale.

Andrew Murrey chosen fellow gouernor with the earle of March.

Fr. Thin.

Andrew Murrey the new gouernor is taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.

Crab, a pirat taken.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chiualrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were deteined in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglasse was sonne to sir Iames Dowglasse, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance sworne and promised to king Dauid: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and herevpon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such

William Dowglasse of Liddesdale taken prisoner.

Edward king of England purposeth to subdue the Scots.

as

as were subiects to him as other, whome he reteined out of Normandie, Aniou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeeld themselues to the Balioll. The Scots perceiuing themselues thus ouerset with enimies on each side, sent Iohn Randoll earle of Murrey into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the force of the enimies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwike both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfullie that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchiued with variable fortune.

The earle of Murrey is sent into France.

Berwike is besieged.

Buchanan.

William Seiton bastard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bastard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouer-fiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilest things passed thus at Berwike, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglasse to be gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey. This Archembald Dowglasse raising a mightie armie of Scotishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withdraw king Edward from the siege of Berwike to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift; for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that vnlesse he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton capteine of Berwike.

Archembald Dowglasse chosen gouernor in place of Andrew Murrey.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the couenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scotish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respit. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weieng with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had ouercome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enimies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonor should redound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorouslie deliuered into the enimies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renowme of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yoong inough to beget and bring foorth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enimies hands, they should seeme to betraie their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and souereigne.

Sir Alexander Seiton in doubt what to doo.

The manlie stomach of Alexander Seitons wife.

With such & manie other the like words, this noble & woorthie ladie persuaded hir husband to refraine his inward griefe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie cheere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarell

Sir Alexander Seitons sonnes executed.

Fr. Thin.

of their countrie: [at what time K. Edward remoued his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglasse the gouernor, being at that present entered into Northumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yoong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from K. Edwards armie, fullie resolued to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwike from further danger of the enimies force.

Archembald Dowglas purposeth to giue battell.

Yet were there sundrie prudent councellors in the Scotish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enimies at that present, considering the huge number of practised souldiers which they had amongest them, and the want of skilfull warriours on his side, hauing few with him saue yoongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had beene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and therevpon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselues with meat, drinke, and sléepe for that night, and to prouide themselues readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arraied his people in order of battell. The vauntgard was giuen to Hugh, lord Rosse, hauing with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and Iohn Fraseir, and Iohn Murrey lieutenant to the earle of Murrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grieuous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindseie, with whome were ioined Alexander Gordon, Reinold Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with Iames, Iohn, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to incounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground, they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they hauing once got, boldlie turned themselues to the Scots that pursued them ouer rashlie, in hope that the victorie had béene alreadie theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they inforced themselues with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so slue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scotish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had beene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their ransome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtéene thousand men, amongest whome were these as principall: Archembald Dowglas the gouernour, Iohn Steward, Iames Steward, and Alane Steward, the sonnes of Walter Steward; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Bruse earle of Carrike, Andrew, Iames, and Simon Fraseir. This battell was fought on Magdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

The policie of the English men.

The Scotish armie put to flight.

The great slaughter of Scots.

The number of Scots slaine at Hallidon hill.

1333. *H. B.*

¶ That this number and therewith manie mo doo abound by one yeare, Wil. Harison dooth gather togither by the* feries*, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Magdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwike was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceiued, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margent the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agréeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Magdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Wals. and diuers ôther affirme, that it was fought the ninetéenth of Iulie being saint Margarets euen. But now to procéed. The place where this battell was striken, is called Hallidon hill.

Buchanan.

**Ferias.*

Immediatlie vpon this ouerthrow of the Scotish power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike

Dunbar capteins of Berwike, despairing of all support, yéelded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saued, and to become subiects to king Edward. Herevpon, when they had receiued their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build vp againe the castell of Dunbar (on his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. K. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leauing behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whome for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that vsing the a duise and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll herevpon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castels of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, fiue of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scotishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king Dauid. For Dunbreton was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumirnald, Lochleuin by Alane of Vepont, the castell of Kildrummie by Christine Bruse, and Vrquhart by Robert Lauder, the pile of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the kéeping of one Iohn Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king.] These capteins would by no means neither yéeld themselues nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the vttermost for the behoofe of their souereigne lord and maister king Dauid.

The towne of Berwike yéelded to K. Edward on S. Margarets day, as *Ri. Southwell.* saith.

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, fiue onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further vexing the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without dooing anie thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising thereby solemne oths, neuer to remooue anie rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Mowbray for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had giuen Iohn Mowbray, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Mowbray claimed them as heire to his brother.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwix Mowbray & Beaumont.

Fr. Thin.

After long contention, Mowbray had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Mowbray, and by new sentence adiudged the lands vnto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had maried the inheritor thereof, which sentence he was constreined to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. * Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceiued that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions, of which faction Talbot, whilest he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbreton: Beaumont doth strengthen Dungard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adioining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of Dauid Bruse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and fensing the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force, if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (wherof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cumin vnto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Steward, which shortlie after was king of Scotland.

1334.

Fr. Thin.
Iohn Maior.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not

onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also driuen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enimies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forsaking the Balioll, ioined himselfe with Andrew Murrey gouernor of Scotland (for Dauid Bruse) hauing a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although doone at seuerall times) we haue ioined togither, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andrew Murrey besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might freelie repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot, (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of Iohn Cumin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by mariages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yeere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Newcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grieuouslie wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as K. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

1334.

Scala chron.

Scala chron. Iohn Maior.

Scala chron.

The castels of Rothsaie and Dunnone deliuered to the Balioll.

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Rainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obeisance, had the keies of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as dailie submitted themselues vnto him, & he inriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Steward into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king Dauid, to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Steward being about the age of fifteene yeeres, was conueied [with bote and horsse, by the helpe of William Hariot and Iohn Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbreton, where he was ioifullie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

Fr. Thin.

Robert Steward.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin besieged.

The Balioll being sore offended, that such castels as were kept by his enimies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got togither an armie, and the next yeere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be woone without long siege, he appointed sir Iohn Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yeelded. There were left also with him, Michaell Hariot, Dauid Vemis, and Richard Maleuill, with diuerse other. These capteins aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselues within the churchyard of saint Serfe, beside Kinrosse, making bastiles and other defenses within the same, for their more safegard. Within the castell were two valiant capteins to defend it, the one named Alane Vepont and Iames Lambie, citizens of saint Andrews.

Alane Vepōt and Iames Lambie capteins of Lochleuin.

A deuise to drowne the castell.

The enimies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue woone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtill sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drowne all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir Iohn Striueling capteine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, some time quéene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Vepont then capteine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine souldiers with him, rowed

rowed foorth to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assaied to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quickelie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finallie brake downe the banke, and rushed foorth with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning vp the bastils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the déepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Vepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued foorth of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, slue part of them, and put the remnant to flight. Iohn Striueling hearing the mischiefe that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a vow neuer to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortresse, he was constreined to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yéere 1335.

The bastiles and tents of them that lay at siege drowned.

1335.

In the yéere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a sore tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchketh and the North land. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glascow, and perceiuing there was little for him to doo, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. Dauid Cumin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, tooke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murrey and Buchquhane, which perteined to Robert Steward, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be sworne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that hee was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of excéeding great possessions of his owne, would yet neuer vsurpe anie superioritie to him himselfe in stile, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publikelie professe him a subiect to Dauid Bruse, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, Dauid Bruse.]

K. Edward inuadeth Scotland both by sea and land.

Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Balioll in Scotland. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan.*

Incontinentlie héerevpon, Robert Steward assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochquhow, and suddenlie tooke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith Iohn Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimonie of Buch. was a man of great power in Argile.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled togither to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Steward in such his late begun enterprises: and being incountered by the waie by Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the shiriffe, [with Iohn Gilbert capteine of the castle of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Bawdanus) séeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the shiriffe, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Steward, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be frée from paieng tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicities succéeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselues with Robert Steward, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English

The castell of Dunnone taken. *Fr. Thin.*

The shiriffe of Bute slaine. *Fr. Thin.*

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. Iohn Maior.

A releasement of tribute.

mens

mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruse earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome Iohn Maior calleth Carucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

Fr. Thin.

About the same time, the earle of Murrey returned foorth of France, and landed at Donbriton, where he was most ioifullie receiued by the said Robert Steward. Shortlie after the said Steward, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and alies [as Godfrie Rosse, and others] came into Clidesdale, Ranfrew, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which togither with Ros and Murrey, they reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Ranfraie come to his old lords the Stewards.] The earle of Murrey also, to reuenge the iniuries doone by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberden, and there learning where he soiorned, made thither with all spéed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie tooke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he susteined his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durst not come foorth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came foorth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king Dauid. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king Dauid, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king Dauid, as he had béene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

The earle of Murrey returneth foorth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Atholl fléeth into the mounteins.

He submitteth himselfe.

About the same time, sir William Dowglasse of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murrey, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie after they had béene kept there by the space of three yéeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Edenburgh, they found the lords assembled in councell, at the which Iohn Randolph earle of Murrey, and Robert Steward, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scotishmen at this time reuolted from the king of England, submitting themselues to king Dauid, as Alexander Ramsay, a verie skilfull warrior, Laurence Preston, Iohn Herring, and Iohn Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

Sir William Dowglasse, and Andrew Murrey ransomed.

The earle of Murrey and Robert Steward elected gouernours.

* After this, Iohn Randolph, and Robert Steward, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat Dauid Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streict, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yéeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to Dauid Bruse, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruse. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Louthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglasse latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enimies egerlie reuenged the long lothsomnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murrey, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harbored in the bosoms of William Dowglasse, and Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglasse did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no sooner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Steward fauored Cumin, and almost all the other tooke part with Dowglasse. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darsée.

Edward

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships; sent the same well vittelled and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the townes on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, togither with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was readie to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accordinglie, with Godfrie of Rosse, & Alexander Mowbraie, with other, came to the king of England.]

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England

A nauie sent into Scotland.

Shipwracke.

K. Edward inuadeth the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The same time, whilest the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Namure (whom the Scotish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited on the Burrowe moore, beside Edenburgh, by the power of the gouernours and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as Iohn Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglasse, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Pictland hils to the aid of the Scots, whilest they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had woone the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edenburgh: neuerthelesse keeping themselues in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edenburgh, they were driuen vp thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir Dauid de Anand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enimies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an axe which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe togither with his horsse, that the axe staied not till it light vpon the verie hard pauement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pauement.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Namure, named Guy.

Iohn Fourdon.

William Dowglasse commeth to the succour of the Scots.

Dauid de Anand a Scotish knight.

Hyperb

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselues, at length got to the hill where Edenburgh castle standeth, and there slue their horsses, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselues from the force of their enimies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke wherewith to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were sore tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yeelded themselues the next day, with condition to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell stept foorth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enimies on ech side, long it was yer she might be ouerthrowne, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enimies.

A woman of manlike force and stature,

The earle of Namure hauing yeelded himselfe into the hands of the gouernours, was verie courteouslie vsed, the earle of Murrey not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his more suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murrey, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. Dauid Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murrey one of the gouernours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much aduanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith eftsoones vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him gouernour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing

The earle of Murrey is taken prisoner.

The earle of Atholl reuolting to the Balioll.

is eftsoones established gouernor.

in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and tooke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recouered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should shrinke awaie from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enimies to the Balioll.

The king of England returneth home, taking the Balioll with him.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murrey, & William Dowglasse, with other) tooke great despite therat, and raising an armie to restreine his insolent dooings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Kildrummie) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Kilblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaie with the victorie, had not Iohn Crag capteine of Kildrummie sallied foorth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle Dauid their chiefteine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bride, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being New-yéeres day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth.) Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 14.

* This Dauid earle of Atholl was verie inconstant & greedie of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuouslie oppresse the giltlesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fansie, without reason.) Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murrey was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murrey, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murrey in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule woorke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

Andrew Murrey chosen gouernor.

The Cumins put to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enimies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obeisance of king Dauid. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was woone, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindoris, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wife of the late slaine earle Dauid. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obeisance of king Dauid.

The castle of Dungard woone.

The castle of Lochindoris besieged.

The king of England commeth to raise the siege of Lochindoris.

The towne of Aberden burned by the Englishmen.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the sooner rescued, he raised an armie of fortie thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindoris aforsaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Heerevpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he tooke the countesse foorth with him, and passed with bloudie swoord thorough Murrey, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberden. [Then he went to Striueling, where he stronglie repared the castle: from whence he tooke his iournie to Botheuill, and there also in winter he made the castle stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittels from Edenburgh, and in one night discomfited William Dowglasse that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortlie lose all the said castels, which he had before with so great care fortified.] His nauie being on the sea at

the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had doone afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortlie after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, soonke to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

The king of England at his comming to Perth, foorth of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne vnfortified, caused the same to be newlie fensed with wals and bulworks, at the charges and onelie expenses of these six abbeies, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfirmling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Striueling, William Felton of Rockesburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Vthred. Whilest king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this maner, his brother (surnamed by the Scotish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enimies of the Englishmen, as against those that were fauourers and friends vnto them, insomuch that passing through Galloway, Carike, Kile, and Cuningham, he put all to the fier and swoord that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his comming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered dooings, verie sharpelie reproued him for the same: and forsomuch as he answered him somewhat frowardlie, he plucked foorth his swoord, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint Iohn, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and fo, place hallowed and vnhallowed; as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

His crueltie.

K. Edward sleieth his brother Eltham.

It may be, that king Edward slue some other man in this sort, as the Scots heere doo write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed Iohn of Eltham, because he was borne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made awaie, for he died of a naturall infirmitie, as by our English writers it manifestlie appeereth. But now to procéed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont slue all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had beene at the battell of Kilbleine, where his coosine Dauid Cumin was slaine. Moreouer now, after that king Edward was returned into England, Andrew Murrey came foorth of the mounteins, into the which he was before withdrawen to eschue the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the castle of Kincleuin, and rased it to the earth. Shortlie after he came into Mernes, and there tooke the castle of Kilnesse, and likewise rased the same. Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

He died of a naturall infirmitie, as by the English writers it appeereth.

K. Edward returneth into England.

Andrew Murrey commeth foorth of the mounteins.

He winneth the castle of Kincleuin.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on ech side where they came, so that the Mernes, Angus, Stermond, and Gowrie through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murrey assembling a great power, with support of them of Murrey, Mar, and Buchquhan, fought with his enimies at Panmore in Angus, where he obteined the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who latelie before had beene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasant to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murrey passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countries of Scotland thorough continuall wars.

The victorie of Andrew Murrey gotten at Panmore.

Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres ouerthrowne.

* Andrew Murrife gardian of the Scots (and sir Dauid Bruse) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edenburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent cōming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastned

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

hastned to repaire to raise the same siege of Edenburgh, and to rescue their countriemen within the towne. By meanes whereof, the Scots remooued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Krethtowne not farre distant; betwéene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselues at Galuschell. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Tailbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was incountred by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his ransome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, slue the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie, togither with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castell of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 wéeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Glocester, the lords Persie and Neuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith *Scala chron.*] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blacke Agnes of Dunbar, who shewed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies forth at hir hands, so that in the end they were constreined to raise their siege, and to depart without spéed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse vsed manie pleasant words in iesting and tawnting at the enimies dooings, thereby the more to incourage hir souldiers.

William Talbois, or rather Tailbois is taken prisoer.

Richard Mountfort or Montacute is slaine.

The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the ar les of Salisburie and Arundell.

Fr. Thin.

1337.

Blacke Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had deuised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or couert wherof they might approch safelie to the wals: she beholding this engine, merilie said, that vnlesse the Englishmen kept their sow the better, she would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after destroied it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth through all the bounds of Scotland, with such mortalitie of people, as a greater had not lightlie béene séene nor heard of. The cause of which mortalitie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay vntilled and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Preffen: where Robert Maners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasant words amongest them, which caused that they brake order, diuided themselues, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and comming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the maister mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all their strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

A great dearth and also a death in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The castell of Couper left void.

The castell of Louthian in the hands of the Englishmen.

The towne of Edenburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Pendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas Knatoun, he ceassed not to séeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortlie after he slue the said marshall, and afterward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he persuaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edenburgh, where he might find his enimies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongest them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretlie on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen snorting in sléepe and dronkennesse, before they were able to make anie resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murrey the gouernor of Scotland deceassed, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our

The death of Andrew Murrey the gouernor.

Sauiour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constreined to ceasse his pursute of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which must néeds haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to procéed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murrey the gouernor, Robert Steward tooke all the charge on him for the gouernment of the realme, till king Dauid returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. 1338.

Tiuidall also was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiancie of William Dowglas and other Scotish capteins; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioied the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Henrie earle of Lancaster and Derbie, hearing of the valure of these two woorthie capteins, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramseie, earnestlie desired to sée them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Wherevpon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwike by all the said parties, where they met with their complices prouided accordinglie. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Grame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the chalenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordinglie, for in running togither the Englishman was slain.] The king of England mooued with high displeasure at these dooings, sent a right valiant knight named sir Thomas Berkleie with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Steward the gouernor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two capteins saued themselues by flight.

Tiuidall recouered out of the English mens hands by William Dowglas. *Fr. Thin. Io. Major. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

Sir Thomas Berkleie.

The battell of Blackeborne.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enimies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited sir Iohn Striueling, who had with him néere hand fiue hundred Englishmen and Scots, that tooke his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas wan the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought fiue times in one day with sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Balioll, and being put to the woorse at foure of those times, at the fift he vanquished his enimies, and tooke prisoner their capteine the said sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbreton, there to remaine in safe kéeping for a time. For these and such woorthie enterprises hardlie atchiued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended; and within a few daies after the taking of the said sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the gouernor the said Robert Steward into France, as ambassador to king Dauid, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

Sir Iohn Striueling discomfited.

The castell of Hermitage woone.

Sir Larence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Sir William Dowglas sent into France.

In the meane time, Robert Steward the gouernor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their capteins in foure seuerall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Rosse, and the fourth, to Maurice of Mowbray lord of Clidesdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten wéekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they wan. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arriued in the Taie, bringing with him out of France in fiue ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scotishmen in that season greatlie to purpose. 1339.

The towne of Perth besieged.

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Keith of Galleston.

William Dowglas returneth out of France.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Castelgaliard, and two esquiers, Giles de la Hois, and Iohn de Breise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpile, who had the charge ouer the foresaid fiue ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege

Iohn Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. 1340. *Scala chron.*

of Turneie, the earls of March and Southerland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Maners, & Iohn Copland, with the garrison of Roksborow, then in the hands of the English, but after woone by the Scots, on Easter day, at the verie houre of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatall, because all the capteins of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramseie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enuie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken eftsoones the castell of Couper to the king of Englands vse, but by persuasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it vp againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had serued vnder him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serue William Dowglas, who led them foorthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne shortlie after his comming was rendered into the gouernors hands, by Thomas Vthred the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341.

The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernor. 1341. *Iohn Fourdon.*

Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the comming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Handpile, taking vpon him on a day to approch the towne with his ships, and to giue an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessell he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be to him againe restored, and with great thanks and liberall rewards giuen as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, greatlie to their pleasure and contentation; although in their returne, as they passed out of Drumlie Firth, they escaped verie hardlie from the shore. [The winter after the siege of Turneie, king Edward went to Melrosse, but from thence riding through part of the forrest of Etrike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Melrosse, where Henrie earle of Lancaster iusted with William Dowglasse (by couenant) in the kings sight. King Edward taking a truce, departed from Melrosse, halfe ouercome with melancholie against those that first mooued him to this iournie, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue doone.]

Fr. Thin.

A sore dearth.

In the same yeere (as some doo write) or (according vnto other) in the yeere following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driuen to eat the flesh of horsses, dogs, cats, and such like vnused kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing liues withall, yea, insomuch that (as is said) there was a Scotishman, an vplandish felow named Tristicloke, spared not to steale children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had beene a woolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striueling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered vnto him the eight day after his comming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murrey was made capteine.] Edward Balioll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus dailie fall vnto his enimies, to auoid further danger, after oft remooving from place to place, at length he was constreined to flie into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Children eaten.

The castell of Striueling rendered. *Alias* Rugbie. *Fr. Thin.*

Edward Balioll withdraweth into England.

Not long after, the castell of Edenburgh was woone by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to prouide a ship, and to arriue therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edenburgh castell. This Towers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so comming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edenburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of houshold to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should bring them earlie in the morning vp to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions vp

The castell of Edenburgh woone. *Fr. Thin.*

A policie.

to

to the castell gate, earlie vpon the breake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entred with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked foorth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Dowglasse hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraseir, and Iohn Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, laie in couert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of horne, or otherwise, when to come foorth, he hasted therevpon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first slue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortres, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chieflie, both this enterprise and diuers other were luckilie atchiued. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie recouered out of the enimies hands, the Englishmen, and all other that tooke part with the Balioll, constreined to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edenburgh was thus recouered by the Scots in the yeere last before remembred, to wit, 1341. 1341. *H.B.*

The same yéere, or in the next insuing, the second of Iune, king Dauid with his wife quéene Iane, and sundrie nobles both French and Scotish, came safelie through the seas, and arriued in Innerberuie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueied vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsey of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most egerlie, killing and slaieng a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scotish historie saieth) was one, and the capteine of Rokesburgh another. 1342. *I.Ma.*

King Dauid returneth into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsey rodeth into England.

This Ramsey was so renowmed, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

Sir Alexander Ramsey, perceiuing that the most part of the garrison of Rokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, togither with their capteine, came hastilie thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force tooke it. Wherefore king Dauid in recompense of his valiancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, togither with the shirifwike of Tiuidale. Whereat William Dowglasse tooke such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsey within the church of Hawike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by Dauid Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

The castell of Rokesburgh woone by Alexander Ramsey.

Alexander Ramsey taken by William Dowglas, & imprisoned. *Fr. Thin.*

King Dauid was sore mooued herewith, purposing to sée such punishment doone vpon William Dowglasse for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other how they went about anie the like offense. Neuerthelesse, the Dowglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mounteins and other desert places, till finallie Robert Steward and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into fauor againe, and had all his lands and liuings restored vnto him, as well in Tiuidale as elsewhere.

Soone after the earle of Salisburie was taken by sir Alexander Ramsey (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murrey, that had beene holden manie yéeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which king Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murrey. But howsoeuer it was, king Dauid after the realme of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the 1342.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murrey. *Froisard.*

A parlement at Perth. The bounteous liberalitie of K. Dauid. This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

the former trouble of war, he called a parlement at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable seruice themselues, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recouerie of the relme out of his aduersaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritor & ladie of the baronie of Balbrid giuen him in mariage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland. *Fr. Thin.*

Shortlie after vpon the breaking vp of this parlement, king Dauid raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to Iohn Randolph erle of Murrey as lieutenant generall, he wold not that anie of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, seruing secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iournie.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conueieng awaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came.

King Dauid the second time inuadeth the English borders.

Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his own standard to be caried afore him at that time, as he that tooke vpon him the whole gouernance of that enterprise himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to giue the Scots any set batell, but to take them euer at some aduantage, if they straied abroad any where vnwarilie to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogither disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scotish knights, whose names were Steward, Eglinton, Craggie, Boid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enimies on a time ouer fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redéemed for great summes of monie.

Fiue Scotish knights taken prisoners.

At length, king Dauid perceiuing that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iournie his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much adoo to saue themselues from perishing through the vnmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

King Dauid the third time inuadeth England. Foule weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable maner néere hand destroied with the like rage of tempest. Herevpon king Dauid, to the end that his enterprise should not séeme altogither to want effect, ouerthrew sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either doone or receiued. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore deuising all waies possible whereby to saue that towne, and to cause his aduersarie to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require king Dauid, that with an armie he would enter into England, and doo what damage he might vnto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes king Edward could be constreined to leaue his siege, and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scotish chronicles) king Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering vnto king Dauid, vpon condition that peace might be had, to deliuer into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwike, but also Edward Balioll his old aduersarie, for whose cause the warres had so long continued betwixt them.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors frō yᵉ French king into Scotland.

Ambassadors from the king of England into Scotland. The king of Englands offers. The Scots readie to helpe the French, & hinder their neighbors the English.

These offers being proponed in councell, though some of the wiser sort gaue aduise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for loue that he had to the French king with whome he had béene brought vp) and other of the nobles hauing yoong heads, vpon desire to be reuenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (wherevnto they were inclined) wold néeds condescend to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficiall offers. Wherevpon an armie was leuied, and solemne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should méet the king at a certeine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Rosse therefore came with his people vnto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slue the lord of the Iles, with seuen of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and therevpon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Rosse [whereby the armie was greatlie diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing ciuill warres amongst the families departed home.]

An armie raised to inuade England.

The lord of the Iles slain by the earle of Rosse. *Fr. Thin.*

King

King Dauid, though he was sore displeased herewith, and desired most earnestlie to haue punished that heinous act; yet bicause he would not hinder his iournie, he let passe the punishment therof till more conuenient opportunitie might serue thereto. [Notwithstanding that William Dowglasse of Lidesdale did earnestlie persuade him, at that time to leaue the iournie, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence.] At his comming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to doo valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglasse an earle, which William was sonne to Archembald Dowglasse, slaine before at Halidon hill. There was vndoubtedlie a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; insomuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set foorth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least fortie thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) three score thousand.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglasse created earle of Dowglasse.

Ri. Southwell.

Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King Dauid with that his puissant armie, the sixt of October entered Northumberland, and comming to a fortresse not farre off from the borders called Lidell, they laie round about that place for the space of three daies, without giuing thereto anie assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine sir Walter Selbie was taken aliue, but immediatlie by king Dauid his commandement, had his head striken off, and was not permitted to haue so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to haue doone, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie remooued, and went vnto the abbie of Lauercost, which they spoiled; and that doone they departed, and passing by Naward castell, and the towne of Redpeth, kept on till they came vnto the priorie of Hexham, which they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iournie appointed to preserue foure townes onelie from burning; to wit, Hexham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp such store of vittels, as he should prouide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The fort of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie beheaded by the Scots.

Lauercost.

From Hexham, where he laie three daies, he marched to Ebchester, wasting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beaurepaire; and comming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the townes and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots practised with fire and sword, was woonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither yoong nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbeie of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scotish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserablie sacked, although it was said king Dauid was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise absteine from violating the goods and lands perteining to saint Cuthbert.

King Dauid lodged in the manor of Beaurepaire.

The abbeie of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and ioining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had latelie sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a finall peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his maister: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the vtterance within three daies after. King Dauid contemning this message, required his folks to make them ready to receiue their enimies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into three battels. In the first was Robert Steward prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed Iohn earle of Murrey, and William earle of Dowglasse: in the third was the king himselfe,

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

A herald.

The appointing of the Scotish battels.

himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Dowglasse in the first, the king in the middle, and Steward in the third.]

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Dowglas chased.

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Dowglasse departed from the armie to descrie the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entring somwhat vnwarilie within danger of his enimies, he was chased, and that to such disaduantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather fiue hundred (as some bookes haue) of yoong gentlemen, and such other light horssemen as he tooke foorth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into three battels, approched forward, and came within sight of the Scotish armie. Wherevpon Dauid Graham with a wing of fiue hundred horssemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constreined to flée backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

Dauid Graham driuen backe.

These two discomfitures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enimies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end, Robert Steward, and the earle of March, perceiuing their people partlie to shrinke backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this flieng backe of the earle of March and Robert Steward, brought the discomfiture vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was vtterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euerie point plaie the part of a most valiant chiefteine, incouraging his people as well with woords as notable examples to doo their indeuours. Neither would he flie after hee saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing more displeasant than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

The cause of the ouerthrow.

The Scots discomfited.

King Dauid his valiancie.

King Dauid taken by Iohn Copland.

At length hauing his weapons striken out of his hands, one Iohn Copland came vnto him, and willed him to yéeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his téeth before he did yéeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by Iohn Maior, and not onelie called Couptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a meere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the rereward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murrey, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancellor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murrife.] There were taken with the king fiue earles, that is to say, Dowglasse, Fife, Sutherland, Wigtoun, and Menteith [the earle of March & the Senescall fled, but after the earle of Mench being taken, was with the earle of Menteith (as saith *Scala chron.*) drawne and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be inuincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was striken néere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yéere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English historie.

1346.

Scala. chron. Nobles slaine in this battell.

Fr. Thin. Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balioll soiorneth in Galloway.

In the yéere following, the Balioll, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddesdale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balioll abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselues with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles

and

and commons, beside the discomfort for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Steward as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Dowglasse the sonne of Archembald Dowglasse, that was brother vnto good sir Iames Dowglasse, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned foorth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Dowglasdale, Tiuidale, Twidale, Etrike forest, & Twedale. Iohn Copland capteine of Rokesburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men, and came foorth against his enimies, but receiuing the ouerthrow, he was chased into Rokesburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

Robert Steward gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recouered out of the Englishmens hands.

Iohn Copland chased.

In the yéere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so vehement and contagious, that it slue néere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yéere, or (as other bookes haue) the yéere next insuing, one Iohn saint Mighell slue sir Dauid Berklie knight at Aberden, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglasse of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglasse, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir Dauid Berklie had aforetime slaine one Iohn Dowglasse, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir Iames Dowglasse of Dalkéeth.

1349.

The second pestilence that was heard of in Scotland.

Sir Dauid Berklie slaine.

In the yéere following, was the same sir William Dowglasse, being latelie before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Etrike forest, by his coosine and godsonne William earle of Dowglasse, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Ramsey, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglasses diuided amongest themselues, pursuing ech other manie yéeres togither with great vnkindnesse, vnnaturall enimitie and slaughter. In the yeere next following, which was 1355, shortlie after Easter, there arriued in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Garenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skilfull warriors, which were sent thither by Iohn king of France, that succéeded his father king Philip of Valois, latelie before deceassed, and deliuered vnto the gouernor and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, fortie thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imploied about the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constreined the sooner to withdraw their powers out of France,

1353. *I. Ma.*

Sir William Dowglasse slaine.

1354.

1355.

Sir Eugenie de Garenteris a Frenchman, arriued in Scotland.

Fortie thousand crownes.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuerthelesse, the earle of March, and William Dowglasse, gather their people, and passe foorth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramsey of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horssemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come foorth too strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Nisbet moore. This Ramsey dooing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got togither a great bootie of cattell, withdrew with the same homewards: but being sharpelie pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following egerlie in the chase, were vpon the Scotish armie before they were aware. The Scotishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the Englishmen fiercelie, and finallie put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir Iohn Holieburton, and sir Iames Turnebull knights. These were taken prisoners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with Iohn Darcas, and manie other Englishmen.

The earle of March and William Dowglasse enter into England with an army.

William Ramsey of the Dalehouse.

The Englishmen intrapped.

Put to flight.

Prisoners taken.

* The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue béene after this manner. The lords Persie and Neuill, gardians of the English marches, tooke truce with the lord William Dowglasse, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen had woone of the Scots. But Patrike earle of March (being in confederacie with Garanteris) would not by anie persuasion consent to that leage: whervpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Norham, ambushing themselues vpon the Scotish side of the riuer of Twéed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to forage & spoile the

Fr. Thin. Scala chron. 1355.

countrie, who gathering the preies, draue them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Norham (sonne to Thomas Greie, that had béene thrée times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Norham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) séeing the commons of England thus robbed (and déeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued foorth of Norham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnexpert in matters of war; who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrike had laied in wait behind Twéed) issued foorth to follow and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in chase of the enimie, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Twéed on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the successe) forsooke their horsses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a woonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots comming so sore on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

Berwike woone.

The earles of March, and Dowglasse, after the obteining of this victorie, came suddenlie in the night season vnto the towne of Berwike, and raising vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scotish gentlemen, as Thomas Vaus, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, Iohn Gordon, William Sinclare, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Mowbraie knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Persie brother to the earle of Northumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Garenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beare himselfe in this enterprise, whome Robert Steward the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had doone his dutie in euerie behalfe verie throughlie. The castle of Bérwike, notwithstanding that the towne was thus woone, held foorth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason whereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

Berwike wals raced. *Fr. Thin. Scala chron.*

* The tidings wherof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parlement appointed at London but thrée daies, and with all speed came to Berwike, where he entered the castle; wherat the burgesses amazed, treated with him, and therevpon the towne of Berwike was redeliuered (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward.) K. Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwike, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, tooke order for the reparing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland. [For there the 26 of Ianuarie, the said Balioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, alledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellion; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie néere of his linage: and for that he was of K. Edwards blood of England, he knew not where to bestow it better than vpon him. This Balioll is by no author (as Lesleus saith) placed in the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of England with an oth, against the gouernement & maiestie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long, and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332, as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other authors doo agrée. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents vntill the yéere of 1342, at what time he yéelded his crowne to king Edward of England; which was the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he recouered a good part of England. Wherefore it séemeth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan maketh him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him vnder that title, and maketh Dauid Bruse (who was crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Baliols departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming

Berwike is repared againe by king Edward.

The Balioll resigneth his right. *Fr. Thin. Scala chron. Lesleus episcop. Rosse. lib. cap. 257.*

naming also Robert (who succéeded after Bruse) the hundred king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both these writing at one time (but with diuers affections) cannot agrée on the number of their kings: one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed in the catalog of their kings.] After this, king Edward passing foorth to Hadington, spoiled and wasted the countrie by the way on each hand as he marched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had béene on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a rigorous tempest béene sore shaken, and manie of the ships lost and drowned togither with men and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spoiled, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houses, as though he minded (say the Scotish writers) to make warre both against God and all his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355, after our common account, about the feast of the Purification of our ladie, & by reason the Englishmen did so much hurt at that time in those parts by fire, they called it euer after; The burnt Candlemas.

Whitekirke burnt.

1355.

The burnt Candlemas.

Shortlie after that king Edward was returned into England, William Dowglas of Niddesdale recouered out of the English mens possession the lands of Galloway, & the lands of Drisdale were in like maner recouered by one Kirpatrike. In the same yéere on the 20 day of October, was the battell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of Wales, otherwise named the Blacke prince, ouerthrew the armie of France, and tooke king Iohn prisoner, with his yoongest sonne Philip, and a great number of other of the French nobilitie besides. There was at this battell with king Iohn, the earle William Dowglas, & to the number of thrée thousand Scots, hauing diuers knights and gentlemen to their capteins, of whome there died in the same battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, Andrew Holieburton, and Andrew Vaus, knights. The earle of Dowglas escaped with life and vntaken, but Archembald Dowglas, son to sir Iames Dowglas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit his taker suffered him to depart for a small ransome, by reason that William Ramsey of Colluthie, who was also taken with him, made semblance as though the same Archembald Dowglas had béen some poore slaue, causing him to pull off his boots, and to doo other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the end it should not be knowne what he was.

Galloway recouered.

The battell of Poitiers.

The French king Iohn taken prisoner.

Archembald Dowglasse taken prisoner.

A subtill policie.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned betwixt them at meate in the feast of Christmasse, making (as the vse is amongst the Englishmen in that season) a great banket. And this he did (as is reported) to the intent that the maner thereof might be bruted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame. King Dauid within certeine yeares after was conueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwike, where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland assembled togither to consult with him tuching some agréement to be had for his ransome: but because they could grow to no certeine point therein, he was brought backe againe to London, and there remained in prison as before. In the meane time, Roger Kirpatrike was slaine by Iames Lindseie, in a castell where the said Iames dwelled, and receiued the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled vpon the fact committed; but yet being apprehended and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he suffered death for that offense.

Two kings prisoners in England at one time.

Roger Kirkpatrike slaine.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next insuing, after king Dauid had béene at Berwike, there was an agréement made for his ransome, wherevpon being deliuered, he returned into Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Durham field. It was agreed that there should be paied for his ransome one hundred thousand marks sterling, at sundrie daies of paiment, as was accorded betwixt them. * After he had béene 11 yeares in England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe that he paied but 50000 marks English. And Scala Chron. saith, that at the feast of S. Michaell, Dauid king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of siluer: for which, his hostages came to Berwike, being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne that was borne of the sister of king Dauid; Thomas Senescall

King Dauid is deliuered.

1357.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

that was named in Scotland earle of Angus; Thomas Demurrife baron of Bothuill, and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.]

Truce for 14 yéeres.

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtéene yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in England, till the monie were paied, as is before mentioned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered of a great part of his ransome.] K. Dauid was also bound by couenant of agréement to race certeine castels within Scotland, which seemed most noisome to the English borders: which couenant he performed. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he cast downe the castels of Dalswinton, Dunfreis, Mortowne, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement, wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punishment of them that fled from him at Durham field: and first for that his coosine Robert Steward was one of them, being through means thereof a great cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the said Robert Steward) was vtterlie reuoked and disanulled, and Iohn Southerland the sonne of Iane his yoongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland were sworne to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

Fr. Thin.

Castels raced.

A parlement.

Robert Steward disherited of the crowne.

Iohn Southerland made heire apparant.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said Iohn, in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue away the most part of his lands, diuiding the same amongst his friends, as to the Haies, the Sinclares, the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuerthelesse deceiued of his hope. For shortlie after his son, being one of them that was giuen in pledge to remaine in England, till the monie for the kings ransome was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise did. And shortlie after his deceasse, Robert Steward was reconciled to the kings fauor, and ordeined heire apparant to the crowne in semblable maner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their fruits & reuenues towards the paiment of the kings ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.] Not long after, king Dauid called an other councell, wherein (according to his promise made to the king of England before his deliuerance) he mooued the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter whereof he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie answer, and that was this: Whether they could be contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires? [Which thing Iohn Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red) and doone by the persuasion of Iane the quéene, forgetting that he said before, that she died in the yeare 1357.]

The death of Iohn Southerland.

Robert Steward againe ordeined heire apparant.

The contribution of the cleargie.

1363.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

A demand proponed to the lords of Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1357.

Their answer.

The lords hearing what was proponed vnto them, answered without anie long studie, that so long as anie of them were able to beare armour or weapon, they would neuer consent thereto. King Dauid right ioifull to heare them at this point, thought himselfe discharged, for that he was not bound to labor further in this sute, because his promise made to the king of England touching this point, onelie was, that if the Scotish lords would agrée, then he should intaile the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next following, which was from the incarnation 1357, queene Iane the wife of K. Dauid went into England to sée hir brother king Edward, & died there before she returned (leauing no issue behind hir) [at Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.) in the greie friers in London beside hir mother. This woman dooth the said Maior commend for a most rare person, in that she neuer forsooke hir husband in his banishment into France, & in the time of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in hir life she inioyed small worldlie pleasure, hauing had hir bodie dedicated to the mariage bed. For

1357.

Quéene Ianes death.

Fr. Thin.

Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

Si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlysses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.

According

According to which, it might haue beene said of this woman, that she might haue beene counted happie, if hir husband had neuer beene oppressed with these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should neuer haue beene extolled with that commendation, which now to the worlds end she hath amongest the wisest.]

K. Dauid, after hir deceasse, maried a yoong lustie gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daughter to sir Iohn Logie knight, but within three moneths after he repented him, for that he had matched himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the disparagement of his bloud. Herevpon he banished both hir, and all other that had counselled him to marie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts of his dominions. Shee hir selfe went vnto Auignon, where as then the pope with all his consistorie remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court, followed the same with such diligence, that in the end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say) that king Dauid should receiue hir againe into his companie, and to accept and vse hir as his iust and lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had she not departed out of this life by the way in returning homewards. * Charles the fift surnamed the wise, being king of France (supported by the aids of Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in which iornie, when a greeuous contention fell among the French and English, the last were ouercome by the first through the singular manhood of the Scots. Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an order of an hundred archers to be about his person, and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the night) within his court gates; which (vpon this originall, is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in this our age.] K. Dauid in the meane time repared sundrie places and strengths of his realme, & built a tower in Edenburgh castell, bearing the name after him euen vnto this day, called Dauids tower. * About this time (or rather more trulie as others haue before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or shortlie after the deliuerie of Dauid Bruse from captiuitie as the third sort doo say) William Dowglasse being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the seas (at such time as king Iohn was preparing his host against the Blacke prince) went with K. Iohn vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands with the title of knighthood: but after, hauing manie of his men slaine, and being inforced to forsake the field, he returned home into Scotland. William Dowglasse shortlie after, vpon the deliuerie of Dauid Bruse from the captiuitie of England, was created earle of Dowglasse. Much about which or at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots aduanced William Ramseie to the earldome of Fife, by the means of the wife of the said Ramseie, whom the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The right of which countie king Dauid affirmed to be iustlie in him (so that he might liberallie giue it) as truelie vested in his possession by the forfeiture which Duncan sometime countie of Fife had doone in K. Robert Bruses daies; in murthering of an esquier called Michaell Beton, whome he miserablie slue in a riuer for extreame displeasure. Wherefore this William Ramseie surmized that Duncan (to obteine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make Robert Bruse K. of Scots his heire in reuersion, if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a daughter (by his wife the countesse of Glocester, and daughter to the king of England) which was enterteined in England, and should haue beene sold to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (rather respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the honor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife, than an earles ladie) tooke to husband one William Felton, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the said time when William Ramseie was made earle of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the said Ramseie went away with the honor thereof.] After this appeasing of certeine rebels that sought to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed to haue gone to Ierusalem: but hauing prouided all things necessarie for such a iournie, he fell sicke of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of Edenburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne, and fortie seuenth of his age, which was from the incarnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house, where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

King Dauid marieth Margaret Logie.
He repenteth his mariage.
He banisheth hir.
She complaineth to the pope.
Sentence giuen on hir part.
She departeth this world. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 256.*
Dauids tower built. *Fr. Thin.*
Scala chron.
Of this man Dowglasse and his deeds in France the English chronicles doo also report.
William Dowglasse made earle. *Scala chron.*
William Ramseie made earle of Fife.
The death of king Dauid. 1370.

* During

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

* During the time that this Dauid Bruse was prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his louing affection vpon Katharine Mortimer, a damsell of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with hir) that he could not forbeare hir companie, but (as it séemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him; whereat the lords disdeining, and highlie offended with the king therefore, procured one Richard de Hull, a vallect of Scotland (in feining some matter vnto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so couertlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murthered hir riding from Melros to Seltrée. Wherevpon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorablie buried at Newbotle, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare vnto hir in hir life.)

Strange woonders.

Sundrie maruellous things were séene in the daies of this king Dauid, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yéere of his reigne, crowes, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought foorth their brood, and ceassed in the summer and springtime, contrarie to their kind.

Yewes barren.

All the yewes in the countrie the same yéere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might

Great raine.

not be destroied. In the 27 yéere of his reigne, the riuers and other waters rose on such heigth through abundance of raine that fell in the latter end of haruest, that breaking foorth of their common chanels, with their violent streame manie houses & townes were borne downe and destroied. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable,

Iohn Duns.

as Iohn Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Midleton, and William Ocham, with others.

The assemblie of the lords for the election of a new king.

King Dauid being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succéed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agréed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, clamed to be preferred by

William earle of Dowglasse clameth the crowne.

right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumin, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne apperteined by iust title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights,

Buchanan.

he mainteined that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appéered that the said earle Dowglas purposed to vsurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuerthelesse he was disappointed of his purpose, by

Fr. Thin.

reason that George earle of March, and Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey, with the lord Erskine [which three were capteins of Dunbreton, Sterling, and Edenburgh] and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward,

He resigneth his right to the Steward.

assisting his side to their vttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiuing héereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned therevpon his pretensed title, which in effect was of no importance, nor woorth the discussing.

ROBERT.

Robert Steward is crowned king of Scotland. 1370.

THEN was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yéere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yéere of Christ 1370. Moreouer, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglasse aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to Iames sonne to the earle of Dowglasse aforesaid. ¶ Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue inioied the same to our time: queene Marie mother to Charles Iames that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first atteined vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.]

The first comming of the Stewards to the crowne. *Fr. Thin.*

He

He had to wife at the time of his atteining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Rosse, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and Dauid. But before he was maried to hir, he kept one Elizabeth Mure in place of his wife, and had by hir three sonnes, Iohn, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was maried to Iohn Dunbar erle of Murrey, and another to Iohn Leon lord of Glames. The earledome of Murrey continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle Iohn & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the inioieng of that earledome: for leauing a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earledome of Murrey. King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, Iames Lindsey of Glenneske was made earle of Crawford. His wife quéene Eufemie deceassed the third yeare after hir husband atteined the crowne, and then incontinentlie he maried Elizabeth Mure [or Moore, daughter to sir Adam Mure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they inioied in adulterie.]

Elizabeth Mure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglasses came by the earledome of Murrey.

Eufemie the quéene deceaseth.

Fr. Thin.

Elizabeth the Mure maried to king Robert.

Fr. Thin.

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne Iohn, begotten on Elizabeth Mure aforesaid, earle of Carrike: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Menteith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badzenoch. [Besides which héé had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne Dauid, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of Iames the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortlie after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto Iohn his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yoongest sonne Dauid the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires generall either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworne to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemne maner.

The prefer-ment of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

An act for succession of the crowne.

About this time, the borderers, which are men euer desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieflie liue, that is to say, reife and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell piked, slue certeine of the houshold seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George sore offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to receiue according to that they had deserued: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing anie true meaning, he passed ouer his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yéere following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murrey gathered a power of men secretlie togither, and comming to the said towne, tooke it, slue all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

1370.

Buchanan.

The truce violated.

Roxburgh surprised by the earle of March.

Herevpon the Englishmen shortlie after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and dooing much hurt vpon the lands of sir Iohn Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir Iohn Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England

The Englishmen inuade Scotland.

land with an armie, and getting togither a great bootie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being incountered by the way at a place called Carran or Carram, by Iohn Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a sore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncerteine, that sir Iohn Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were fiue times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like aduantage of their enimies. In the end the Englishmen were clearelie discomfited, and their capteine sir Iohn Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the maner whereof Iohn Maior condemneth and laieth the fault of breach in earle Dowglasse.]

The English men discomfited. Sir Iohn Lirborne taken. *Fr. Thin.*

Henrie Persie erle of Northumberland.

To reuenge their displeasures, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seuen thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed togither, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running vp & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horsses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scotishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue beene assailed by their enimies) perceiuing themselues set on foot, returned home without anie further attempt.

A policie to affright horses.

Thō. Musgraue capteine of Berwike taken prisoner.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwike, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir Iohn Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Io. Iohnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer awaie with the vpper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the queene) Buchanan appointeth to the first two yeeres of the king, before the death of the queene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignion to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods perteining to the church, after the decease of anie bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fift king of France sent ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old leage betweene the two nations, and to persuade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdrawne out of France: which was performed accordinglie.

Fr. Thin.

A legat from the pope.

Fr. Thin.

1375.

Buchanan.

1378.

On the 22 day of October, in the yeere 1378, Dauid Steward was borne, which afterwards was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwike was taken by sir Iohn Gordon, and six or seuen other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of English men entring by a posterne of the castell, recouered the towne easilie againe out of the Scotishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scotishmen smallie reioised at this gains, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue doone anie great hurt in Scotland, being in the yeere after the incarnation 1380.

Berwike taken by Scots. Recouered againe out of their hands.

1380.

The faire of Pennire.

The third time that the pestilence cam into Scotland.

1380.

Fr. Thin. The English men inuade the Scotish borders.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, vnder the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure doone by the erle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and inuading the Scotish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of fiue hundred men, & stood in a streict till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

of the residue for hast drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the bootie of cattell & goods recouered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the sixt as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduenturs dailie chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadors vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses susteined diuerse waies of late at the Scotish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots doo write) to renew the old league & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being doone in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadors from king Robert vnto their master the said K. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yeere of king Robert his reigne.

Ambassadors frō the Frēch king.

1381. *Les.*

Anno Reg. 11. The renuing of the league betwixt Scotland and France.

In which yeere Iohn Lion chancellor of Scotland was slaine by Iames Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This Iohn Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in mariage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glammis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tresse in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slue the chancellor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had maried the kings daughter, he atteined to such estimation and authoritie, that he might doo all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeeres after, and durst not returne home, till finallie through earnest sute made to the king by the earles of Dowglasse and March, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings fauour.

The chancellor of Scotland slaine.

Enuie & spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

His pardon is begged.

In the meane time, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeaux, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yeere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Sauiour 1381, Iohn of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lords, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whome were appointed Iames earle of Dowglasse, and Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handeled, that a truce was concluded to indure for three yeeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, hauing one Iacke Straw and others to their capteins, wherevpon doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conueied by William earle of Dowglasse, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edenburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their capteins slaine or taken, and put to execution.

Anno reg. 12.

1382. *I. Ma.*

1381.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland, *Fr. Thin.*

A truce taken.

Rebellion in England.

Iack Straw.

As soone as the truce was expired, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did dailie harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls Iames of Dowglasse, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege vnto the said castell of Lochmaben, & hauing lien thereat the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom hauing put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assalt to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeeld the house vnto the Scots euen the same day without more adoo, vpon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

The truce expired.

The garison of Lochmaben

Anno reg. 14.

1381.

Io. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben rendered to the Scots.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie ouerthrow giuen

Iohn Fourdon.

giuen to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dowglasse had got knowledge that the same castell was vtterlie vnprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie togither, with the helpe of the earles of Dowglasse and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Heerevpon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters vnto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to vnderstand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should doo his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to doo as he should see cause. Heerevpon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scotish lords for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remooue their siege, he would yeeld the castell vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued. This was granted, and the Scots ceassed further to annoy them within by assalts: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeered, they receiued the castell into their possession, according to the couenant. And so the Scots hauing thus woone the castell of Lochmaben, raced it quite downe to the earth.

Sir William Fetherston.

Buchanan.

It is raced.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had atchiued this enterprise, appointed the baron of Graistocke with a certeine number of men to go with vittels and munition vnto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it vnprouided, they might peraduenture bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to inuade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster hauing the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea what they should doo, entered himselfe by land, and wasting the countries of March and Louthian, came to Edenburgh, and tooke the towne. But whereas his souldiors would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without dooing anie more damage.

The baron of Graistocke taken.

Anno reg. 15.

1383. *I. Ma.*

An armie by sea and an other by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster commeth with an armie to Edenburgh.

His nauie being as then arriued in the Forth, taried behind, first burning the abbeie of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their capteins landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskinnes being brethren, Alexander Lindsey, and William Cunningham of Kilmauris, set vpon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yeere the earle of Dowglasse recouered all the strengths of Tiuidale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held euer since the battell of Durham vnto those daies. This earle of Dowglasse, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dowglasse, shortlie after he had atchiued this enterprise, and was buried in the abbeie of Melrosse.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife.

The strength of Tiuidale recouered.

The earle of Dowglas deceasseth.

After his deceasse, his sonne Iames, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earledome of Dowglasse, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortlie after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Newcastell. But being countermanded home, he returned and came vnto Perth, where he found the lord Iohn de Vian, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arriued in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and fiue hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongest them 400 hagbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crosbowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paied their wages for one whole yeere aforehand, and had

Iames earle of Dowglasse.

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

1385.

Iohn de Vian admerall of France.

200. *Buchan.* 26 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.

I. Fourdon. I doubt whether

had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swoords, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient. there were any hagbuts vsed in those daies, though guns were somewhat before that time.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dowglasse was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled togither in councell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that ioining with these Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglasse, and March, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie. This armie, when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, tooke the castels of Warke, Fourd, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwike and Newcastell, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constreined to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field neere to the castell of Rockesburgh, purposing to haue assaied the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were woone, they left that enterprise. For the Frenchmen required that if they wan it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, wherevnto the Scots would not agree. The earle of Fife. An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England. Castels woon. The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterprise, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did woonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carleill, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rocksburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next insuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small trauell and paines, since their first comming foorth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboord to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scotish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and inuading Scotland, passed through the Mers and Louthian, putting all the townes, countries, and houses vnto vtter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appeere. They inuade Cumberland. The Frenchmen returne into France. King Richard inuadeth Scotland.

1387.

In the yeere next insuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glascow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Steward earle of Fife, with Iames earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, comming so secretlie thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vppon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conuele away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of three daies, got a rich bootie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iournie, there was a charter found of certeine lands giuen by king Athelstane, in this forme: *I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odhiam and Rodhiam, als guid and als faire, als euer yay mine waire, and yarto witnesse Mauld my wife.* ¶ By tenure of which deed it may appeere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few woords barelie expressed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now vsed with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements. An armie of thirtie thousand Scots inuaded England by the west marches. Cokermouth taken vpon the sudden. The forme of an old deed of gift. The true meaning of men in old time.

In this last iournie against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bastard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, wan great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valiancie, William Dowglas honored for his high prowesse.

valiancie, shewed as well in certeine approches made vnto Carleill, as in diuerse other skirmishes elsewhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him woorthie of some high aduancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in mariage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beautie, as hir match in those daies was not to be found: [with whome for hir dowrie, he gaue the lands of Niddesdale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after maried to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not ouercharged with flesh, but big of bone, a mightie personage, vpright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whome soeuer he stroke either with mace, swoord, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against three thousand Englishmen, of whome two hundred he slue in the field, & brought fiue hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

1388. In the yeere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched awaie great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The townesmen doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselues into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Steward of Durisdeir, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afore the towne.

Irishmen fetch preies in Galloway.

William Dowglas inuadeth Ireland with fiue hundred men, as *Iohn Fourdon* saith.

Carlingford beseeged.

The craftie dealing of the townesmen.

The Irishmen assaile the Scots in two seuerall places.

Neuerthelesse, the said Robert and William receiued the enimies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This doone, they tooke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hauens and creeks there on that coast, and fraughting fiftéene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortlie after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Mers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towers and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberden: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all spéed, to reuenge those iniuries doon by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled, the one, wherein were fiftéene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of Fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archembald Dowglasse lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Walcop. The other conteining like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them Iames Lindseie earle of Crawford, Iohn Dunbar earle of Murrey, and the lord Haie the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie [both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.]

The Irishmen put to flight.

Carlingford woone by assalt.

The Ile of Man spoiled.

Englishmen burne in the Mers.

Two armies of Scotishmen assembled.

Fr. Thin.

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fife spared neither fier nor swoord, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met togither about a ten miles from Newcastell. Here the earle of Dowglasse chose foorth ten thousand

Cumberland inuaded.

Northumberland inuaded.

Ten thousand

of

of the most able men that could be found amongest all the numbers, with the which he went to Newcastell, to trie if by anie meanes he might take the towne. There was gathered into Newcastell before his comming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Yorke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who, by reason of extreme age was not able to sturre abroad (anie thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often pricking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were anie seruice to be doone abroad.

of the choisest men with the earle of Dowglas.

The assemblie of the Englishmen at Newcastle.

Henrie Hotspur.

The earle of Dowglasse incampeth fast by Newcastle.

The earle of Dowglasse incamped fast by Newcastle.

The earle of Dowglas and Henrie Persie run togither.

The Persie dismounted beside his horsse.

An assault giuen to Newcastell.

The earle of Dowglasse and Henrie Persie run togither. The Persie dismounted beside his horsse. An assault giuen to Newcastell. ¶ Froissard making mention of this enterprise thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scotish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Dowglasse and the Persie should thus run togither on horssebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Persie, and there by force plucked the Persies staffe from him, and in returning hoisted it vp on heigth, saieng, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, & comming to a place called Otterborne, about twelue or fouretéene miles from Newcastell, pitched downe his tents there, that his souldiors might take some rest, & refresh themselues after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all the day nor night before, nor to anie purpose, since their first entering into England.

Froissard some what varieth from the Scotish writers.

Dowglas incamped at Otterborne.

In the meane time the English power was highlie increased at Newcastell, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Persie then perceiuing his number sufficient to fight with Dowglasse, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue foorth vpon the Scots, and to giue them an incounter: but when he vnderstood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all spéed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recouer the dishonor which he had susteined by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcastell. Earle Dowglasse aduertised that the enimies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their woonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euerlasting fame and honor, with safegard to themselues and their countrie. The Persie likewise for his part, incouraged his men, willing them to fight manfullie in reuenge of their iniuries doone to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onset fiercelie.

The English power increased.

Henrie Persie followed the Scots.

The Dowglasse exhorteth his men to fight manfullie.

The Persie with comfortable words incourageth his men.

Here both the armies ioining togither, a right terrible incounter insued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to ioine, through want of light to sée what was to doo, they were seuered in sunder for that time; but remembring that the moone would shortlie rise, they determined so soone as she began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As soone therefore as the moone began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing

The onset is giuen.

They were seuered by comming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

causing them to giue ground, they had woone the Scotish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Herewith also came the earle of Dowglasse, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

Patrike Hepborne releeueth the Scots at point to be ouercome.

The valiancie of the earle of Dowglasse. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan.*

* The said Dowglasse the yoonger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grieuouslie wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserablie wounded also. At what time a priest (which had faithfullie assisted this Dowglasse in all distresse) did (now the bodie being faint and decaied) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglasse lieng in this estate, his neere friends (Iohn Lindseie, Iohn and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he stoutlie answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismaied) that he was verie well; for said he, I doo not now die in my bed (by sluggish destinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue doone. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Wherevpon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowen; then they erected his standard, crieng (as the maner is) A Dowglasse a Dowglasse. At which voice, there was so great a concursse of people, & such a ioifull assault vpon the enimie; that forthwith they draue them from the place of the battell. For at the verie name of Dowglasse, not onelie the common people, but Iohn earle of Murrey (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberden, as saith *Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3.* & *Lesleus lib. 7. pa. 263.* calleth him William Loundie archdeacon of saint Andrews, kinsman to Dowglasse.

This Dowglasse was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his brest, and in the thigh with seuerall arrows, and had a deadlie blow on his head being vncouered. *Io. Maior, lib. 6. cap. 3.*

Finallie, the whole number of the Scotishmen bare themselues so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & borne down. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is euer seene, though the more part in deed were taken with their liues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Persie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne. [But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransome did build the castle of Pounune, which his heirs to this day doo inioy. There was also taken besides the two Persies, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, Iohn Lilborne, William Wauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, Iohn Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) aboue an eightéene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scotish writers themselues report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglasse himselfe was thrise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being borne to his tent a little before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous griefe for the losse of so woorthie a chiefeteine, than ioy for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueied vnto Melros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbeie church there. And because this earle Iames had no heires of his bodie begotten, his coosine Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepborns (of the which this Patrike Hepborne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterborne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

Other persons taken.

The number of prisoners taken. *Fr. Thin.*

There were slaine but fiue hundred Englishmen as *Hector Boetius* saith.

The English men put to flight.

Rafe and Henrie Persie taken prisoners.

The death of Iames earle of Dowglasse. See more of this matter in England.

Archembald Dowglasse succeeded Iames the earle of Dowglasse.

It chanced in the daies of king Dauid the third, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got vpon a yoong gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the vnrulie iade, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there

gaue

gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman lept to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horsse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue vnto this Hepborne certeine lands in Lowthian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right woorthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterborne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the fift of August, in the yeare 1388.

The first aduancement of the Hepborns. The earles of Bothwell.

1310.

12. *kal. Aug. Buchanan.*

1388.

* Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Matthew Redman gouernor of Berwike, whom Iames Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did vehementlie follow by the space of three miles. At the last, Redman perceiuing that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazzard his life, than otherwise to be slaine without aduenture) allighted from his horsse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordinglie; in the end after a long conflict betweene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whome (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certeine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongest the borderers, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day dooth continue betweene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie doo not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set vpon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitutions of things and iniuries doone by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceiued by his prisoner (on his promise) dooth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be seene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the deseruers thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be euer after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not affoord them good report or interteinment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made directlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so neere vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcastell (to ioine with Persie at the battell of Otterborne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortlie after which, he tooke his iournie towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan.

Lindseie had a halberd, and Redman a sword with a buckler which he caried at his backe. *Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap.* 14.

The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise. *Io. Ma.* saith if they breake promise, the picture of him is tied to a horsse taile and drawen about the borders of the countrie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterborne battell towards Newcastell) that Persie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Newcastell, to consult what he should doo against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to seeke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had broght thither) were of all sorts gathered togither, to the number of 10000 horssemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind, that (with all speed) hee should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (said they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second batell. With which speeches they persuaded themselues of an easie conquest. Wherevpon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murrey (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie togither to consult what should be doone with the prisoners, whom they could not in iustice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransome) but it would seeme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies, and almost an equall number to themselues) it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilest the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were ouercome, and they (being now

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

Iohn Maior writeth, that some say they tied these prisoners fast with ropes, *li. 6. c. 4.*

their prisoners) recouered from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners vnto them as before, and so returne to them at a certeine day. These things thus doone, they left the prisoners in the campe, with a small gard which should execute a present reuenge vpon them, if they did at anie time seeme to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obteined) afresh descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former conflict: at what time it was also commanded that euerie one (as he did approch the enimie) should blow the horne he caried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as lowd as he could, which sound being of it selfe terrible, was in the eccho (by reflexion of the hilles) so multiplied, that it forced the enimie to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were. But before they entred into the battell (as saith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of March incouraged his soldiers with these words. "We haue this night (most noble Scots) susteined the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue ouerthrowne the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause why we (after such honor obteined against those valiant princes) should now feare this sillie priest. Trulie there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euerie one of vs giue but two strokes, bicause the leader will flie at the third, and all the flocke will follow, since the shéepeheard stroken, the shéepe will be dispersed. But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be ouercome, then shall we most shamefully loose the glorie which we before haue honorablie gained by this nights trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, and put on vs such valiant hearts (as the preseruation of honor requireth) we shall easilie teach this mitred priest, that it had béene farre more honor to him, safetie to his, and most commoditie to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct vnbrideled and negligent scholers, than with sword to enter battell against growne and bearded souldiers."

The maner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horne about their necks like hunters, and in the battel incourage themselues to fight with that, *Io. Ma. li. 6. ca. 4.* which I suppose was also the maner of the English (as may be by manie substantial reasons approoued.)

This being spoken, and the English now come to the point to ioine with the aduersarie, the Scots began the alarms with their hornes, wherevpon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnaccustomed to them in such multitude) remembring that they must fight in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kinred latelie slaine (a spectacle to discourage most valiant hearts) and somewhat abashed at the chéerefulnesse of the Scots standing against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and suffered the Scots to returne without anie other pursute against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindseie (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Newcastell) chanced to be seene and knowne by Redman (his yéelded prisoner) he was most courteouslie (after congratulation of amitie betwéene them) suffred to depart frō Newcastell to Scotland.)

A parlement at Perth.

In the yéere following, a parlement was holden at Perth, in the which demonstration was made by king Robert, that forsomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through féeblenesse occasioned thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme, it was necessarie that some gouernor shuld be chosen; wherfore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Fife might inioy that office, considering his eldest sonne Iohn earle of Carrike (by reason of a stripe which he had receiued on the leg by an horsse of sir Iames Dowglasse of Dalketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might sturre no way foorth abroad. The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Fife was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common consent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as saith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Persie prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scotish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Steward the Scotish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, hée withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of the

Robert earle of Fife is chosen gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland inuadeth Northumberland.

the countrie to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, hauing with him but fiue hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish anie notable exploit auailable against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yeere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agrée) being comprised therein. Herevpon there came ambassadors foorth of England, to vnderstand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with good will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Steward earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murrey, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king tooke such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to bee committed vnto streict prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers deceasse. The realme being in this maner brought to good tranquillitie, king Robert falling into great infirmitie and feeblenesse, by reason of extreame age, without any maner of other accidentall sickues, deceassed at his castell of Dundonald, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yéere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yéeres of age, and hauing reigned the space of 19 yéeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

A truce taken.
English ambassadors sent into Scotlād.
The king of Scots agréeth to the truce.
The cathedrall church of Murrey burnt.
The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.
The deceasse of king Robert the second.
1390.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not foorth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happie successe by the conduct of his capteins which he sent foorth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that hée seldome spake the word which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that whensoeuer he remooued from anie place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken vp anie thing vnpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willinglie heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to sée their wrongs redressed.

His happie successe in warres.
The constancie of K. Robert in word and promise.
His vpright iustice.
His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

ROBERT.

AFTER the decesse of king Robert the second, his son Iohn Steward earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Assumption of our ladie. And forsomuch as Iohn was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. * But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Iohns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good successe of the two former Roberts (Bruse and Steward) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted: I will leaue vncerteine, hauing no certeintie deliuered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraordinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend. The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daughter of Iohn Drummond) whome he receiued into his bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the honor of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow to the common wealth by hir or hir aliance. In the begining of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene England and Scotland, for the space of three yéeres, which shortlie after was proroged to the terme of foure yéeres.)

Iohn Steward earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.
1390.
Fr. Thin. Buchanan.
Iohn Ma. lib. 6. cap. 6.
Buchanan.

About the same time William Dowglasse of Niddisdale was chosen by the lords of Prutzen, to be admerall of a nauie, conteining two hundred and fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed to set foorth against the miscreant people of the northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clifford an Englishman (who was there likewise to serue with the fore-

William Dowglas of Niddesdale chosen admerall by the lords of Prutzen.

said lords in that iournie) to fight with him in a singular combat: before the day came appointed for them to make triall of the battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dowglasse, and vpon the bridge of Danzke, met with him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and stay of the whole iournie. Moreouer, shortlie after the coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came that Duncane [whom some call Daiech Steward], sonne to Alexander Steward the kings brother afore rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great number of men, and slue Walter Ogiluie shiriffe of the countrie, that came foorth with a power to resist him from spoiling the people, whom he miserablie afflicted; howbeit these his insolent dooings were not long vnpunished. For the earle of Crawford being sent against him with an armie, caused him to disperse his companie, and to flée his waies; but being apprehended with the most part of his said companie, they were punished according to their demerits.

He is slaine by the lord Clifford.

Duncan Steward inuadeth Angus. *Fr. Thin.*

At this time also the most part of the north countrie of Scotland, was sore disquieted by two clans of those Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inhabit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaies and the other Clanquhattans. These two being at deadlie fude, robbed and wasted the countrie with continuall slaughter and reife. At length it was accorded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls of Murrey and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, against thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe swords to the vtterance, without anie kind of armor or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both these clans right ioifull of this appointment, came to Perth with their number, where, in a place called the North inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought according as it was agréed, and that with such rage and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaies part were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life, after he saw all his fellowes slaine, lept into the water of Taie, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There were 11 of Clanquhattans side that escaped with life, but not one of them vnwounded and that verie sore. At their entring into the field or lists where they should fight the battell, one of the clans wanted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld haue supplied it, was priuilie stolen awaie, not willing to be partaker of so deare a bargaine. But there was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who being sorie that so notable a fight should be passed ouer, offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill vp the number, though the matter apperteined nothing to him, nor to anie of his friends. [This man (as saith Buchanan) séemed to be a saddle-maker, who for halfe a French-crowne, and his diet during his life (if he were victor) tooke the matter in hand, in which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than he, on whose part the said eleuen did suruiue, himselfe making vp the number.] This battell was fought thus betwéene the two clans, in maner as is before remembred, in the yeere 1396.

The north parts of Scotland sore disquieted by two clans.

Wild Scots called Katerans.

A battell of thirtie against thirtie.

A desperate fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second yéere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wherin, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances enacted for the aduancement of the common-wealth, the king made his eldest sonne named Dauid (that was then about eightéene yéeres of age) duke of Rothsaie, and his brother Robert (that was earle of Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the first dukes that had béene heard of in Scotland, for till those daies there was neuer anie within the realme that bare that title of honor. [Which virgin title (saith Buchanan of that honor) gaue neuer good successe to the maisters.] During the time that the peace continued betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and combats put in vre, and exercised betwixt Scots and Englishmen, for proofe of their valiant actiuitie in feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honor. But amongst the residue, that was most notable, which chanced betwixt Dauid earle of Crawford Scotish, and the lord Wels English.

1398.

The first dukes that were created in Scotland. *Fr. Thin.*

Iustes and combats betwixt Scots and Englishmen.

The earle of Crawford of Scotland, & the lord Wels of England iusted for life and death.

It was agréed betwixt these two noble men, to run certeine courses on horssebacke, with speares sharpe groond for life and death. The place appointed for these iusts was London

bridge

bridge, and the day the three and twentith of Aprill, being the feast of saint George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came redie to furnish their enterprise, and being mounted on their mightie coursers, they ran togither right egerlie. At the first course, though they atteinted, yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of falling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Dauid sat without mouing, cried that the Scotishman was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt beside his horsse, and verie nimblie mounted vp againe into the saddle, armed as he was, to the great woonder of the beholders. This doone, he tooke another staffe, & so togither they ran againe right fiercelie the second time, and yet without anie great hurt on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles was borne out of the saddle, and sore hurt with the grieuous fall.

The lord Wels borne out of his saddle.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus vanquished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, hée founded a chanterie of seuen priests to sing in our ladies church of Dundée, in memorie of S. George, which they did vnto our time, not without singular commendation of the said earle. After this, he remained three moneths in England, in sporting and feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his noble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst them. Not long after, one sir Robert Morlaie an Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his manhood in singular battell, with whomé soeuer would come against him: he vanquished one Archembald Edmounston, and Hugh Wallase: but at length he was ouercome by one Hugh Traill at Berwike, and died shortlie after vpon displeasure thereof conceiued.

Praise of the erle of Crawford.

Sir Robert Morlaie.

In the same yéere, Richard king of England, maried Isabell daughter to the French king, and soone after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the crowne, so that vpon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and shortlie after constreined to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length (as the Scotish chronicle telleth) he got foorth of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in seruice with a Scotish man named Makdonald. But at the last, being bewraied and knowen what he was, and therevpon brought to king Robert, he was right honorablie by him interteined: neuerthelesse, knowing himselfe deposed from his roiall estate, he gaue himselfe wholie to contemplation, till finallie he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the same towne, as the same Scotish chronicles vntrulie doo report. But to the matter, Henrie the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard was deposed, was crowned king of England at Westminster, the thirtéenth day of October, in the yéere 1399.

K. Richard of England goeth into Ireland.

K. Richard is deposed.

He is adiudged to perpetuall prison.

He escapeth foorth of prison.

K. Richard dieth at Sterling and lieth buried there.

Henrie the fourth king of England is crowned.

1399. *I. Ma.*

1400

In the yéere next insuing, that is to say, 1400, king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted couenants of mariage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a councell to be called, in the which he found meanes to assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie, & with all speed went about to consummate the mariage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the couenants concluded, concerning the mariage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was alreadie doone to the breach thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking to say, he would be reuenged on such vntruth yer it were long. Shortlie after he fled into England, leauing his castell of Dunbar well stuffed of all things necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Maitland. But when Archembald Dowglasse came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the castell rendered into his hands,

The occasion of the falling out betwixt king Robert and the earle of March.

The earle of March flieth into England.

The castell of Dunbar seized to the kings vse.

this Robert Maitland obeied the kings commandement, and deliuered the house to the said Dowglasse.

George earle of March informed heereof, procured all his friends to conueie themselues into England, and determined with himselfe to doo all the displeasure and mischiefe he might inuent against his owne natiue countrie. King Robert sore dreading, least by this earles procurement some trouble might hap to follow amongest his subiects [did (first confiscating his goods) send] an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or iniuries which he had anie waies foorth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the earle of March refused this offer, the same herald according to instructions giuen him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie king of England with other letters, earnestlie desiring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue anie rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be violated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdomes.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert writeth vnto the earle of March.

Sent letters also vnto the king of England.

King Henrie vpon reasonable allegations (as he pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their subiects, without anie further tracting of time. For shortlie after, Henrie Persie, surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got togither a great bootie of goods and cattell [in Louthian about Hadington, at what time they did in vaine besiege the castell of Hais or Halis, who being at Lintone were come vpon by the Scots, for (to haue returne of the booties taken) Archembald earle of Dowglasse] hauing assembled a power of men, came with the same towards the enimies, immediatlie wherevpon they fled to Berwike, and left all their bootie behind them, which being recouered by the said earle of Dowglasse and his companie, he returned backe vnto Edenburgh, where he shortlie after being taken with an hot feuer departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high prowesse and noble valiancie shewed in manie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie atchiued for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull looke, the grim Dowglasse.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. *Fr. Thin.*

The decease of Archembald earle of Dowglasse.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was called likewise Archembald, was made earle of Dowglasse; for his eldest sonne William Dowglasse died in the yeere before his father. Shortlie after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without dooing anie great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept anie castels or strengths, but onelie to put foorth a banner of his armes as he passed by. At his comming to Hadington, he was lodged in the nunrie there, & shewed much bounteous humanitie toward the nuns, and all other of that house, not suffering anie manner of thing to be doone preiudiciall to the same. The like gentlenesse he vsed towards them of the Holie rood house, at his comming to Edenburgh, wherein he likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Iacke Straw and his complices, he shewed such fauour towards them at this present. To be briefe, it should appéere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were inforced, more thorough counsell of his nobles, than for anie hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in returning backe againe, without dooing them anie further iniurie.

Henrie king of England inuadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The death of quéene Annabell.

[In the yéere after, or thereabout, died Walter Trailie bishop of saint Andrewes, and the] Scotish quéene Annabell Drommond, after whose deceasse hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir gouernment had beene well and vertuouslie brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of insolent outrage, séeking to defile wiues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his sonnes youthfull nature to rage after that man-

The insolent outrage of the duke of Rothsaie.

nor

ner in vnbrideled lust, beyond the bounds of all measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requiring him to take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his custodie, and to sée him so chastised for his wanton behauiour, as he might learne to amend the same. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long time before, desired to sée the duke of Rothsaie dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore hauing commission thus from the king to take him, he reioised not a little, trusting thereby to compasse his purpose without danger. And héerevpon taking the duke of Rothsaie betwixt Dundée & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falkeland, where he shut him vp in streict prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to famish him to death. The duke of Rothsaie committed to prison.

It is said, that a woman vnderstanding the duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certeine daies susteined; but after this was once knowen, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. On the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed with milke of hir owne brests, and was likewise dispatched as soone as hir dooings were perceiued. Then after this, the duke destitute of all worldlie sustenance, thorough very famine was constreined to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finallie in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Lundoris, where (as the fame went) manie faire miracles were doone néere to his graue, till time that Iames the first began to punish the murtherers, for since that time such miracles ceassed. The duke of Rothsaie famished to death. Miracles.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglasse that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, tooke order, that certeine capteins of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patrike Hepborne of the Halis the yoonger, appointed to go foorth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great bootie togither; but the Englishmen following therevpon to recour it, incountered with him at Nesbet in the Mers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as Iohn and William Cockborne, Robert Lawder of the Bas, Iohn and Thomas Haliburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as Iohn Maior writeth) perished in this battell which was fought the 22 of Iune, in the yeere 1402. The displeasures doone by George earle of March. The earle of Dowglas gouernour of Louthian. Thomas Haliburton. Patrike Hepborne slaine at Nesbet. 1402.

Archembald earle of Dowglasse sore displeased, and woonderfullie wroth in his mind for this ouerthrow, got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not staieng till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglasse, Murdocke eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murrey, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constreined to forsake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuerthelesse put to the woorsse, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon, & sir Iohn Swinton, but that did little auaile them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir Iohn Swinton, and Adham Archembald Dowglas inuadeth England. The nobles of Scotland in this armie. Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon. The Scots through force of the English mens shot, descend the hill. The Scots are put to the woorsse.

Adham Gordon. Men of name slaine. Prisoners taken.

Adham Gordon: also Iohn Leuinston of Kalender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

Buch. 1401.

Archembald earle of Dowglas, Murdocke Steward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Galloway, the lord Saulton, Iames Dowglas maister of Dalkeith, and his two brethren Iohn and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the

1402. *H.B.*

Rood day in haruest, in the yeere 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Persie verie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclauis in Teuidale, and laied siege to the same, but Iohn Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of three moneths [or (as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies] the castell should be then rendered into their hands. When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclauis had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauieng of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to ieopard the liues of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the sauing of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he weied the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to doo what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leauied for the defense of Cockclauis. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied togither to haue destroied him, but amongest the residue, the Persies were as chiefe.

The castell of Cockclauis besieged. A composition. *Fr. Thin.*

A conspiracie against king Henrie by the Persies and other.

They fought togither at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Persie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scotishmen on the Persies side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransome, and haue the towne of Berwike rendered vnto him in reward of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhood, and had the fore ward on the Persies side. He slue that day with his owne hands, three gentlemen arraied in the kings cote armour; and finallie when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aliue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Massie, and Pottoke, with seuen hundred other souldiers and men of war (as the Scotish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as sixteene hundred at the least.

Shrewesburie field. The earle of Dowglasse at Shrewesburie field in aid of the Persies.

He led the fore ward there. He is taken prisoner.

King Henrie (as the same Scotish writers doo record) vsed the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obteining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Dowglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiancie, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had seene him doo so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him woorthie of all honor. The earle of Dowglas yet was verie infortunat in most of his enterprises, so farre foorth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Hommildon he lost one of his eies, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he lost one of his stones. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing what euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Wardlow

The earle of Dowglas infortunat in battell. His surname Tinneman.

The earle of Northumberland fled into Scotland.

bishop

bishop of saint Andrewes, and lodged with him at his ease and in good suertie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so greeuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being now sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so excused the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had beene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised (if it might please the king to come vnto Edenburgh) he would bring in the offendors which were culpable of the murther. The king as then remaining in Bute (where for the most part he euer soiourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sicknesse, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edenburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his comming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certeine naughtie persons, & such in deed, as for their heinous acts and vngratious conditions deserued well to die (though not for this matter) which neuerthelesse by vntrue suggestions and forged accusements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had prouided for his purpose) were condemned as giltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

The death of the duke of Rothsaie commeth to the knowledge of his father.

The duke of Albanie excuseth himselfe.

The king commeth to Edenburgh.

Giltlesse persons condemned.

Though this matter was handled as finelie as was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could be deuised; yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death: but for somuch as the duke had all the realme vnder his obeisance, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, least he hauing an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compasse also to haue the life of his second sonne (named Iames) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Wardlaw the bishop of saint Andrews, he prouided a ship, and sent the said prince foorth in the same to passe into France to K. Charls the sixt, deliuering him also a letter written and directed vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vnwares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

The suspicion of the king towards the duke of Albanie.

The king sendeth away his sonne the prince.

Henrie lord Sinclare, the second earle of Orkeneie, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his purueiance readie, tooke the ship that was appointed for them at the Basse, where he laie at anchor, and loosing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head, where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not awaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But how soeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eighteene yeares. At his comming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scotish toong they be written.

Iames prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. *H.B.* 1404.

THE TENOR OF THE SAID LETTER AS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE SCOTISH TOONG.

"ROBERT king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitee, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit sike things had beene vncerteine to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemie with most awfull incursions in our realme: yit we found mair humanities and plaisures than damage (by thy cumming) to our subdittes. Speciallie to haue that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the time of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis fairfore, wuhile wee are on life, but aye luyf and loif thee as maist noble and woorthie prince, to ioys thy realme,

realme. For þocht realmes and nations contend amang themselfe for conquests of glorie & launds, ȝit na occasioun is amang vs to inuade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erar to contend amang our selfe, quhay sall persew othir with maist humanitee and kindnesse. As to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occurres at thy pleasure. Forther bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preseruing our children fra certeine deidlie enimies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constreined to seeke support at vncowth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasioun of enimies is sa great, that small defense occurres against þame without they by perserued by amitie of nobill men. For the warld is sa full of peruersit malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuisit in erd, bot the samine may be wroucht be motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we knaw thy hynesse full of monie noble vertues, with sike puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy humanitee and support at this time.

"We traist it is not vnknowen to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne Dauid is slaine miserablie in prisoun be our brothir the duke of Albanie, quhome wee chesit to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, beseekaund thy hienes thairfore to be sa fauorable, that this bearer Iames our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to liefe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knawaund the vnstable conditioun of mans life sa sodanlie altered: now flurisaund, and sudenlie falling to vtter consumptioun. Forthir beliefe well, quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair awin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the minds of common people, ar euir flowaund and mair inconstant than wind. ȝit quen princes ar roborat be amitee of othir vncowth kings thair brethir and nighbouris, na aduersitie may occurre to eiect thaim fra thair dignitie riall. Forthir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir owr desires; ȝit we request ane thing quhilk was ratifijt in our last trewes & conditioun of peace, that the supplicatioun made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland sall staund in manner of saufe conduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gratious God conserue thee maist noble prince."

Iames the prince of Scotland staied as prisoner in England.

His bringing vp.

An happie captiuitie.

His instructors in the toongs.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to staie this Iames prince of Scotland as his lawfull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that moreouer, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned more to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other worldlie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructors to teach him, aswell the vnderstanding of toongs as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be vsed of such a personage, wherevnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of actiuitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be briefe, it appeered in all his behauiour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had béene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous prince.

The griefe of his father K. Robert.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, sore lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in mariage with a woman of so meane degrée (to the disparagement of his bloud) as was quéene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he tooke it) was the onelie cause why aswell forraine princes as his owne subiects had him thus in contempt. He tooke this matter so sore to hart, that within thrée daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, now increased by melancholie, which had vexed him a long time before. He died at Rothsaie in the sixtéenth yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Pasleie, with

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, *Buch.*

1408.

His buriall.

with his wife queene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberall and gentle, so that if he had not beene maimed with a horsse, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecessors. His stature and qualities.

The gouernor Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by new election chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernor, which he exercised more vprightlie, & with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. [For (as saith Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts woorthie to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he wan the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons drie by exactions.] In the meane time, the castell of Jedworth (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by Tiuidalemen, and raced downe to the earth. Archembald earle of Dowglasse, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland. The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernor of the realme. *Fr. Thin.* Jedworth castell taken. The earle of Dowglasse is released and returneth into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a councell called, wherein was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and bloud. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scotishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Annerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Dowglasse, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right & estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offenses committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends. * Persie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteouslie receiued, interteined, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he sollicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scotish & English (through whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patrimonie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was shiriffe of Yorkshire. This man, after he had intised Persie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but falslie (as I suppose) saith Buchanan; for when the elder Persie did often and importunatlie require to talke with him, he could neuer be persuaded by anie mens words to come, or enter speech to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceipt would be vnderstood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeit king yet boasting him to be of the princelie bloud, was honored accordinglie; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all desire of gouernement, to the end he might woorke his effect the more safelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.) A motion mad for the restoring of the earl of March to his countrie. The earle of March restored home. *Fr. Thin.* *Buchanan.* 1409.

About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Iles, who claming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Rosse, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernor, hauing by subtill conueiance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named Iohn. The foresaid Donald, Rebellion moued by Donald of the Iles.

by way of supplication, besought the gouernor to doo him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were froward speech, wherewith he tooke such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Iles he came into Rosse, and subdued the same at his pleasure. * The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honor of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this maner. Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular prowesse shewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honor into Scotland, where he maried the daughter of William earle of Rosse, (slaine at the battell of Halidon) and with hir obteined the earldome of that prouince, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Rosse; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Iles. This Alexander ioined himselfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernor, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernor, induced to giue the earldome of Rosse vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortlie after died. Wherevpon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the erldome of Rosse by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Rosse, and brought it to his subiection. But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Murrey, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purposing to burne Aberden.

Donald subdued Rosse. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 268.*

The earldome of Rosse transferred from the line of Walter Rosse to the Stewards.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not staieng for more aid that was comming towards him, set on the enimies more rashlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discréetlie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed arraie of battell, as had béene requisit. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flée to the next mounteins, as glad to be seuered the one from the other. There was slaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Makclane, and Makinthos. On the earle of Marres side, there died Alexander Ogiluie shiriffe of Angus, with seuen knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This battell was striken on saint Iames euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Iles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enimies, in fléeing all the night long after the battell towards Rosse, and from thence with like spéed he passed ouer into the Iles.

The earle of Mar. The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull victorie. The number slaine.

1411.

Donald of the Iles fléeth.

In the yéere next following, the gouernor prepared to make a iournie into the Iles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one morning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast castell, and wan the same, taking the capteine prisoner, whose name was Thomas Holdon. At the same time was the bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglasse of Drumlanerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yéere (or rather in the yéere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by Iames the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill customes. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

1412.

Donald of the Iles submitteth himselfe.

Fast castell woone. 1410. *Buc.*

The bridge of Roxburgh broken downe.

1411.

The first beginning of the vniuersitie of S. Andrews Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law. *Fr. Thin.*

* From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing doone woorthie of memorie, betwéene the Scots and the English, either bicause the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fift reigning in his place,

and being all the time of his gouernement busied in the warres of France, the English ceassed to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernor of the Scots durst not mooue anie thing against the English, fearing least the K. of England would then returne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the misfortune of his imprisonment, and seeke to establish him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing doone in that meane time, they were but some few and small excursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archembald Dowglas, so (to answer the same) Dunfreis in Scotland was in the like order destroied by the English. Besides which there was a certeine exchange of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Mordac the sonne of the gouernor (taken at Halidon) was returned into Scotland, and Persie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernor) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland.

This man (though by the lawes of armes he was no captiue) yet the vniust deteining of Iames the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie doone in deteining him. The dooing whereof so litle offended this Persie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courtesie) giue witnes of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadors into Scotland, the one from the councell of Constance (wherof the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did stiflie reteine and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuasion of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a Franciscane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeeded to none effect: bicause the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the councell of Constance for the election of Martine the fift to the papasie.

Much what about the same time, Iohn Drummond slue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and therevpon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessell wherein he sailed, was driuen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortlie after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the fift king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceassed. ¶ We find in the Scotish chronicles, that this Henrie the fift, at his returning foorth of France, after his first iournie thither (hauing in the same woone the towne of Harfléet, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constreined to go against the Welshmen, and incountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceassing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

Warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the fift discomfited by the Welshmen. He subdueth them.

Whilest things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Warke, and slue all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the ioy of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in maner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellowes; by reason whereof they easilie recouered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise slue all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yeere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had beene gouernor of Scotland for the space of fiftéene yeeres, after the death of king Robert the third,

The castell of Warke woone.

It is againe recouered.

1419.

The decease of Robert duke of Albanie. *Fr. Thin.*

parted out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This dooth Buchanan attribute to the yeere 1420, being the fiftéenth yeere after the death of Robert the third.]

Ambassadors from the French king.

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Vandosme, and chancellor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then sore inuaded his realme. Wherevpon shortlie after by decrée of councell, it was ordeined, that Iohn Steward earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archembald Dowglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seuen thousand armed men.

An armie of Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

The king of England hauing knowledge hereof, to cause the Scots to kéepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumor being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme, caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

The king of England marieth the daughter of ye French king.

The articles of agréement.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgognie, vnder certeine conditions and couenants of agréement, king Henrie tooke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agréement, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediatlie descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindséie brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seuen thousand well armed men, arriued in France, to the great reioising of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finallie, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

The Dolphin of France mainteineth warre against the Englishmen.

Scotish soldiers arriued in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scotishmen.

* Shortlie after they were imploied in the battell of Bauge. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Aniou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Bauge, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdome would they shuld haue doone. The which when Clarence vnderstood (either by Andrew Fregose an Italian, or by the Scotish forragers intercepted by his horssemen) he reioised that he had so good occasion offered woorthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising foorthwith from dinner, he commanded his horssemen to arme themselues, with whome he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with goodlie diadems of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approch, those few French which were néere vnto them in a village called little Bauge (amongst whom was Iohn de la Croix) being feared, made their defense in flight; and for safegard entered the stéeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N.G.

The battell of Bauge.

Nic. Gil.

Whilest these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (wherein the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flée to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilest the others prepared themselues) sent

sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (incountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he soiorned) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits. These with their arrowes so streictlie kept this streict, that the horssemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake horsse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part vnarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilest Clarence taketh his horsse againe, and some of the rest scatteringlie doo passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth vpon them, & foorthwith (desirous to make triall of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioise, that they had now obteined cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arriuall in France) shew some token of their valure, and refute those tawnts which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, obiecting that the greedinesse of wine & vittels had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are woont to vpbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honor, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdeining both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more valiantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the richnesse of his armor) came Iohn Swinton, which greeuouslie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite ouerthrew to the ground. Which doone, the English fled, and were greeuouslie slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eue, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Riddesdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Greie were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meaner sort. All which, as we haue heere set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluscart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Macelsell, a knight of Lenox, which tooke from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to Iohn Steward of Dernill, for a thousand angels, which he after laied to pawne to Robert Hustone, to whom he owght fiue thousand angels; & this saith that booke was the most common report at those daies. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, euen by the testimonie of the enuious aduersaries, as the writer of this storie saith vpon his credit.) At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongest whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntington, & the earle of Summerset, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Iane, that was after maried to king Iames the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiancie of the Scotishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gaue him sundrie townes, castels, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

Hector Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Buchquhane is created constable of France.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 10.

* King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortlie after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand horsse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordinglie.) For with all speed he after came into France with a mightie host, and had with him Iames the Scotish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The cause why king Henrie did take this Iames ouer with him at that present into France, was,

was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scotishmen that were in seruice with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the said Iames, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his ransome, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: Iames answered héerevnto, that he maruelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, "but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, togither with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter doo as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to doo that which I may in no wise performe."

The answer of Iames the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisedome which appeered to be planted in the head of that yoong prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were beséeged, woone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickerings and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselues to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer néeded to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practise against their enimies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Meldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laieng to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a gréeuous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministred vnto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the sixt of that name, deceassed; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seuenth, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogither so earnestlie followed as before, whervpon the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton returned into Scotland, and shortlie after was an armie leuied, and siege laied both to Rocksburgh, and to Berwike, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in derision was called The durtie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtin raid.

King Henrie tooke it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 10.

The death of Henrie king of England. 1422.

The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburgh and Berwike besieged.

The dirtin raid.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall vnderstand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albanie, his sonne Mordo Steward earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yéeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre vnméet thereto, differing much from the wisedome and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so lift vp in carelesse insolencie, that he had no staie of himselfe, by reason whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offendors through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape vnpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuere & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

Mordo Steward earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland.

The repugnant vices reigning in Mordo Steward.

Thus was he still in extremities, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his dooings. Héereto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, Iames, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, plaied manie outragious parts, to the sore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking hir beside his fist, wroong hir necke from hir bodie euen presentlie before his face. Wherevpon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous déed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy rother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home yer it be long, that shall chastise both you and me after

His negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The woords of duke Murdo to his son.

after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redéeming of Iames the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in déed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hap of all the Scotish nation. * For calling togither a parlement (of the nobilitie) at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their Iames imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agréed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king Iames. Wherevpon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichton bishop of Aberden, Archembald Dowglasse (the third earle of that name, and fift of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglasse, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Coruall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Iarraine a Drum, knight.)

Duke Mordo traueleth for the redéeming of Iames the first. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 10.

Lesleus lib. 7. *pag.* 272.

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being sore vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requiring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scotishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuade Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of fiue thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, tooke the seas, and arriued with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and comming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. * With this companie also was sent ambassador, Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, a man of great authoritie amongest the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisedome, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancellorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to asserteine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Wherevpon the earle of Dowglasse was by the king for his further aduancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was soone diminished (as saith Lesleus) by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Vernoile. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with Iames his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Steward, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appéere.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. *pag.* 270.

The earle of Dowglasse made duke of Touraine. *Lesleus lib.* 7. *pag.* 270.

1424. *N.Gi.*

And héere a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan girdeth at the English (as he dooth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter tawnts) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appéereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he dooth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he doo most bitterlie with woords of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appéereth) before he tooke the later penne in hand (after the ouerseeing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liers, vnbrideled, malicious, backbiters, euill toonged; and that he can rather prooue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it séemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disprooue men, but with such bitter tawnts, when they but

A digression against Buchanan.

onelie

onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to doo? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inueie against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantlie (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Rosse (secretlie misliking Boetius) haue in silence passed ouer a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius dooth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, & of whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotiæ quædam parùm verè prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if from the abundance of the hart the toong and hand doo speake and write, I can not see but that by his distemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chiefest part of his booke seemeth to be a stomaching inuectiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that intreat of the historie of his nation, or else he will exclame against them (as he dooth in this place of the battell of Vernoile) that they maliciouslie obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, or the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to tawnt and disgrace vs by his cholerike pen, he will seeke a knot in a rush, and make a mounteine of a molehill, in so vehement inuaieng against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much awrie out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs? Yes trulie, and that I suppose will be well prooued at an other time, in an other treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And heere remember I praie thee gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so soone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues togither, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of Vernoile) he hath lept manie miles out of the way, with bitter woords to tawnt Humfrie Lhoid, Grafton, Hall, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his woorke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince whilest he liued) required. But inough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arbiter*, and will be no seuere censurer of other mens writings at this time (wherevnto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other woorks, (wherevnto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

Enuie and discord.

The Scotish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongest the chiefteins. For the duke of Alanson enuieng that the Scots should dailie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were ouerthrowen and brought to vtter destruction. Againe, euen vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of Touraine, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scotish legher, the one disdaining to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloudshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there

there came dailie newes of diuerse great ouerthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scotishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie capteins repaired into France: as amongest other, one Robert Patillocke of Dundée with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seuenth aforesaid, shewing such proofe of his singular manhood and valiancie in those wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stéed. Chieflie his diligence and prowesse well appéered, in reducing the parties of Gascoigne vnto the French subiection, which had remained a great number of yéeres vnder the dominion of the English kings. And heerevpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne.*

Robert Patillocke capteine of a power of Scotishmen sent into France.

Robert Patillocke called *Le petit roy de Gascoigne. Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 7. pag. 271.*

* But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We say, that the French reioising of this conquest of Gascoigne, would not séeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this Patillocke, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scotish archers (which they were woont to vse in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this Patillocke chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the sixt appointed an other companie of Scotish horssemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trap of the Scotishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was Robert Steward (borne of the familie of the earle of Lennox) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de Aubignie, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of bloud & descent, that is, by Bernard the famous capteine of warre, then by Robert, and to conclude, by Iohn Steward, brother of the earle of Lennox) is at this day also in possession of the woorthie yoong gentleman (the sonne of the said Iohn) who giueth foorth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadors sent (as before is shewed) into England for K. Iames, behaued themselues so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agréed, that king Iames should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransome the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the paiment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he tooke to wife the ladie Iane, daughter to the earle of Summerset. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quéene their néece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king Iames and to the quéene his wife, besides a cupbord of massie plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & valure.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 271.

Pag. 260. co. numb. 30, 40.

The ransome of K. Iames.

Iane daughter to the earle of Summerset maried to king Iames the first.

Gifts giuen to K. Iames by his wiues friends.

King Iames then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his déere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixtéene or eightéene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to Edenburgh on Care sundaie, otherwise called Passion sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, ioy, and triumph that might be deuised. * At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his natiue soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had béene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; wherevpon, Walter the son of Mordac, Malcolme Fleming, and Thomas Boid being gréeuouslie accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people)

King Iames commeth to Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.

committed

committed to diuers prisons till the next parlement, which was appointed the sixt kalends of Iune following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appeare, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings coronation.]

IAMES.

He is crowned at Scone togither with his wife. 1423, *Buch.* 1424, *Lesl.*

AND after that, as soone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and shortlie after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife quéene, by duke Mordo the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrewes, the one and twentith day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came foorth of England with this Iames the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were aduanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and good furtherance, got in mariage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Gowrie and Angus.

Andrew Graie.

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King Iames kéepeth an audit.

King Iames after his coronation returned from Scone to Edenburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Mordo, namelie the chancellor, the treasuror, the clearks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiuers, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to doo concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceiued by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues perteining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fautors, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in shewing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

A parlement at Edenburgh.

A tax leuied.

In the meane time, he aduisedlie perused all euidences, rols, and charters perteining to the crowne, and shortlie therevpon called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which, by aduise of the three estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paied of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, oxe, and horsse, to be paied for the space of two yeares togither. This paiment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the paiment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & tooke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he maried his daughter with the Dolphin of France.

The commons grudge at paiments.

Bils of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Mordo.

Amongst other bils put vp in this parlement, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions vsed and doone by the sons of duke Mordo, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Walter Steward put in prison.

Wherevpon Walter Steward, one of the sons of the said duke Mordo, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Basse, there to remaine in safe kéeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Thomas Boid of Kilmarnoke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noble men were pardoned and forgiuen of all offenses for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parlement also,

The oth of K. Iames.

K. Iames tooke a solemne oth, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oth by his example did all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parlement was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Mordo, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archembald earle of Dowglasse, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepborne of Hales, and manie other great

A parlement holden at Perth. Duke Mordo with his sonne Alexander, and

barons

barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castels and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Mordo was sent to Carlaurocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.) diuerse other péeres of the realme arrested.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, Iames Steward the third sonne of duke Mordo mooued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbreton, and burnt it, after he had slaine Iohn Steward of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this Iames so fiercelie, that he was faine to flée into Ireland, where he afterwards deceassed. 1425. The towne of Dunbreton burnt.

[And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said Iames committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by Iames the third aduanced to great honors.] *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.*

In the next yeare insuing, K. Iames called a parlement at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Steward with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead foorth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded. A parlement holden at Sterling. 1426.

On the morrow after, duke Mordo himselfe, and Duncan Steward earle of Lennox were conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his coosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it iustlie happened) by distemperance of griefe discouer the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grieuous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the faults be true which are laid against them, the king hath doone but right and iustice vnto them.) Thus by the attaindor of duke Mordo and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Menteith, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and abiding the kings pleasure, were sore afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had béene executed on duke Mordo and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings fauor, on promise of their loiall demeanor & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall liues. Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Mordo beheaded. Duke Mordo and Duncan Steward earle of Lennox beheaded. *Fr. Thin.*

* The parlement being ended, Iohn Mountgomerie, & Humfreie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Louchleuine, which was kept against him by the run agat Iames Steward, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, Iohn Steward of Dernleie (who was maister of the Scotish garrison of horssemen in France, the rest of the former capteins being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charls, to renew the old league betwéene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betweene Lewes the sonne of the said Charles the seuenth, and Margaret the daughter of K. Iames, both being yet verie yoong. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the (1426) he determined (hauing pacified all Scotland betwéene the mounteins of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inuernesse (set in a conuenient place in the furthest borders of Murrey) to be repared. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement vpon misdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to suppresse their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, were woont to fetch preies from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers; of which capteins, some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obeie their commandement: with which they ceassed not to kéepe the good in danger vnto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 10.* 1426. 1428.

had gotten in, and drawen to come before him, partlie by flatteries, and partlie by threats: he committed about fortie of their leaders to seuerall prisons: whose euill being throughlie knowen, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them called Alexander Macror and Iohn Macarcture; at what time also he beheded Iames Campbell (for the murther of Iohn of the Iles) a man déerelie beloued of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted freelie to depart to their owne. The capteins of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restreined in prison) the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Wherevpon the king calling them before him, did giue them a louing admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to doo, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselues.)

1427. In the yeere next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Iles was arrested by the king at Inuernes, for that he was accused to be a succorer & mainteiner of théeues & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time comming to reforme his former misdemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof insued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortlie vpō his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethrifts, and with the same comming into Inuernes, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, inforcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, wherevpon he fled incontinentlie to the Iles. Finallie hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay dailie in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore araie to the Holie rood house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his praiers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death vnto life.

Alexander lord of the Iles arrested.
He is set at libertie.
He rebelleth.
The towne of Inuernes burnt.
Alexander of the Iles commeth to the king and asketh pardon.

At requést of the quéene, the king pardoned him of life; but he appointed William Dowglasse earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that within the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Rosse, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; bicause it was knowne that she sollicited hir sonne to rebell (in maner as is aforesaid) against the king. Not long after, Donald Ballocht, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Iles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the inuasion of those Iland-men, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochtie, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Herewith did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Iles. The king sore mooued with the newes hereof, came with a great armie vnto Dunstafage, purposing with all speed to passe into the Iles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Iles aduertised hereof, came to Dunstafage, and submitted themselues vnto the king, excusing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constreined them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iournie. All those clans vpon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and sworne to pursue the said Donald vnto death.

Donald Ballocht inuadeth Lochquhaber.
The earle of Cathnes slain.
Donald Ballocht returneth with victorie & spoile into the Iles.
The clans of the Iles submit thēselues to the king.

Shortlie herevpon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also thrée hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within thrée wéekes space, after his first flieng into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king Iames passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offendors and misruled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indéed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reiffes, and oppressions,

Donald flieth into Ireland.
His head is sent as a present to the king.
Thrée hundred of Donalds complices hanged.
Pardons granted by the gouernor are void.

as

as had beene doone afore in the countrie, should remaine vnpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yeeres of his reigne, there were thrée thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

Thrée thousand offendors put to death within two yéeres space.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene thought sufficient to giue example to other to reforme their naughtie vsages, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of theeues and robbers, and tooke a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murrey and Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murrey followed with a great power, and ouertaking the said Angus Duffe neere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie assailed him. Who with like manhood made stout resistance, by reason whereof there insued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelie twelue persons aliue, & those so wounded, that they were scarse able to returne home to their houses, and liued but a few daies after. About the same time, there was also another notable theefe named Makdonald Rosse, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor shod a woman with horsse shooes, bicause she said she would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings. As soone as she was whole, and recouered of hir wounds, she went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties doone vnto hir by that vngratious person Makdonald. * The king (who before had heard the same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in prison, determining to sée due punishment for that wicked fact) comforted the sillie woman, promising hir shortlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Wherevpon Makdonald being brought out of prison with twelue of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yéeldeth an eie for an eie, and a tooth for a tooth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be shod with iron horsséshooes, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to bee caried three daies togither about the citie for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraordinarie wickednesse; making proclamation that euerie one might sée this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not ceasse to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his twelue fellowes and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Ros a notable robber.

He shod a widow.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Lesleus.

In the third yeere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October, Iane the quéene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and Iames. The first deceassed in his infancie. The other succéeded after his fathers deceasse in the kingdome, & was named Iames the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, that succéeded his father in the earledome of Dowglas. His father the said Archembald Dowglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yéere next insuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the quéene, and other péeres of the realme, the king pardoned him [with Iohn Kennedie] of all offenses, and set both them and Alexander earle of Rosse at libertie. King Iames in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offendors, and such as liued by reiffe and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

1430.

The quéene deliuered of two sonnes at one birth.

Fiftie knights dubbed.

Archembald earle of Dowglas arrested and put in prison.

Fr. Thin.

King Iames desirous to purge his realme of vnrulie persons.

* Hauing thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he forgot not to looke into small offenses which were secretlie doone, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature, dooth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (& bicause the inferior iudges would the better administer iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisedome, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, whome he sent all ouer the realme, giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and sutes (if anie were brought

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10.

vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

An ordinance for measures.

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good townes, to see that iust measures were vsed by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreouer, he repared and fortified the castels and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted also sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high aduancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall liuings, still as the same chanced to be vacant. [Hauing for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should inioy the roome of a canon in anie cathedrall church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all maner of vertue and good learning increased dailie through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be vsed in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scotishmen.

Castels repared and munited.

Priuileges granted to the vniuersitie of S. Andrews.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 274.

Organs brought into Scotland.

A parlement at Perth.

Much what about the same time, there was a parlement holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the three estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect: that "Where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpassed, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his comming, should be of small auaile, and that was, such superfluous riot in banketting cheere, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken vp and vsed after the English fashion, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable wasting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance vsed amongest the Scotishmen in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then vsed, by receiuing more excesse of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sawces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him foorth of England, they were woorthie in deed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scotishmen themselues were chieflie to be blamed, that had so quicklie yeelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excesse, sensuall lust, slouth, reiffe, and wasting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer foorth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesee, to shew his accustomed wisedome and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should doo the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subiects."

Bishop Wardlaw inueieth against superfluous fare.

Vices following delicate fare.

By these and manie other the like persuasions, bishop Wardlaw vsed to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be vsed through the realme, licencing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuerthelesse, such intemperance is risen in processe of time following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate gormandise, that they maie scarse fetch breath, through which their noisome surfetting, they fall dailie into sundrie strange and lothsome kinds of diseases, being

Order taken for suppressing of costlie fare.

Vse of baked meates in Scotland when it began.

The greedie appetite of gluttons neuer satisfied.

oftentimes

oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by dailie experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yéere the seuenteenth day of Iune, was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at three of the clocke at after noone, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre togither, as though it had béene night, and therevpon it was called the blacke houre. A terrible eclipse.

At the next Lammas, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Roxburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftéene daies togither. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wasted his powder and other munition, before hée could doo anie great hurt to his enimies, he was constreined to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. Roxburgh besieged. An huge armie.

After this king Iames perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuall occupations was decaied in Scotland, through continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further aduancement of the common-wealth, and that his subiects might haue occasion to auoid slouth and idlenesse (the root of all mischiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftesmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties. Men of occupation brought into Scotlād to instruct the Scotishmen therein. Idlenesse the root of all mischiefe.

Not long after, one Paule Craw a Bohemian borne, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting foorth the doctrine of Iohn Hus, & Iohn Wikcliffe. Iohn Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrosse. [After which, the said king Iames began to take vpon him the person of a priuate man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernement of the common-wealth.] Paule Craw burnt. Iohn Fogo. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 275.*

About the same time was the abbeie of Charturar moonks founded besides Perth, by king Iames, with great cost and magnificence. The abbeie of Charturar moonks built besides Perth by K. Iames.

Also the lord Scroope and other associats with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the sixt, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolued, promising that if the councell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in leage with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Berwike, with all the lands lieng betwixt Twéed and the Recrosse (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scotishmens hands. King Iames hauing small credit in such faire promises, perceiued the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the councell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolued, and so therevpon the English ambassadors were dispatched without more talke concerning that matter. The lord Scroope ambassador into Scotland. The offer of the Englishmen to haue the Scots to ioine with them in leage.

In the same yéere, that is to say, 1433, the king caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancellor William Creichton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the kéepers of the said castell, that they shuld deliuer vp the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The kéepers durst not disobeie his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and liuings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earledome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yéeres togither, to the great defense and safegard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and foreine enimies. 1433. George erle of March arested and put in ward. A parlement at Perth. The earle of March disherited.

The

The earldome of Buchquhan giuen to George Dunbar.

The king yet mooued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the councell thinking the same too little, assigned foorth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yéerelie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earledome of March, to inioy the same till Iames the second came to full age. In the yéere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of Mar departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the sonnes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgognie at the siege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himselfe so manfullie, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in mariage the ladie Iacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that she had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

1435.

The death of Alexander Steward erle of Mar. *Leodium.*

Warres betwixt the earle of Mar & the Hollanders.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, hée prouided him of ships, and made sore warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the woorse; but at length he tooke a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being sore abashed, fell to a composition with him, and tooke truce with the Scots for an hundred yéeres. This earle of Mar so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland vnder king Iames the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. Hée brought foorth of Hungarie sundrie great horsses and mares for generation, that by such meanes the countrie might be prouided of great horsses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more méet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anie seruice in the warres.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for tearme of 100 yéeres.

Good mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for brood.

Ambassadors out of Denmarke. Their request.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king Iames, requiring him to make paiment of such yéerelie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norwaie for the westerne Iles, according to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, vnto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norwaie. The ambassadors that came with this message were honorablie receiued, and in like sort interteined by king Iames, who at their departure gaue to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creichton to go with them into Denmarke, ambassador frō him, to the king there, who vsed himselfe so sagelie in this businesse which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, stedfast peace and assured amitie without anie more adoo therof insued. Much about the same time, there came ambassadors from the French king, Charles the seuenth, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king Iames, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in mariage vnto Lewes the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Sir William Creichton sent into Denmarke. Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke. Ambassadors foorth of France. The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland. The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king Iames.

Manie great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France, and great prouision of ships made for that voiage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fléet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might méet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scotish ships should passe, there appéered on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they were

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scotish fléet.

The Englishmen incounter a fléet of Spaniards.

were in a wrong box, and so shrewdlie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they susteined great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scotish nauie passed by quietlie without damage, incountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen foorth of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongest which number there were fiue of hir owne sisters.

The arriuall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

In the meane time, whilest such things were a dooing, Henrie Persie of Northumberland inuaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being knowen whether he had commission so to doo from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglasse earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongest whome were Adam Hepborne of Hales, Alexander Ramseie of Dalehouse, and Alexander Elphingston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Persie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine togither with Alexander Elphingston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, Iohn Ogill, and Richard Persie, with fifteene hundred other of gentlemen and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Henrie Persie inuadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Persie and the earle of Angus.

The Scots get the victorie.

The number of Englishmen slaine.

Prisoners taken.

Shortlie heerevpon, king Iames raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburgh, but when he had almost brought his purpose so neere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the queene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that if he tooke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne suertie, but that preuailed little: for Walter Steward earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephue Robert Steward, and his coosine Robert Graham, to slea the king by one meane or other, which finallie they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was driuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deadlie. And though by the queenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburgh; yet forsomuch as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchiue their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Rocksburgh besieged.

The king informed of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege.

The earle of Atholl heard of the conspiracie.

Robert Graham.

Heerevpon the said Steward and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber doore, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priuie to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Iudas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came foorth of the chamber doore to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doore, either of them hauing a long swoord girded to him, he stept backe, and cried, Treason: but yer he could get within the doore to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murtherers of the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Whilest this was a dooing, not without great noise & rumbling, a yoong virgin named Katharine Dowglasse (that was after maried to Alexander Louell of Bolunnie) got to the doore, and shut it: but because the barre was awaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but yoong, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was soone crasht in sunder, and the doore broken vp by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such

Katharine Dowglasse.

The murtherers enter the

kings chamber, and slea the king. such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deadlie wounds [at 28 seuerall blowes.] The quéene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrike Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floore, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, dooing most manfullie his vttermost deuoire to haue preserued him from the murtherers hands. Thus was Iames the first murthered the 21 day of Februarie, the 44 yéere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet throughlie finished.

The quéene is hurt.

Patrike Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense.

Iames the first murthered.

1437. *Buch.*

1447. *I. Ma.*

1336. *Lesle.*

* Of this Iames I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulders, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither séemed monstruous big to be woondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but caried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) dooth terme to be squared or of euen proportion, as the parts of a quadrangle or just square doo answer ech other, so that nature séemeth not to haue framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times imbrace iustice more streictlie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealth. For he séemed so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said (within the space of thrée yeeres) to haue executed thrée thousand persons for their committed offenses. Although this may rather séeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things séemed to haue béene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and swéet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie imbrace peace at home amongst his subiects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisedome, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appéere, that the kings of other nations did ioine in league and friendship with him? Of which wisedome, and of other his vertues (although he obteined part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie actiuitie, with the diligence of good schoolemaisters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificiall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he séemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie prooued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him (in Scotish méeter) with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauitie, and wisedome of the ancient poets.

His stature and forme of bodie. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. cap. 271.*

Buchan. also saith he wrote Latine verses with such good grace, as the rudenesse of that age permitted.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his indeuor for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were méet for a free man, which he is said most studiouslie to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein; for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end

calme the rough maners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweete condition of life & maners. Wherefore I may well say; O most happie common-wealth which was gouerned by so woorthie a prince: & may iustlie exclame; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murther take away such an honor, beautie, and piller of the common-wealth. Now, besides manie other things by him doone, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beautie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet within doores; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enimies without doores: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the inuention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before; he caused certeine peeces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifieng the antiquitie in like maner of the same: *Iohn Maior. lib. 6. cap. 13.*

Illustri Iacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Factus sum subitò, nuncupor ergo Leo.)

The nobles and peeres of the realme right sorowfull for the death of this Iames, assembled togither, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edenburgh, where they were executed on this maner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onelie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of Dauid the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne foorth of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Mordo to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length atteine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle (I say) was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onelie his shirt; and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the drawer of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoised on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swaie downe vpon the pauement. The search made for the traitors. The execution of the erle of Atholl.

After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceiued, he liued vnder vaine hope to atteine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compasse the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawen with his complices laid on hurdels, round about the towne at an horsse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken foorth, and throwne into the fire flickering before his eies, & then was his heart pulled foorth of his bodie, and throwne likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters. The prophesie of a witch.

His nephue Robert Steward was not altogither so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he slue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart; the hand that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised vp in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, thighes, & shoulders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Clawn also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shamefull kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syluius (being then ambassador Robert Steward executed. The ordering of Robert Grahams execution. Christopher Clawn. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 279.*

bassador in Scotland for pope Eugenius the fourth to the said king Iames, considering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the speedie reuenge therefore executed by the nobilitie) should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought with greater praise to commend them which reuenged the kings death, than by sharper sentence punish those that had committed such parricide.] In the daies of king Iames the first, sundrie strange and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At Perth there was a sow that brought foorth a litter of pigs with heads like vnto dogs. A cow also brought foorth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In the haruest before the kings death, a blasing star was seene with long streaming beams. And in the winter following, the frost was so vehement, that ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then melted against the fire. A sword was seene gliding vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than woonder of the people.

Strange sights. Pigs with heads like to Dogs, A calfe with a head like a colt. A blasing star. A great frost. Ale and wine sold by the pound weight. A sword seene in the aire.

IAMES THE SECOND.

IAMES the first made away through the traitorous practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is specified) his eldest sonne Iames the second of that name, being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mother and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being the 102 king of that realme from Ferguse the first. He was surnamed Iames with the fierie face, by reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his cheekes. This Iames at his comming to mans state prooued a stout prince, and maried the daughter of the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine, as the Dowglasse, and other, but in the end he subdued them all.

1436.

Buchan. 103.

The daughter of the duke of Gelderland maried to Iames the second.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gouernor of the king and realme, and sir William Creichton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the same as he before had doone, the K. being committed to his keeping, togither with the castell of Edenburgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in his countries of Dowglas & Annardale, and would neither obeie gouernor nor chancellor, wherby great trouble was raised within the realme. Within a short time also, the gouernor and chancellor were diuided. The gouernor with the queene remained at Striueling, but the chancellor had the king still with him in the castell of Edenburgh; and what the one commanded to be doone, the other forbad: whereby neither of them was obeied, nor anie execution of iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie, reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised without feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing such mischiefe to reigne throughout all parts of the realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernors side, and hereupon with a small companie repaired to Edenburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she persuaded the chancellor to suffer hir to enter the castell, and to remaine with the king; but within three daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pilgrimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as if he had beene some fardell of his apparell, and so packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants laid vpon a sumpter horsse vnto Lieth, from whence he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of the gouernor he was ioifullie receiued, commending the queene highlie for hir politike working, in deceiuing so wise a man as the chancellor was. Then raised he a great power of his friends and well-willers, and besieged the chancellor in the castell of Edenburgh.

Sir Alexander Leuingston gouernor. Sir William Creichton L. chancellor. Disobedience in the Dowglasse.

1437.

A policie wrought by the queene.

The king conueied vnto Striueling.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood through the womans deceipt, sent to the earle of Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene and gouernor. But the earle refusing either to helpe the one or the other, alledging that they were both ouer ambitious in

in seeking to haue the whole gouernment of the realme in their hands. The chancellor then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made agreement with the gouernor, vnder certeine conditions, that he should reteine still the castell of Edenburgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue still in his office of chancellor. Shortlie after the earle of Dowglasse deceassed at Lestelricke, in the yeare 1439, against whome aswell the gouernor as chancellor had conceiued great hatred. He left behind him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawfords daughter) named William, a child of fourteene yeares of age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of Dowglasse, appearing at the first to be well inclined of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he waxed wild and insolent.

An agréement made.

The earle of Dowglasse departeth this life at Lestelricke. 1439.

About this season, Iames Steward sonne to the lord of Lorne, maried the quéene Dowager, and fauored the earle Dowglasse in his vnrulie demeanor: wherevpon, both the said Iames and his brother William, with the quéene, were committed to prison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernors appointment; but shortlie after they were released by the sute of the lord chancellor, sir William Creichton, and Alexander Seton of Gurdon, who became suerties for their good abearing, vnder great forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time, or rather somewhat before, Alane Steward lord of Dernlie was slaine at Palmais thorne, by sir Thomas Boid. And in the yeare following, the same sir Thomas was slaine by Alexander Steward of Bolmet and his sonnes; where through there rose great troubles in the west part of Scotland. William earle of Dowglasse sent Malcolme Fleming of Cumernald, and Alane of Lowder, vnto Charles the seuenth, king of France, to obteine of him the duchie of Towraine, which was giuen to Archembald Dowglasse at the battell of Vernoill in Perth; and the last earle, father to this earle William, had inioied the same all his life time, wherevpon that sute was the sooner obteined: which made the yoong earle more insolent than before.

The quéene imprisoned.

Alane Steward is slain.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the court, that it should séeme he had the king in small regard; for he thought himselfe safe inough in mainteining the like state and port, or rather greater than euer his father at anie time had mainteined before him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand horsse, of the which number there were diuerse errant théeues and robbers, that were borne out in their vnlawfull and wicked practises by the same earle. Certeine capteins of the Iles, as Lachlane, Makelaine, and Murdac Gipson, with a wicked number of the inhabitants of the same Iles, haried, spoiled, and burnt the countrie of Lenox, and slue Iohn Colquhouen lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also slue women and children, without respect to age or sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scotland, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a death by pestilence, that few escaped that were taken therewith, and so the realme was plagued with reiffe, oppression, dearth, and death of people. This yeare also the gouernor tooke the whole administration vpon him, wherewith the chancellor was displeased, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repared to Edenburgh, where he deuised the way how to recouer the king from the gouernor, and so on a morning tooke foure and twentie men with him, and rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

The great port of the erle of Dowglasse.

Lenox is haried.

Iohn Colquhouen, or Coguhuin slaine.

A dearth.

Pestilence.

* At what time the chancellor with great courtesie drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to sée such companie come vnto him, hauing so few in his traine. Which when the chancellor perceiued, he praied the king to be of good comfort, and in few words (fit for that time) exhorted him that he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and deliuer himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor, liuing fréelie from hencefoorth after a kinglie maner; that he should not accustome himselfe to obeie the pleasure and couetousnes of others, that he should vse to command his subiects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliuer his people from these euils which increased vpon them, by the ambition and couetousnesse of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to doo, he had without all danger or trouble prouided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 11.

number therefore, which should attend vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to vse anie other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance (either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancellor) did fullie approoue, and went with his small vnarmed companie and the chancellor toward Edenburgh.)

The king went with the chancellor to Edenburgh.

The chancellor (as Hector Boetius saith) had caused the number of foure thousand horssemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretlie to be readie that morning about the town of Striueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue vsed anie force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancellor, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safelie and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised hereof, was grieuouslie displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got Iohn Iunes bishop of Murrey, and Henrie Lichton bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancellor: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancellor, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

The gouernor and chancellor are made friends.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 294. Buchan. lib. 11.

* During which turmoiles, William Dowglasse (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himselfe, disobeieng the rule of the gouernor, & disdaining to ioine in societie of the chancellor) did vew the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they seeke by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the dooing whereof (to the end it might be performed without anie tumult) they appoint a parlement to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies hapneth) but almost the whole countries came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle harts, to rue the afflicted) there arose great enuie against the capteins and leaders of the wicked dooers of such spoile, whose euils were now growne to such excesse, as by no means they might be suffered; whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yeeld themselues to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weake could not well find anie helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wiser sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be seuered) to flie to policie and leaue strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dowglasse by that name of capteine of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and fautor of those people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancellor (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Dowglasse) persuaded the whole parlement, that it were more conuenient with faire speeches to pacifie Dowglasse, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might hinder all the decrees of the parlement: but if hee ioined with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salue all these present euils. Through which wise and subtill persuasion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his woorthie ancestors, by whome the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued manie singular benefits) hee should repaire to the parlement, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemblie, if hee would complaine of anie wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or anie of his friends or familie had committed anie disordered part, the nobilitie there

there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the woorthie memorie of the déeds doone by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the aduancement of his name and benefit of his countrie. Therfore if he would come and ioine with them, he should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleaseth him, to the end that as in times past, their countrie had béene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Dowglasses, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe aduanced and strengthened from and against those intestine euils wherewithall it now fainted. The yoong man (by nature and age gréedie of glorie) being mooued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now déemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their priuate commodities, and with that resolution tooke their iournie to come to the parlement.

The chancellor when he vnderstood they were on there way, rode foorth of Edenburgh manie miles to méet the Dowglasse, and courteouslie inuited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his waie as he should ride, at which place he was most honourablie interteined by the chancellor. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancellor (after hée had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had anie mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, their countrie lawes, and the consent of the parlement had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obteined by the bloud of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their déeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would refraine himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoone from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from hencefoorth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were anie) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yoong yéeres might be taken for proofe of his innocencie in such euils. With these and such like spéeches, declaring the faith of a wel-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edenburgh with Dauid his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancellor, more than in times past or then beséemed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernor (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a déepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edenburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Wherevpon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancellor: and at the least (if he would aduenture himself) to send home his brother Dauid, to the end that hée might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnaduised youth of this man, being mooued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongest the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who (bicause they would not

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be restreined within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humor: whose speaches hée regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approoued wisedome of the chancellor and the gouernor, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horsse, and hastened his iourneie more than he did before, with his brother and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certeine destinie) casting himselfe hedlong into the snares of his enimies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernor (according to his promise) was readie there to méet him, to the end the matter might séeme to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorablie and friendlie by the gouernor receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the middest of this sweet meat (sower sawce being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yoong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the tablé: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother Dauid, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yéers (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancellor (grieuing to sée) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hée) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vncle Iames Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succéeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but three yeeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was maried to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle Iames before his deceasse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Balwanie, Annardale; and Ormont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the deceasse of his father earle Iames, began to wax vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasse latelie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeie the gouernor and chancellor, whervpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

Fr. Thin. * Againe (by the mariage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrulie behauiour) aduance himselfe in pride, whereof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he incountering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priuie of their misdemeanor. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one Iohn Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robberie) did set vpon William Ruwene (shiriffe of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a théefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than théeues) the shiriffe recouered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

Buchanan. lib. 11.

1443. In the yéere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbreton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Robert Semplier that was capteine of the inferior castell, and Patrike Galbrith capteine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these

these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglasse, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue Simplie) the other capteine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligentlie kept, than dutie or the state of the time required, found opportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuerting the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike vnderstanding thereof, and comming with foure vnarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and houshold-stuffe) entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armor, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

The king, after he came to the age of fouretéene yéeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but tooke the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglasse informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priuie councellors in all his affaires. By his persuasion shortlie after, sir Alexander Leuingston, & William Creichton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the councell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appéere before the king: which because they refused to doo, they were proclamed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglasse then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, sir William Creichton spoiled the earle of Dowglasse his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blacknesh were burnt and destroied. 1444. The king wil rule himselfe.

The earle of Dowglasse ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Murrey, by ioining him in mariage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Morouer, Hugh Dowglasse was made earle of Ormont. Thus the earle of Dowglasse aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Iles, and with the earle of Rosse, to the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, tooke a great preie of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called Iames Kenedie, sisters son to king Iames the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntleie with the Ogiluies on the other, met at Arbroth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Beirdie. On the earle of Huntleies side were slaine, Iohn Forbes of Petslege, Alexander Berkelie of Gartulie, Robert Maxwell of Teline, William Gurdun of Burrowfield, sir Iohn Oliphant of Aberdagie, and fiue hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victorers were also slaine, as Hector Boetius saith. 1445. *Lesle.*

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawfords eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Ogilbie or Ogiluie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arbroth, the which the maister of Crawford inioieng, was displaced and put out by the said Ogiluie. Wherevpon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he tooke it) got a power togither with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbeie, and Ogiluie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge héereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe comming from Dundee vnto Arbroth, at the verie instant when the battels were readie to ioine, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling foorth sir Alexander Ogiliue to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demand

mand ment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presentlie died in the place: wherevpon togither the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntleie escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogiluie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortlie after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Ianuarie, in the yéere of our Lord 1445.

Fr. Thin: 1445 *Io. Ma.* 1446. *Lesl.* *Buchanan. lib.* 11. *Lesleus lib.* 8. *pag.* 279.

* The king thus ruled by the troope of the Dowglasses, the earle Dowglasse sent to sir William Creichton knight, to deliuer vp the castell of Edenburgh. But Creichton (saieng that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to doo therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods foorthwith confiscat to the kings vse, with his castell of Creichton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should séeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creichton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and enuie) which Creichton had before caused to be established and proclamed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoeuer did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason; the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Wherevpon the Dowglasse (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) sharpelie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creichton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creichton was reinuested with the honor of the chancellorship, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were ouerblowen) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the commonwealth.

1446. *Lesle.*

Iames Steward a woorthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Kirkepatrike, two miles from Dunbreton, by Alexander Lilie, and Robert Boid, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his bloud, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) within their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distresse she now rested, and that there was no meanes to relieue hirselfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horsse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by bote to Robert Boid at Dunbreton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

Buchan. lib. 11.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boid was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardrosse, into the Dunbreton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceipt of hir enimies, who (being so deceiued and ouercome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child before hir time, and (togither with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Halis) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Iane Seimer the quéene with him, to whome she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archembald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Halis the castell of Hepburne, which he tooke at the first assault, by sleaing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglasse, with conuenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

Buchan. lib. 11.

Iames Steward is banished the realme.

Sir Iames Steward surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quéene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking woords against the misgouernement of the king and realme, wherewith he offended the earle of Dowglasse. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortlie after departed this life. The quéene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also within a while after, and was buried in the Charter-

He died. The quéene died.

house

house of Perth the fiftéenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Hir name was Iane Summerset, daughter to the earle of Summerset. Iames the first maried hir (as before ye may read) in England. She had by him eight children, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorablie maried: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Eleanor, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Terueer in Zeland: the fourth, to the duke of Austrich: the fift, to the earle of Huntleie: and the sixt, to the earle of Morton. And by Iames Steward hir second husband, she had three sonnes: Iohn earle of Atholl, Iames earle of Buchquhane, and Andrew bishop of Murrey. 1446.

* After the death of the quéene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. ¶ In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Toadune Iohn Leonton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fathers helpe he had béene aduanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kinred. Soone after, sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Oterburne a canon of Glascow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelderland, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in mariage with king Iames. Their sute was obteined, and the ladie sent into Scotland noblie accompanied with diuerse lords both spirituall and temporall. At hir arriuall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the mariage solemnized by the assistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banketting, ioifull mirth, and all pleasant interteinment of those strangers that might be. *Fr. Thin.* 1448. *Lesle.* King Iames maried a daughter of the duke of Gelderland.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which sir Alexander Leuingston of Kalendar late gouernour, Iames Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglasse were forfalted and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbreton, and Iames Leuingston his eldest sonne, Robert Leuingston treasuror, and Dauid Leuingston knights, lost their heads. Iames before his execution made a verie wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the instabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting all persons to beware thereof; sith enuie euer followed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, sir William Creichton was also forfalted for diuerse causes, but principallie for that his seruants would not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings herald, who charged them so to doo. This forfalture was concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the said William (when he was chancellor) caused to be made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the first against whome it was practised. 1447. 1448. *Lesle* Iames Leuingston made an oration. W. Creichton condemned.

The yéere next insuing were sundrie incursions made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the borders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwike in England: but shortlie after a truce was concluded for seuen yéeres, great offers of friendship made by the Englishmen for to haue the wars ceasse on that side, because the warre betwixt them and France was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disquieted the state of England, which was raised betwixt the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. * This yeere there were manie méetings or parlements of the nobilitie, in which were lawes established for brideling the wicked facts of such as applied themselues to spoiling of other men; wherevpon a long peace followed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason was afterward executed first vpon Dowglasse, which was author thereof. In this parlement were manie earles and lords created, whereof the chiefe were Alexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made earle of Huntleie, and George Leslie baron was made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed for their wisedome and valure.) Incursions made. 1448. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib.* 8. *pag.* 300. 1446.

The English borderers of the west marches fetched a great bootie of cattell out of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots inuading England, wasted the countrie, burnt townes and villages, slue the people, & with a great preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home into Scotland. Héerewith followed dailie rodes and forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie, that a great part of Cumberland was in manner laied wast; for on that side the Scots chieflie Englishmen fetch booties out of Scotland. 1450. The Scots inuade England.

chieflie made their inuasions, because that from thence the first occasion of all this mischiefe might séeme to haue had the beginning. When such things were certified to the king of Englands councell, an armie was appointed foorthwith to inuade Scotland, vnder the leading of the earle of Northumberland, and of one Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great experience, as he that had beene trained vp from his youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because of his long red berd, called him in scorne and derision, Magnus with the red mane.

A knight named Magnus.

The Scots hearing of the approch of this armie towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or rather Hugh Dowglasse earle of Ormont by the kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof, who vnderstanding that the enimies would enter into Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to resist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another riuer called Sarc, & there pitched downe their tents. And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the countrie on ech side: but aduertised that the Scots were at hand with an armie, they that were thus gone foorth, were with all spéed called backe to the campe by sound of trumpet, and foorthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir Iohn Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour gouerned the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell or middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

The earle of Ormont generall of the Scotish armie.

The English armie inuadeth Scotland.

Sir Iohn Penneinton.

The earle of Ormont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to incounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Maxwell, and lord Iohnston, with a chosen companie of lustie Scotishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell or middle ward, had scarse set his people in araie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to doo valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enimies had first offered them, wherevpon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force inough to vanquish their enimies that came thus to brag and threaten them with vtter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enimies.

Wallase of Craggie.

The earle of Ormont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrowes came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to sée which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with lowd voice reproued their cowardise, and with most pithie words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie vowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerwith seemed to be so incouraged, that they rushed forward with great egernesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they draue the Englishmen to breake araie and to flee: Magnus heerewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appéere, preassed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and séeking to approch vnto him that he might haue wroken his griefe vpon him, was inclosed among the Scotish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

Magnus is slaine.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scotishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chase verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chase: for the tide being come in, staied manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them

The Englishmen put to flight.

them. There died in this battell of English men, to the number neere hand of three thousand, and amongest other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat aboue six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir Iohn Penneinton, and sir Robert Harington knights, and the lord Persie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who holpe his father to horsbacke, whereby he escaped by flight: & beside these, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the swoord and water had spared.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Northumberland escapeth by flight.

The earle of Ormont hauing got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king ioifullie receiued, honorablie feasted, and highlie rewarded. After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue béene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reson of ciuill wars that shortlie after followed, they were constreined to forbeare to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forren enimies, they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of thrée yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglasse, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Graie, Salton, Seiton, and Oliphant; also, Calder, Vrquhart, Cambell, Frasier, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Iubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Ormont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands inuaded & spoiled.

1448. *Buch.*

1450. *Lesl.*

A truce for thrée yeares betwéene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into Italie.

* Wherevpon the king sent William Sentclare earle of Orcades at that time chancellor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglasse, where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vse) the reuenues of the Dowglasse. But when Sentclare was not of sufficient strength to performe what he would, because some & the most part reiected (though others imbraced) him, he returned home without dooing anie thing. Wherewith the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglasses into law, and declared them publike enimies and detractors of his gouernement. And therevpon (prouiding an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway: where, at their first comming (since their capteins were all in prison) a small part of the armie (séeing the enimies dispersed into rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselues) turned backe to the king without anie thing doone. Whereat the king highlie offended (in that such wandering théeues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power) followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor tooke the castell of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglasse (with extreame labor of his soldiors) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castell thereof equall with the ground.)

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

The earle aduertised hereof, with all spéed returned home through England, and sent his brother Iames vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to sée his countries (namelie Annandale) purged of theeues and robbers, pardoned him of all offenses, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also eftsoones proclamed the kings lieutenant; but shortlie after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recouerie of losses susteined by the Englishmen by certeine inrodes (as he alleged) the king tooke the matter in verie euill part, for that he should séeme so to be had in contempt of the earle: and withall he mistrusted also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the preiudice of him and his realme: so that he stormed not a little towards the earle. Who being thereof aduertised, came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in anie wise offended him, assuring him that from thencefoorth, he would neuer commit anie act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The earle of Dowglasse goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

The earle of Dowglasse sueth for pardon.

Herewith the quéene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon,

don, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing anie publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Chreichton lord chancellor, and the earle of Orkneie séemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancellor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning as he was comming foorth of Edenburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Chreichton, although wounded in déed right sore, and within few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & alies, he returned againe to Edenburgh, and had destroied (as was thought) the earle of Dowglasse at that present, if he had not shifted away the more spéedilie, who being thus to his great gréefe, and no small dishonor chased out of Edenburgh, deuised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him in that quarell against Chreichton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they couenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Chreichton, and all other their aduersaries.

He enuieth those that bare rule about the king.
He séeketh to destroie the L. chancellor.

The Dowglasse constrained to flée out of Edenburgh.
He maketh a part.

The earle of Dowglasse presumeth of assistance at the hands of his friends.

The earle of Dowglas hauing concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verie high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now passinglie increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of théeues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord Iohn Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued euer faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great bootie of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained vnto the earle of Dowglasse of that wrong, because the offendors were inhabiting within his roome, and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annardale some preie, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had béene offered him by those limmers and robbers. But such was his euill hap, that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison, and shortlie after by commandement of the earle of Dowglasse he was hanged as a fellon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The Lord Herres his lands spoiled.

The Lord Herres hanged.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed ouer his displeasure with silence, till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season manie an honest man bought the bargaine right déerelie, being spoiled of that he had, and otherwise euill intreated, and yet durst not the meaner sort once complaine for feare of further mischiefe: where the higher powers also sore lamented the great disorders dailie increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reforme the same, insomuch as it was greatlie doubted, least the earles of Dowglasse, Crawford, Rosse, Murrey, and other of that faction ment to put the king beside his seat. Which dout being put into the kings head, brought him into no small perplexitie, wherevpon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglasse, willing him to repaire to his presence, soiourning then in Striueling castell, which he refused to doo, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe comming and going (as some haue said.) And then about Shrouetide in the yeare 1451, he came to the court of Striueling, where the king tooke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

The confederacie mistrusted.

The king sendeth for the earle of Dowglasse.

1451.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglasse purposed to make a proofe on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In déed by reason of his kinsmen and alies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, vnlesse he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archembald earle of Murrey, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Ormont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Mortoune, that were of his surname and bloud, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and liuings, all of the same surname, and lincked in friendship and aliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had béene so manie valiant men and woorthie capteins of the Dowglasses one after another, as it had béene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland

Earles of the surname of the Dowglasses.
The linage and great aliance of the Dowglasses.

bare

bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whome. It is said, that the earles of Dowglasses might haue raised thirtie or fortie thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoeuer it had pleased them to call. In déed the Dowglasses had eüer the gouernement of all matters perteining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

The loue that the people bare toward the name of the Dowglasses.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king Iames the second, and the earle of Dowglasse: it chanced in the end (vpon what occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king tooke such indignation, that the earle herevpon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shroue éeuen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which trauelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglasses. The Lord of Cadzow being in the towne of Striueling, with a great companie of the earl of Dowglasses friends, in reuenge of his death incontinentlie burnt that towne, and did manie other great displeasures to the king and his subiects, setting foorth proclamations against the king and his councell, for the violating of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas answereth the king ouerthwartlie, and is slaine. 1442. *Buch.*

His brethren make warre against the king.

Striueling is burnt.

* And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a woodden trunchion to an horsse taile, they fasten therto the safe conduct of the king and the nobles, which they forbeare not to traile vp and downe the stréets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of fiue hundred hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, periured, and such persons as were to be denounced enimies of all goodnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order doo spoile the countries & possessions of all such as tooke part with the king, and stedfastlie remained in the execution of their obedient dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalketh, binding themselues (as coniured and periured enimies of all vertue) not to depart from thence, before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grieuouslie offended with Iohn the lord of that place, bicause that he with the earle of Angus had seuered themselues from the opinion & faction of the Dowglasses, whose furie (growing still to extremitie) found such support (by the inclining multituds) that the king was put to his shifts) that he was determined to haue left the realme, and to haue fled by sea into France, had not Iames Kenedie the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntleie, which earle hearing that the Dowglasses had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 1.

The king would haue fled.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, hauing assembled a great power, incountered him at Breithune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleies passage, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongest other the earle of Crawfords brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that Iohn Cullace of Bannamwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell axes, or (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hotest of the fight, & so left the midle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntleie had there with him. But howsoeuer it was, the said erle of Huntleie had the honor of the field, who neuerthelesse lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eightéenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

Cullace of Bannamwin betraieth the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntleie victorer.

1452.

The earle of Huntleie the same day before the battels ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Leslies, Iouings, Ogiluies, Grants,

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntleie.

The earle of Murrey.

The earle of Crawford forfalted.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings set vp in cotempt of the king.

The earle of Dowglas marieth his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitteth himselfe to the king, and is pardoned.

He departed this life.

1455. *Buch.*

1454.

A parlement. The Dowglasses forfalted, or (as I may say) atteinted.

Creations of noble men.

Dowglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hammilton.

Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountifulnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense wherof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey burnt the peill of Straboggie, perteining to the erle of Huntleie, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge wherof, the erle of Huntleie at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earledome of Murrey. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edenburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. Iames earle of Dowglas, Iames lord Hammilton, the earles of Murrey, and Ormont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Dowglasses seruants that were sent priuilie to Edenburgh, to vnderstand what was doone there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, seeled with the Dowglasses seale in this forme. The earle from hencefoorth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murtherer, periured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went foorth against them: but bicause the time of the yeere was contrarie to his purpose, he could doo no great hurt to his enimies, although he burnt vp their corne and droue awaie their cattell. But the Dowglas seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe maried his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that mariage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles sute might not be obteined. Neuerthelesse, he kept hir still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeeres next insuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Dowglas or his friends: but shortlie after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obteined the kings pardon thorough mediation of Iames Kenedie bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creichton; but the said earle liued not past six moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yeere 1454.

The same yeere, the king called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which Iames earle of Dowglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretensed & feined mariage) Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey, George Dowglas earle of Ormont, and Iohn Dowglas baron of Baluay, were forfalted & condemned of treason. The earledome of Murrey was giuen to sir Iames Creichton, or rather restored to him from whome it had beene wrongfullie taken by the vniust sentence of William earle of Dowglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the forsaid Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir Iames Creichton. But yet when the said sir Iames Creichton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, hee handled the matter so, that shortlie after it returned againe to the kings hands. Moreouer at this parlement, George Creichton was created erle of Cathnesse, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as follow: Darlie, Halis, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iournie against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adoo brought all the castels of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Dowglasdale, bicause the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiors, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Herevpon the Dowglasses being driuen to their shifts, the lord Iames Hammilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: wherevpon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Dowglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he

he gaue likewise counsell without delaie, to set vpon the king, that the matter might bee tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre foorth to an extremitie. But the earle of Dowglas vtterlie (as some write) refused to fight against his souereigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Wherevpon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe togither his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obteined for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions of peace to be obteined. *Io. Maior.*

Herewith also, the lord Hammilton being wiser than the residue, bad the Dowglas farewell, and so departed, concluding that he should neuer see so faire a day againe, wherein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lieng at the siege of Abircorne, who sent him to the castell of Rosleine, there to remaine vnder safe keeping with the earle of Orkenie, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hāmilton of all passed offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in mariage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus of the said lord Hammilton from the Dowglas, bicause the king had set foorth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles companie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, togither with his brethren. The king lieng at the siege of Abircorne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest limmes of that fortresse, shortlie after hee wan the rest.

The lord Hammilton departeth from the Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas his companie shrinketh from him.

He withdraweth into England.

The earle of Dowglas being withdrawne (as yee haue heard) into England, within a while after got togither certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselues togither, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archembald, and tooke the erle of Ormont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got away. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstafage, where finding Donald earle of Rosse and lord of the Iles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once set him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald wasted not onelie the kings possessions that lay neere to Dunstafage, but also passing through Argile, did much hurt in all places where he came. He inuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Lismore, constreining him to take sanctuarie. This doone, he entered into Lochquhabir, and so into Murrey land, where he burnt the towne of Inuernes, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

He inuadeth Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas discomfited.

Archembald Dowglas earle of Murrey slaine.

Earle of Ormont taken.

Donald earle of Rosse.

In the meane time, the earle of Ormont after he was recouered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreouer the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recouer his former estate, came to the king, and submitted hirselfe, laieng all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull mariage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteouslie, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therwith hir estate. Shortlie after also the countesse of Rosse fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partlie she had alreadie tasted. The king because he had made the mariage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir foorth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thornton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglasse, slue Iohn Sandlands of Calder the kings cousine, and Alane Steward at Dunbreton, for that they fauored the contrarie faction:

The earle of Ormont beheaded.

The countes of Dowglas Beatrice submitteth hir selfe to the K.

The countes of Ros.

Patricke Thornton.

faction: but the king getting the offendor into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glascow was founded about this time by one Turnbull, bishop of that see. In the yeere following, died William Haie earle of Errol, and constable of Scotland: also George Creichton earle of Catnes, and William Creichton chiefe of that familie.

The vniuersitie of Glascow founded. 1455.

Death of noble men.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scotish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countrimen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen, to the damage of his natiue land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas inuaded the Mers, but taking little heed to themselues, and suffering their people to ride abrode to hane the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scotishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, sleaing diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vain sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglasses and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloudshed, that the right line of the Scotish kings might be preserued. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English inuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Iohnston and Cokpull, who presented him vnto the king, wherevpon the king after a sort banished him into the monasterie of Lendore, where he was bountifullie and honorablie receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeeres, and then died.]

Fr. Thin. 1454.

Lesleus. lib. 8. pag. 305.

And though the almightie God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effussion of much bloud might be auoided, which by ciuill battell had béene spilled, if the parties hauing their harts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled togither in battell. But the K. vsing the aduise of his kinsman Iames Kenedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies foorth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglasses, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king Iames the second, through feare of the great power of these Dowglasses, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop Iames Kenedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

Iames Kenedie archbish. of S. Andrews, chéefe chancellor to the king.

The said Kenedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglasses, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same bloud and surname, to reuolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselues vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infeebling the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that forsomuch as the Dowglasses had their lands lieng so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselues) if they had happilie ioined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence beside, which they had in all other parts of the realme, what by kinred and aliance, the realme might haue fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vttermost parts therof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the preiudice may be great and irrecouerable, that oftentimes thereof insueth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

The practise of bishop Kenedie.

Great power cause of suspicion.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglasses were once dispatched, and things quieted, King Iames the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlmens

trolment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counselled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, Iames Kenedie that was his vncle, and the earle of Orkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice so dulie to be ministred on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rash bush to keepe the cow. In the yeere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the bookes of the acts of parlement is conteined. He vsed the matter also in such wise with the principall capteins of the Iles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paieng such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to doo: speciallie Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Rosse, who had before ioined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Dowglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuernesse (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Iles.

Lawes ordeined.

A generall pardon granted.

1455.

A parlement holden.

The Iles & high land quietlie gouerned.

Donald earle of Rosse, and lord of the Iles.

Neuerthelesse, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanor, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, * whose reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceiued aduerse fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, crauing peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. Who comming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembring the manie parts of clemencie which the king had vsed to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction), they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatall rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they mooued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

* Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 11.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betweene both, not vtterlie pardoning, nor flatlie reiecting him: "for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen foorth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleeue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) heereafter to become a dutifull subiect and louing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined toong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath greeuouslie offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by spoiling) he had iniured: besides which also, he must with some woorthie exploit wipe awaie the memorie and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue dooth more beseeme a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to prouide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked wax not so proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and loose gouernement) as the good may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associats, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from hencefoorth we will so account of him, as his woorks and not his woords shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leauing it in the power of him and his, whether I, he, and they, will heereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable." Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betweene the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the queene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the yoong duke of Summerset, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his councell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for re-

Dissention in England.

uenge of his vncle the duke of Summerset his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king Iames was readie to support the quéene of England, ioined with hir, and past forward into the south parts, constreining the duke of Yorke to flée the realme, and so king Henrie inioied the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of Yorke his aduersarie; which lasted not long.

The duke of Yorke remembring how readie king Iames was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scotish subiects, & would suffer no redresse to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Wherevpon king Iames raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, dooing great hurt by destroieng diuers townes, castels and peiles in Northumberland, the bishoprike and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne countrie. [At this time, the art of printing was first inuented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lesleus.]

King Iames inuadeth England.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing first inuented.

1458. After this, king Henrie of England, perceiuing that the duke of Yorke by the counsell of the earle of Warwike, ceassed not to practise conspiracies against him, sent eftsoones to king Iames, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoprike of Duresme, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scotishmen alledge.)

1459. The yéere next following, at the quéene of Englands desire to support hir against the house of Yorke, king Iames with a great armie entered England, but after that the quéene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Yorke, & got the vpper hand of hir enimies, at the same quéenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Neuerthelesse shortlie after, when the earles of March and Warwike sought still to mainteine their quarrell against

1460. the quéene of England, she was constreined to withdraw into the north parts, and to desire king Iames to approch eftsoones with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castels of Rocksburgh and Warke, which were amongest other things promised to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Rocksburgh, laied his armie round about that castell, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Héere the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And héere by great misfortune, this woorthie prince Iames the second, was slaine by the slice of a great péece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat néere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from hencefoorth, how such great princes approch so néere within danger of such péeces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the third day of August, in the yéere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edenburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorow and dolefull mone, than as is séene in a priuat house for the deceasse of the welbeloued maister and owner thereof.

King Iames the second is slaine.

Alias 17. 23. Buchan.

1460.

The buriall of Iames the second.

The lamentation of the people.

The amiable conditions of Iames the second.

The issue of Iames the second.

Iames the third king of Scotland.

In time of warre, amongest his subiects in the campe, he behaued himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they séemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and downe amongest them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had béene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife quéene Marie thrée sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named Iames, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third

sonne,

sonne called Iohn, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hammilton had in mariage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned. Alexander duke of Albanie. Iohn earle of Mar.

* All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongest the Scots: for there were amongest them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefest were Iames Kennedie bishop of saint Andrewes, Turnebull bishop of Glascow, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberden, and Henrie Lichton bishop of Murrey. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communaltie trauelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in anie publike hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vexed or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Deidone, and Iohn Eldmaire, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudablie seene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular seruice doone vnto him by the Scots, in the warres (betweene the English and the French) did honorablie indow manie of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in Aquitaine, who by that meanes (setling themselues in that countrie) were the originall of manie woorthie families of that prouince, amongest which is that famous kinred of Caldell de la Campania in Tolouse, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Caldell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that house, did inioy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitoline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Caldell being a senator in the high court of Tolouse (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisedome had in great honor of all men during his life, which stretched to extreame age. In whose place came Iohn (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who dooth at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Tolouse. And his other children with great honor are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.) *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 310.* *Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 300.*

Some strange sights there appéered before the death of this king Iames the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie séene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yéere before the siege, there was in Dundee an hermophrodyt, that is, a person with both shapes, but estéemed for a woman onelie, till it was prooued, that lieng with hir maisters daughter nightlie where she dwelt, she had got the yoong damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certeine theefe, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fenisden, who vsed to kill yoong persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abhominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarse twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preserued and brought vp in Dundée, before she came to the age of twelue yéeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which hir father died, wherevpon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in woondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked dooing, and with a countenance representing hir cruell inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had doone an heinous act contrarie to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is intaste, there would none of you all forbeare to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution. A blasing starre. An hermophrodyt, that is, a person being both man and woman. A wicked theefe that vsed to kill yoong persons and to eat them. His daughter falleth to the like practise. Hir words going to execution.

IAMES THE THIRD.

After the death of Iames the second, his sonne Iames the third a child of seuen yeares of age succeeded, and foorthwith was sent for to the siege of Roxsburgh, whither he was conueied

The stout stomach of the quéene.

ueied by the quéene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of hir countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with hir some thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecouerable losse of hir husband, but rather in comforting the lords whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and aboue all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploie their whole indeuors and forces to the winning of that castell. Whose words so incouraged the capteins and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castell was woone, raced, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the yoong king was crowned at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great reioising of all the noble men, and other being there present in the armie.

Roxsburgh castell taken and broken downe.

1461. *I.M.*

1460. *Lesle.*

This doone, they besieged the castell of Warke, which likewise they tooke, and threw downe, and afterwards the king with the nobles of his realme came to Edenburgh, to take order for the quiet gouernement of the realme. And because the king was yoong, there were chosen seuen regents to gouerne both king & realme, as these, the quéene his mother, Iames Kenedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was sisters sonne to Iames the first, the bishop of Glascow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkeneie. These, so long as Iames Kenedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernement of the realme; but within a while after his deceasse, they fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hector Boetius, who saieth, that in the second yéere of this kings reigne, there was discord in brewing betwixt the quéene and the archbishop Kenedie, who perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood hir in that behalfe, in so much that it was doubted least the matter would haue broken foorth into some ciuill warre, if the bishops of Glascow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who did so much in the matter, that they compounded the variance in this wise.

Warke besieged and woon. Seuen gouernors chosen.

The quéene mother was appointed to haue the charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alexander duke of Albanie, and Iohn earle of Mar, and likewise of his two sisters; but as for the administration and gouernance of the realme, she should leaue it vnto the peeres. There were therefore elected by common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glascow and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkeneie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor. About the same time, one Alane Keir, in hope to get the heritage of his brother, Iohn lord of Lorne tooke him, and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle of Argile, taking great indignation with so presumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming against Keir, tooke him, and set his brother at libertie, and brought the offendor vnto Edenburgh, where he died in prison. Moreouer, shortlie after Donald lord of the Iles and earle of Rosse, who had serued obedientlie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began anew to vse his old maners, spoiling & harrieng the whole countrie of Atholl, and tooke the earle thereof, and the countesse his wife captiues with him into the Iles.

Donald of the Iles eftsoones rebelleth.

To represse his iniurious attempts, the regents togither were preparing an armie; but therewith came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the Iles, and other the principall offendors of his companie, were stricken through the hand of God with a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl and his ladie were restored, and those frantike persons were brought vnto saint Brides church in Atholl, for the recouerie of their health, but it would not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a minstrell. In the yeare 1461, Henrie the sixt king of England being vanquished by his aduersarie Edward the fourth, purchased of king Iames the third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horsse to enter into Scotland; and herevpon he came to Edenburgh, and was lodged in the house of the friers preachers, with his wife quéene Margaret, and his sonne prince Edward. There was also with him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Summerset, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

Donald became mad. Hitherto hath *Hector Boetius* continued the Scotish historie. He was killed 1461.

Henrie king of England by safe conduct commeth into Scotland.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun, might more increase, and be further strengthened;

Fr. Thin.

strengthened: the two quéenes Margaret (of England) and Marie (of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) began to intreat of a mariage (hoping by affinitie to establish that perfect amitie) to be solemnized betweene the daughter of Iames the second king of Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of England) being called prince of Wales, although none of them as yet was aboue seuen yeares old. Which mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (vncle to the quéene of Scots, and deadlie enimie to the quéene of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his ambassador Gruthusius, a noble man and of great iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimitie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king Henrie by the mothers side, that he did déepelie enuie anie good successe to happen to anie of that race, whereby it might increase or florish; and therefore sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off. But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage) was by the aduerse fortune of king Henrie vtterlie disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Henrie being incouraged (by the beneuolence of the Scots towards him) and throughlie confirmed (by the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his wife into France to Reinold hir father, to procure what aid she could of hir friends beyond the seas, to helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iournie succéeded not to hir in vaine, obteining succor from thence.) *Buchanan.* *The quéene went into France for aid.*

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne & castell of Berwike into the Scotishmens hands, whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will, to the end he might haue the more support and fauor amongest them, it is vncerteine by the variable report of writers. Neuerthelesse, shortlie after a truce was taken betwixt king Iames and king Edward, for the tearme of fiftéene yeares, vpon what conditions or promises made on king Edwards part I find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare 1462, at the citie of Yorke, whither had bin sent the bishop of Glascow, the earle of Argile, kéeper of the priuie seale, the abbat of Holie rood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William Crawston knights, ambassadors and commissioners for king Iames. *Berwike deliuered to the Scotishmen.* *A truce for 15 yeares.* 1462.

All things in this season were ordered in Scotland by the aduise and counsell of Iames Kenedie bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisedome and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage gouernement of the realme, as well during the minoritie of this Iames the third, as also in the daies of his father king Iames the second. Pierre de Brezeie, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Varenne, great seneshall of Normandie, was sent by the French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thousand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie against king Edward. This Brezeie was one most in fauour with king Charles the seuenth, father vnto the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did suppose) he was appointed by K. Lewes (who greatlie loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the end his life might be put in hazard and aduenture; notwithstanding, after some danger both of tempest on the sea, and also of the enimies hands, he wan the castels of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he cast to the ground, and after tooke in hand to kéepe the castell of Anwike, and being being besieged therein, sent for aid to the Scots. *Iames Kenedie the archbishop gouerneth the realme.* *Monsieur de la Varrenne sent foorth of France to aid the part of Margaret quéene of England.* *He kéepeth Anwike castell, and is besieged.*

George Dowglasse earle of Angus as then warden of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of 23000 men, and comming with the same to the borders, chose foorth of all his numbers fiue thousand of the most able horssemen in all his armie, and comming with them to the castell about the middest of the day, tooke the Frenchmen away with him into Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege beholding the maner, and not once making profer to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were, that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise minded, alledging that better it were to let them passe without incounter, sith they left the castell void, than to ieopard vpon the doubtfull chance of battell, for though their number were not great, yet were they piked and chosen men, able to atchiue a great enterprise. *He is rescued by the earle of Angus.* *Alias 13000.*

After this, the sixtéenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1463, the quéene of Scots, mother to Iames 1463.

The quéene mother died.

Iames the third, died at Edenburgh, and was buried in the college of the Trinitie, which she hir selfe had founded. This woman, after the deceasse of hir husband Iames the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, procuring Adam Hepborne of Hales a maried man to kéepe hir such familiar companie, as sounded greatlie to hir dishonor: for that she could not within the whole realmé find some single man amongest all the nobilitie, with whome she might haue maried, & in some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander & infamie.

Adam Hepborns familiaritie with the quéene of Scots, mother to Iames the third.

Alexander duke of Albanie taken on the sea.

In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Albanie, and brother to the king, was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of Iune, as he was returning from his grandfather the duke of Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrews Iames Kenedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship, with all the goods there in being, at the time of the taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flatlie protested) he would not kéepe the truce anie longer concluded betwixt the two realmes.

1464.

King Henrie returneth into England.

The duke of Summerset, in hope of great fauor which he should find in England, persuaded king Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie of Scotishmen he entered England, and manie of the north parts resorted vnto him: but at length, at his comming to Exam, the lord Montacute with a great power was readie to giue him battell, and there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke of Summerset and the lords Hungerford and Rosse were taken and put to death; the duke at Exam, and the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a certeine space after, till at length he thought to returne into England in such secret wise, as he should not haue béene once knowen, till he might haue got amongest his friends, which would haue supported him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all alongst the borders, that he was espied,

King Henrie is imprisoned.

taken, and deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut him vp in the tower of London till he was at length there made away, as in the historie of England ye may sée more at large.

1466.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop Iames Kenedie departed this life, and was buried in the college of saint Sauiour, founded by him within the towne of saint Andrewes in most sumptuous wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all other Scotish bishops, of whome anie writer maketh mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and obserued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to the great weale and commoditie of the poore commons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie buildings and woorks which he left behind him, as a memoriall of his name. [Whereof the thrée especiall things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his college of saint Sauiour (wherein youth might be trained to learning and religion) the other his sepulchre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie péece of woorke, such as before had not béene accustomed for bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of woonderfull burden: all which thrée, the common people affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like charge.] Besides his bishoprike, he held in his hands the commandarie of the abbeie of Pettinweme, which was woorth vnto him eight hundred crowns by yeare. [Afterward, at the parlement holden in October and Ianuarie, there were manie edicts made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefelie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also there was a proclamation made, that none of the Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue anie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 314.

1470. *Buch.*

1468. *Lesle.*

1469.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 315.

1469.

The mariage of Iames the third.

The king of Norwaie resigneth his title to the out Iles.

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie, king Iames the third, being as then about twentie yeares of age, maried in the abbeie of Holie rood house néere Edenburgh, the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, which ladie was at the same time not past twelue yeares of age, some saie sixtéene. Hir father the king of Denmarke and Norwaie, in name of hir dower, transported and resigned to K. Iames all his right, title, and interest which he pretended to the out Iles. The ambassadors that were sent into Denmarke to conclude this mariage, and to conuéie the bride into Scotland, were these: Andrew Busdeir bishop of Glascow, the bishop of Orknie, the lord Auandale chancellor of Scotland, and Thomas Boid earle of Arrane, who had maried the kings sister, and was now in his absence run into the kings displeasure; whereof his wife hauing intelligence, hearing of hir husbands

husbands arriuall with the other in the Forth, got out of Edenburgh, & comming on shipbord to him, gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king had conceiued against him: who perceiuing himselfe in what danger he stood if he tooke land, returned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with him.

The earle of Arrane in the kings displeasure.

The king herewith was so offended, that he caused both the said earle and his father to be attainted of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into Scotland, causing a diuorse in absence of hir husband to be sued & gotten foorth against them, marieng hir afterwards to Iames lord Hamilton, to whome he gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former husband had in gift before. Of this mariage, those of the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are néerest of bloud to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend. [For (as saith Lesleus, lib. 8. pag. 316.) if the line of the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.] But now to shew further what we find written concerning the maner and cause of the banishment of the afore remembred Thomas Boid, Giouan Ferrerio, in his appendix of the Scotish historie annexed vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Boid being one of the gouernors of the realme, elected thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time grew so far in fauor with the king, that he might doo all things with him at his pleasure, although his associats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he séemed to vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme into his owne hands, sore to the griefe of those his said associats being ioined with him in like office.

The lord Hamilton marieth the kings sister. *Fr. Thin.*

Giouan Ferrerio in his appendix of the Scotish historie.

The lord Boid beareth all the rule about the king.

Hereof the state of the common-wealth through the dissention thus bred among the gouernors, was brought into a miserable plight; for iustice in most places wanted hir due course, so as théeues and robbers taking boldnesse thereof, not onelie vpon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publike peace, and namelie the inhabitants of the out Iles fell to their woonted trade of pilfering, so that passing ouer in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they tooke preies of cattell and other goods, greatlie to their profit, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts ouer against them. In the north parts also, seditious tumults amongest the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great disquieting of the whole countrie. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Boid bare greatest rule about the king, the blame (as it commonlie happeneth) was imputed to him.

Through default of agréement in the gouernors, euill disposed men wax bold to woorke mischiefe.

At length, when the king was growen to ripe yeares, and able to sée to the administration of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certeine graue personages to haue some regard, that such misorders as disquieted the whole state of the realme, might be reformed. Herevpon he called a parlement, in the which, whether through enuie that the lords had conceiued against the lord Boid, or for that his doings no lesse deserued such complaint, was exhibited by generall voices of the stats against him, that it was decreed by authoritie of the whole assemblie, that he should come to answer in iudgement such crimes wherewith he was charged; but when he refused so to doo, and in contempt of the kings authoritie got togither a power of armed men to defend him from iniurie, that might séeme (as he pretended) to be offered him: at length, the king was driuen of necessitie to make preparation for the leuieng of an armie to apprehend him by force. Whereof Boid being aduertised, fled into England, because he perceiued himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus auoided out of his realme, banished him for euer, and seized vpon his lands and goods as forfeited.

They that be in authoritie be euer subiect to the spitefull blow of enuies dart.

The lord Boid is accused.

He refuseth to be tried by way of arrainment.

He fléeth into England.

After this, when the said Boid saw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the mariage was concluded betwixt the king, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before haue heard: and then in hope by occasion of this mariage to obteine pardon, returned now in companie of the bride, and of those ambassadors that were sent to haue the conueiance of hir into Scotland: neuerthelesse, vnderstanding

He passeth into Denmarke.

His vaine hope to obteine pardon.

vnderstanding by his wife that came to him on shipboord before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greatlie, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and tooke his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finallie he went into Italie, where at length he was murthered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was diuorsed from his wife the kings sister, he begat on hir a sonne, the which in the daies of king Iames the fourth, in a priuat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Boid of Kalmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the mariage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

He goeth into Italie. He is murthered.

1468.

The ambassadors sent vnto Denmarke as *Ferrerio* saith.

The ambassadors that were sent vnto Christierne king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andrew bishop of Glascow, William bishop of Orkeneie, Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of the realme, Martine Wane the great almoner, & the kings confessor, Gilbert de Kericke archdeacon of Glascow, Dauid Creichton of Crauston, & Iohn Shaw of Halie. These ambassadors being dispatched into Denmarke in Iulie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffnen, where K. Christierne then remained, and were of him ioifullie receiued, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length, after he had proponed the matter to his councell about the eight of September, it was agréed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be giuen in mariage vnto K. Iames of Scotland, and that the Iles of Orkeneie, being in number 28, and likewise the Iles of Shetland, of which there are eighteene, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, till either the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the mariage monie should pay vnto king Iames, or to his successors, the summe of fiftie thousand florens of the Rheine. This mariage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those Iles, right profitable vnto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those Iles.

The mariage concluded. The Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland ingaged.

1469.

In the moneth of Nouember next insuing, after the mariage had béene consummate in Iulie before, within the abbeie church of Holie rood house (as before ye haue heard) or in saint Giles church in Edenburgh (as other write) the thrée estates were called to assemble in Edenburgh, where the queene was crowned, and the parlement holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edenburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and quéene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honorablie receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came, and likewise by the nobles of the countrie, to the great reioising of the whole realme. After their returning to Edenburgh,

1470.

1471.

the king called a parlement in the moneth of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was ordeined, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and prouide nets for fishing. Also it was ordeined that none should weare silks in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, minstrels, & heralds; except they might dispend one hundred pounds in lands by yéere: and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarred, and the exercise of shooting mainteined. Iames eldest sonne to king Iames the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yéere 1472, who afterwards succéeded his father, and was called Iames the fourth. Christierne K. of Denmarke, to congratulate the happie birth of this yoong prince being his nephue by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the Iles of Orkeneie and Shetland.

The like act for shooting was instituted by king Iames the first. An. 1425. *Iohn Maior.*

1472.

The right to Orkeneie and Shetland resigned.

A blasing starre.

1473.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seuenteenth day of Ianuarie, vnto the eightéenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades, that is to say, the seuen starres. A great ship built by Kenedie the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishops barge, brake and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Manie merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with hir, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the

A shipwrack.

Englishmen,

Englishmen, among whome was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constreined to pay vnto his taker one Iames Kar foure score pounds for his ransome yer he could be suffered to depart. The abbasie of Dunfermling being vacant, the couent chose one of their owne moonks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creichton abbat of Pasley thervnto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Minto was preferred by the king vnto the abbasie of Pasley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbasies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie vsed, made void: bicause the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the couents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbasies were bestowed vpon such as followed the court, and liued courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughtie examples of their gouernors fell to the works of wickednesse, wherevpon dailie much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decaied.

Abbeies giuen by vnlawfull means.

This yeere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop th ereof, and the same see erected into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that bicause the archbishop of Yorke was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scotishmen could not haue accesse to their metropolitan, speciallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primat and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agree therto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleuen thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelats sent to Rome about this matter. This yeere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parlement was called in September, it was proroged vntill the twelfe day after Christmas. In Ianuarie the parlement was holden at Edenburgh, in which Iohn lord of the Iles and earle of Ros was atteinted partlie for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Iles.

The bishop of S. Andrews made archbishop. 1474.

Primat and metropolitan. Twelue bishops in Scotland.

1476.

The lord of the Iles atteinted.

In Maie, in the yeere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Iles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vncle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was vsed by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Iles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and therevpon in the beginning of Iulie next insuing, the said lord of the Iles came to the parlement vnto Edenburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earledome of Rosse, the lands of Cantire and Knapden, which earledome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seigniorie of the Iles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Iles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

1446. *Lesle.*

The king raised an armie.

The lord of the Iles submitteth himselfe.

He resigneth Ros, Cantire, and Knapden.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yeere sent by pope Sextus into Scotland, to examin by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham archbishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proofes being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismatike, and simoniake, and declared him accurssed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schews archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried

1477.

An inquisitor sent from the pope.

The archbishop is not well handled.

Depriued.

1478. *Lesle.*

Put in prison.

1478. *Lesle.* in saint Sarffis Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint
1479. Andrews on Passion sunday in Lent, within Holie rood house, the king being present, and
Wil. Schews is consecrated archbishop. manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primat and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

The duke of Albanie imprisoned. He escaped. This yéere also Alexander duke of Albanie was committed to prison by the king his brother, within the castell of Edenburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorablie receiued, and louinglie intreated.

Edenburgh besieged. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Auendale, who lost at that siege thrée good knights, the lord of Lute, sir Iohn Schaw of Sauch, and the lord of Cragiwallase, with the shot of a gun, & Iohn Ramseie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled awaie by sea, and the earle of Auendale entered, and found it void of all things whereof anie account was to be made.

1479. *Lesl.* Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the
Doctor Ireland sent vnto the king of Scots. king of Scots, to persuade him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreouer, he had in charge to mooue for the pardon of the duke of Albanie, and shortlie after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called Iohn Steward the kings yoonger brother, this yéere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was conuict of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and herevpon in Cannogate beside Edenburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sórcerers, as well men as women conuicted of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edenburgh. The king sent ambassadors into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, ioined in mariage with his sonne Iames the prince, which was granted, and the mariage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainelie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king Iames from the French king, to persuade him to make warres against England: and at length king Iames and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had beene euer a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind and melancholie at Edenburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds vnto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgognie, nor anie other against the king of France: for if he did, he must néeds support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent foorth a nauie of ships into the Forth before Lieth, Kingorne, and Pettenwen, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fléet entering the Forth, tooke eight great ships which they found in that riuer, and landing at Blacknesse, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and so returned.

1479. *Lesl.*

1480.

Iohn Steward a prisoner.

Was put to death.

A mariage concluded.

1480. *Lesle.*

Bishop Spenser died.

1481.

King Iames sent an ambassage vnto K. Edward.

K. Edward sent a nauie into Scotland.

Ships taken and burnt.

The king of Scotland prepared an armie.

A legat inhibited him. The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongest other, the lord of the Iles came with a great companie: and now the king being readie to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall légat that was resident as then in England, commanding king Iames by authoritie apostolike, not to procéed anie further in his purposed iournie, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king Iames obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent foorth his

nauie

nauie againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Ins Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scotish borderers inuaded the English marches, destroied townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwike to be assieged both by sea and land all the winter season, and ouerthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defense thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne for that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

An other nauie sent into Scotland.

Berwike assieged by an armie of Englishmen.

1482.

The duke of Albanie commeth into England.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had maried in France, perceiuing himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and therevpon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great nauie by sea to inuade Scotland, and appointed capteins and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Glocester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approch to inuade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same vnto the towne of Lowder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archembald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntleie, Iohn earle of Lenox, Iames earle of Buchquhane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things doone and practised by him contrarie to his honor and the common-weale of his realme; and speciallie, because he vsed yoong counsell of lewd persons, vnworthie and base of birth, such as Thomas Cochram, whome of a mason he had made earle of Mar, through whose deuise and counsell he had caused to be coined certeine monie of copper, not conuenient to be currant in anie realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreouer, that he would not suffer the noble men to come neere his presence, nor to take their counsell in gouerning the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the queene his lawfull wife, keeping a naughtie harlot called the Daisie in hir place.

The presumptuous demeanour of the Scotish nobilitie.

Thomas Cochram. Imbasing of coine.

The kings concubine named Daisie.

Also they laied to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Mar to death, and banished his other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughtie persons. And heerevpon they tooke Thomas Cochram earle of Mar, William Rogen, and Iames Hommill tailor, who with others being conuicted, were hanged ouer the bridge at Lowder. Onelie Iohn Ramseie a yoong man of eighteene yeeres of age, for whome the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This doone, they returned to Edenburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Atholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Murrey, & Iohn lord Darneleie to the English armie, lieng then at Tuider, to take truce for three moneths: but the dukes of Glocester and Albanie came forward vnto Restalrig, where they incamped without anie resistance. The English nauie lieng also in the Forth was readie to assist their fellowes by land.

Cochram earle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arrest.

Heerevpon, certeine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancellor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed vpon certeine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earledoms of March and Mar. He was proclamed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berwike, where they hauing woone the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir Iohn Eldrington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they inforced the same: but the lord of Halis then capteine within that castell, defended it verie manfullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the councell, for reliefe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Lamer moore, but when they within perceiued that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yeelded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that

The duke of Albanie is reconciled.

The castell of Berwike is taken.

1482. that yéere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scotishmens hands the space of 21 yeeres.

The king a prisoner. The king remaining as prisoner in Edenburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancellor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Striueling to visit the quéene and prince, where the duke was persuaded by the quéene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edenburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordinglie to the quéenes pleasure comming to Edenburgh, besieged the castell and wan it, remooued the earle of Atholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of saint Andrewes, the chancellor, and others, which remained at Striueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortlie after, the bishop of S. Andrewes, at request of the king, resigned his bishoprike in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prouost of Glenelowden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishoprike of Murrey. This yéere there was great theft, reiffe, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

...g is set at libertie.

The archbishop resigneth.

* 1483. * Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland certéine ambassadors, which were Beroald or Bernard Steward, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Mallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwéene this Iames the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edenburgh, where (with the French ambassadors) séeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set therevnto; which doone, the Frenchmen (with whome were sent into France diuerse Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and hauing imploied his seruice on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiors following the conduct of Beroald Steward, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmont, after king, whose part they tooke against Richard at that time vsurper vpon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmont (when he was after king) did deerelie loue the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 323.

1483.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused deadlie wars to grow betwéene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Wherevnto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Nants by the duke of Loraine) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did applie all his force and deuise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdome of Naples, who at that time succéeded happilie vnto him, by reason that Alphonse was then easilie remooued. But after, when the Neapolitane people did reuolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, ech part studieng to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chieflie performed by the Scots, as principall capteins of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to Iames the second king of Scots, Iohn also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander, George Montgomerie lord of Lorges, Bernard Steward (who was after made viceroy of Naples, which office he wiselie manie yéeres did execute) Robert Steward marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, wherof manie (for their woorthie exploits) were by the French honorablie rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had doone) planting themselues in Isubria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the euill custome of common spéech, they reteine the name of Scot (as taken of their countrie) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and vsed, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Certeine noble families in Italie and Isubria sproong from the Scots.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine coniecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whome vse of spéech hath long obteined the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia,

had

had their originall from the stocke of the Dowglasses, as the armes of them both doo well witnesse: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notablie beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) dooth gouerne the church of Caualion. Againe, there is another familie of Scots, commonlie called the Scoties in Isubria, whereof Bernard Scotia and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Pine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquesdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of Iames Orlando Scot, which we haue heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well aduanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scotish nobilitie, is witnessed by a woorthie monument thereof in the church of saint Marie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.)

Poison giuen.

The duke of Albanie, for that he vnderstood there was poison giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court vnto the castell of Dunbar, whereby insued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchquhane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whome he had againe taken vnto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them, & withall prepared an armie to besiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being aduertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Dowglasse, and a great number of Englishmen, inuaded Scotland vpon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Cokpull, Iohnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle of Dowglasse taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had beene long banished his countrie, was sent to the abbeie of Lundoris, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The king is forsaken. Lords are summoned.

Scotland inuaded.

Earle Dowglasse sent vnto an abbeie.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and therevpon taking a misliking, secretlie departed ouer into France by the helpe of Iohn Liddell, sonne to sir Iames Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well interteined in France by the king there: and finallie running at tilt with Lewes duke of Orleance, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, Iohn duke of Albanie, that was after gouernor and tutor to king Iames the fift, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murrey, and abbat of Scone. This yeere the lord Hume, Torreklis, Oliphant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parlement. In the yeere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrewes vnto Rome, for certeine priuileges which he obteined. And the same yeere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Imola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, & Iames king of Scotland. Iames king of Scots, hauing not long before made diuerse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued therevpon for a truce, which came to passe euen as king Richard wished, so that condescending to haue a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Notingham, the seuenth day of September next insuing.

The duke of Albanie is blamed.

1484.

The archbishop is sent to Rome.

The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalfe of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

For the king of Scots there appeered Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancellor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberden, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Oliphant, Iohn Drummond of Stubhall, Archembald Quitelaw archdeacon of Lawden, and secretarie to king Iames, Lion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Assaph, Iohn duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, Iohn Greie lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, Iohn Gunthorpe keeper of the kings priuie seale, Thomas Barrow maister of the rols, sir Thomas Brian chiefe iustice of the common plées, sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard,

Richard Salkeld esquires. These councellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had togither, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of three yéeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yéere 1484, and to continue vnto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yéere 1487.

A peace concluded for three yéeres.

During which terme, it was agréed, that not onelie all hostilitie and warre should ceasse betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enimies should be auoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case vsed. The towne and castell of Berwike to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scotishmen by king Henrie the sixt. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds and fortresses, during the tearme of the said three yéeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onelie excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

Héerevpon (by reason the Scotish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agréement for that castell, vnlesse the same might be restored vnto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next insuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands aboue the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they within the castell likewise absteining from making anie issues or reisses vpon the Scotish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recouering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions; notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to doo what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had béene concluded.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scotishmen alreadie being in England.

An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts.

An article for such as should serue either princes in warre.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arriue in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots alreadie abiding in England & sworne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scotish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should inuade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclame him traitor, and certifie the other prince therof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be conteined; Prouided alwaies that the obteiner of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doo presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enimie, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, comming, or tarieng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues comprised in the truce.

Colleagues comprised in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portingale, the archduke of Austrich & Burgognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scotish part, Charles the French king, Iohn king of Denmarke and Norwaie, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, and the Iland of Lundaie lieng in the riuer of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agréement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

Lorne & Lundaie excepted.

For the sure obseruation, kéeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conseruators on the Scotish side, Dauid earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntleie lord Gordon and Badzenath, Iohn lord Darnleie, Iohn lord Kenedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Haleene, Laurence lord Oliphant, William Lord Borthwike;

wike; sir Iohn Rosse of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Iohnston of Elphinston, sir Iohn Lundie, sir Iohn Ogiluie of Arlie, sir Robert Hammilton of Fingalton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir Iohn Kenedie of Blarqhone, sir Iohn Wemes, sir William Rochwen; Edward Stochton of Kirke patie, Iohn Dundas, Iohn Rosse of Mountgrenan, esquires.

Commissioners appointed to méet at Loughmaben.

It was further agréed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eightéenth day of Nouember, as well for redresse of certeine offenses doone on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Ratcliffe, sir Christopher Moresbie, sir Richard Salkeild, or thrée of them. For the Scots, the lord Kenedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, Iohn Maxwell steward of Annandale, Robert Creichton of Sanquhan, or thrée of them.

Commissioners to méet at Roidenborne. And at Haldan Stanke.

Also there were assigned commissioners to méet at Roidenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appeere the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancellor of Scotland, the lord Auandale, the lord Seiton, the lord Oliphant, the lord Stubhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greistocke, the lord Scroope of Massan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits apperteining to Berwike, according to the true meaning of the league.

The battell ground.

For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had doone before.

A mariage concluded betwixt the duke of Rothsaie and the ladie Anne de la Poole.

Shortlie after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a mariage to be had betwixt the prince of Rothsaie, eldest sonne to king Iames & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to Iohn duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this mariage, both the kings sent their ambassadors againe vnto Notingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the mariage was agréed vpon, and writings thereof drawen, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid yoong ladie was immediatlie called princesse of Rothsaie, but by the short life of king Richard hir vncle she shortlie after lost that name.

King Iames within a while after the conclusion of this league and mariage aforesaid, for the expressing and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onelie six moneths, or else during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote vnto king Richard a louing letter,

King Iames by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

signifieng vnto him, that he was not minded to séeke the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Neuertheless, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and aliance was sproong vp betwixt them, that he would redéliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their natiue countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorised.

K. Richard would not deliuer the castell of Dunbar.

King Richard dalied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words féeding foorth king Iames, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard liued, king Iames could neuer get it for anie thing he might doo.

1486.

In the yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Steward a Scotishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obteining the crowne of that realme.

K. Richard ouerthrowne by the earle of Richmond.

And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes ioining next vnto him, he sent from Newcastell one of his councellors Richard Fox bishop of Excester, and sir Richard Edgcomb knight, ambassadors

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

vnto

vnto king Iames, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

The kings answer.

These ambassadors were gladlie receiued of king Iames, who declared vnto them, that he bare great fauor and loue vnto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subiects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seuen yeares, sith further he could not doo, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subiects.

His promise.

But he promised secretlie, that when those seuen yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seuen yeares, and so from seuen yeares to seuen yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceiued that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seuen yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had doone.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

* In the meane time died the quéene, a woman of singular beautie and goodnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander borne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Orkeneie) and Iohn (borne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland.) Immediatlie after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king Iames caused the three estates to assemble in parlement at Edenburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oires should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that shuld be committed for the space of seuen yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right displeasant to manie.

A parlement.

No pardon to be granted to offendors for the space of seuen yeares.

Ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

At the same time was an ambassador sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had béene granted against Scotish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortlie after herevpon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remooued vnto Striueling, leauing his wife the quéene, and hir sonne the prince at Edenburgh castell, whilest he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather vp gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subiects.

The king giueth himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the deth of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treson or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king Iames, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were ministred either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subiects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & therevpon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had beene to haue changed his wilfull maner of gouernment, & to haue leaned vnto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not vpon desire to please, haue mainteined his vndiscréet opinions, to the wronging aswell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halis, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselues oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without woorthie deseruing) to the degrée of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired togither, & determined by force of armes to sée a reformation in such a disordered maner of gouernement.

The meane whereby king Iames might haue auoided danger of deth by his subiects.

The conspiracie of the Scotish lords against king Iames the third.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord Iames duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child borne to goodnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enter-

prise,

prise, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their natiue countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoone all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloialtie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglasse, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbeie of Lundoris, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprise, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being alreadie schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprise, because it seemed to him neither godlie nor honorable, sithens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

King Iames gathereth an armie.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischiefous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the vsing of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an attonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praieng him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scotish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armor against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if hee would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadors of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scotish king.

He sendeth letters to the kings of England & France. Eugenius 8. *Buchanan.*

The answer of the rebels to the kings message.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spitefull hatred conceiued against him might not be qualified by anie maner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puisance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the erles of Huntleie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathnesse, & Marshall; the barons, Forbes, Ogiluie, Granth, Fraiser, and others, were arriued with their powers, amounting to the number of fortie thousand men, with the which they were comming foorth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without good aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Maxwell, and certeine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

They meet in a pitched field. The king is put to the woorsse. He is slaine.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murther made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the woorsse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therin, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left starke naked. ¶ A notable mirror to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what maner of persons they suffer themselues to be led and abused. For if this prince king Iames the third had not followed vpon a wilfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantperlors, and such as (being aduanced from base degrée vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselues in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yéeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham, earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine neere Striueling, on the seuenth day of Iune, the yéere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne. *Fr. Thin.*

IAMES THE FOURTH.

1488. Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their souereigne lord and liege king Iames, the third of that name: his eldest son Iames the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of Iune, in the yéere 1488, being not past sixtéene yeeres of age, who notwithstanding that he had béene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuerthelesse afterwards, hée became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he ware continuallie an iron chaine about his midle all the daies of his life. He was greatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnesse, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppresse and take théeues, robbers, and oppressors of his subiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

The king was repentant.
The king wore an iron chaine.
Was giuen to deuotion.
He was a great iusticer.
He was learned.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had beene with him at the slaughter of his father, séeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling against the yoong king, were ouerthrowne at Tolimosse, where the Lennox men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kiltrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offenses. The king called a parlement at Edenburgh, which was holden the sixt of October, where he being mooued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue speciall pardons therevpon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same maner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had béene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of three yeeres; and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yéeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

The nobles raise an armie againe.
They were ouerthrowne.
A parlement.
A generall pardon.

Moreouer, he tooke order that all such goods as had béene taken from landed men and burgesses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgesses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king Iames the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and giltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the three estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceassing of theft, reiffe, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yeere through all parts of the realme. And certeine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euerie shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of K. Iames the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in preiudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceading his death, to the day in which hée was slaine.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

from

from the nauill vpward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chieflie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarilie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agrée togither as friends. In which this was woorthie remembrance, that if the legges or loines had béene hurt below, they both togither felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue seuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt doone vnto it. Which different sense did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yéeres, and in the time of Iohn the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had mainteined factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he maried Grecina Boid to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammilton to Matthew Steward, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome.) Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to ioine with him in mariage. Moreouer beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadors into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had béene vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothseie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such liuings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

Buchan. li. 12.

1486.

A mariage sought for the king.

For his councell he chose a certeine number of the prelats, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continuallie remaine about him, by whose aduise he should doo all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be iudged void, & not to be obeied, & this was inuiolablie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had séene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glascow, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadors to sue for the kings mariage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the bishop of Glascow, touching the preheminence of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to ceasse, and that they should trie it by law before competent iudges.

1491.

Two archbishops striue for the preheminence.

* Iames Ogiluie knight of Aire, was sent ambassador to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwéene the Danes and the Scots, which he wiselie executed and obteined, with certeine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogiluies was first increased with anie honorable title.) The king about the same time tooke order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie hauen towne should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 332.

Prouision made for ships. 1492. *Lesle.*

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good example, the king caused to make certeine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreouer, the king considering

Prouision made for learning.

sidering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schoole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be dulie obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in godlinesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yeere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministred, speciallie in the north parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

1494. *Lesle.*

A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.

1495. *Lesle.*

1492.

The king goeth on progresse.

There was shortlie after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, wherevpon king Charles sent vnto king Iames, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the Englishmen did inuade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had beene preserued now manie yeeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duches of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieng the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortlie after herevpon, the said feined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arriued in Scotland well and honorablie accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to atteine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

1496. *Lesl.*

Perkin Warbecke.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 13.

* After whose arriuall he was brought to the presence of king Iames, before whom he did lamentablie bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humblie and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransome the kinglie bloud from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so woorke, that he should find his sute not defrauded of all due effect, in obteining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling togither his councell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemblie bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left void of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vncle Richard duke of Glocester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murthered by his vncle) was preserued by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the vsurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reserued aliue to the scorne of fortune, not daring at the first to bewaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moone their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noblie borne, whose heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuouslie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in anie place, bicause of the subtiltie of his enimies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuilie soliciting them to discouer his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discouer his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (said he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (she vsing the truth of hir owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enimies, and mooued with pitie for the distresse of hir kinsman) did with hir abilitie relieue his necessitie.

But

But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of hir people in that liberall sort as she would) he was driuen to séeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie bloud (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although hee were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding therevnto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had alreadie made some triall by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefits vnto him. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 334.*

Besides which, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flattrie to extoll him, not douting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewd to the destressed) wold now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pitie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the néerenesse of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdom. Wherfore againe he importunatly requireth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in ioining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obteine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwaies to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Perkin Warbecke did vse the matter in such subtill wise, that king Iames either giuing, or séeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his councell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Yorke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortlie after, hée maried him to his neere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntleie, and moreouer raised a great armie, speciallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretensed duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns, spoiled houses, and tooke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

Perkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleies daughter. 1493.

King Iames inuadeth Northumberland. 1496.

King Iames perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sproong dukes doubtfull and vncerteine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a taxe leuied then of the people, constreined him to imploie that armie to represse the enterprise of those rebels. Yet neuerthelesse he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle laie on the borders all that yeere.

1497. *Lesle.*

King Iames returneth without proffer of battell.

A rebellion in Cornewall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

King Iames then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded eftsoones the borders of England, and laied siege to the castell of Norham, sending his light horssemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishoprike of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Norham, where king Iames perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had doone great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king Iames

1498.

The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Iames was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and tooke diuerse castels and towers, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seuen daies, and then came backe without battell or anie notable skirmish offered.

Peter Hialas an ambassador from the king of Spaine.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassador from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas trauelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agréed, that

Commissioners met at Melrosse or Jedworth (as some say.)

certeine commissioners of both the realmes should méet at Melrosse, where for the king of England, doctor Fox, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scotish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the

A truce concluded for yéeres.

conclusion of a generall peace, finallie nothing but a truce might be accorded for certeine yéeres, though Hialas did what he possiblie might, to haue agréed them for all maner of

The cause why Hialas was sent.

matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, whatsoeuer the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue béene concluded, because he was chieflie sent for that intent.

An article for Perkin Warbecke.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeit duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king Iames (estéeming his honor more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise séeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whome he had coopled one of his owne kinswomen in mariage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constreined to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to kéepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to

King Iames reasoneth with the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so) called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and inuaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

And albeit he had maried his néere kinswoman, yet might he not kéepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could sée no appéerance. He desired him therefore to withdraw foorth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obeied his pleasure, departing shortlie

Perkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finallie making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbeie of Beaulien, togither with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more méet preie for an emperor, than for souldiors, and therefore vsed hir verie honorablie, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the quéene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

1499.

This yéere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was neere

The truce like to be broken.

at point to haue béene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Norham, did make a fraie with certeine Scotishmen that came riding neere to the castell, as it had beene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scotishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king Iames hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saieng, that there was no more vncerteine thing, than to haue peace with England. And hereupon he sent his herald Merchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong doone to his subiects, by those within the castell of Norham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was doone, as

King Iames requireth to talke with the bishop of Durham.

well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well appeased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland vpon safe conduct to common with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, accomplished the Scotish kings request;

so that comming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honorablie at Melrosse, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last displeasure) the king brake with the bishop for the hauing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Henrie the seuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in mariage: and further declared that he was minded to send his orators vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might doo much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisedome and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obteined, he trusted it should highlie redound to the honor & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering heerein as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to doo all that in him lay, but also incouraged him to send his orators with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towardlie answer.

King Iames purposeth to be a sutor for mariage in England.

King Iames following the bishops aduise, anon after his returne into England, sent certeine persons ambassadors vnto king Henrie, to moone him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadors were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be briefe, their request seemed so agréeable to king Henries mind, that the mariage was shortlie therevpon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid Iames king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the seuentéenth yéere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this mariage was so agréed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scotishman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

Ambassadors sent into England.

1500.

A mariage concluded betwixt king Iames and the ladie Margaret.

A peace concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

In the yeere next insuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glascow, Adam Hepborne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king Iames vnto the king of England, for the perfecting of the foresaid mariage betwixt king Iames, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister king Iames, affied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the maner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Paules crosse in London, on the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioising whereof *Te Deum* was soong, and fiers made, with great feasting & banketting throughout that citie. This doone, the ambassadors returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

1501.

This was in the yéere 1502.

On the sixtéenth of Iune, king Henrie tooke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Coliweston, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he tooke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, vntill she came to the towne of Berwike, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Lamer moore within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that realme, and from the said place of Lamberton church, she was conueied vnto Edenburgh, where the day after hir comming thither, she was maried vnto the said king with great and solemne triumph, to the high reioising of all that were present.

1503. *Lesle.*

The consummation of the mariage betwixt king Iames the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

And verelie the English lords (as the earle of Surreie and others) which gaue their attendance on the said ladie till the mariage and feast were ended) at their returne home, gaue great praise not onelie to the manhood of the Scots, but also to their maners and heartie interteinment.

terteinment. For aswell the noble men as the ladies and gentlewomen of Scotland at that present, were nothing behind the English lords & ladies in costlie apparell, massie chaines, and other furniture, as well for themselues as their horsses, and made great bankets to the Englishmen, and shewed them such iusts and other pleasant pastimes in honor of the mariage, so well, as after the maner of the countrie could be deuised. By reason of this mariage and aliance, men were in great good hope that perfect peace and sincere amitie should continue betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland a long time after: and verelie during the life of king Henrie the seuenth, no cause of breach was ministred betwixt him and his sonne in law, but that they liued in great loue and amitie.

The king of Denmarke commeth into Scotland.

About this time, the king of Denmarke, through diuision that did rise betwixt him & his lords, was constreined to forsake his countrie, and to come for aid into Scotland, where the king receiued him louinglie, and vpon his earnest sute, for that he was both his coosine and confederat, and also the rather, at the contemplation of the French kings request and persuasion, he prepared an armie of ten thousand men, the which vnder the conduct of the earle of Arrane, he sent with the said king of Denmarke to assist him against his aduersaries.

He is restored to his kingdome by the earle of Arrane lieutenant to king Iames.

The earle of Arrane according to his commission, attending the Danish king into his countrie, restored him to his kingdome and former gouernement, and so leauing him in peaceable possession thereof, returned with his armie againe into Scotland, with great honor both to himselfe, the king, and realme.

Shortlie after was a parlement called, during the which the queene was crowned, and manie good acts and constitutions made, especiallie touching the limiting of places where iustice should be ministred in the Iles and hie lands: whereby it came to passe, that the king was aswell obeied, & his lawes were as duelie obserued and kept by the hie land men, as by those that dwelled in anie part of the low land. The king then being at peace with England, and iustice so ministred amongest his owne subiects, that they liued in great rest and quietnesse, certeine of his councell [as William Elfinstone bishop of Aberden] deuised waies to win the king great profit and gaines, by calling his barons & all those that held anie lands within his realme, to shew their euidences by way of recognition: and if they had not writings to shew, according to the ancient instruments and lawes of the realme sufficient for their warrant, the lands should remaine at the kings pleasure.

The hie land men obedient to lawes.

1505. *Lesl.*

1504.

Fr. Thin. A deuise to get the king monie.

But when the king perceiued his people to grudge herewith, and not without cause, as with a thing deuised to disquiet his people and the whole countrie, of his owne curteous & gentle nature he easilie agréed with the possessors of such lands: for the which he purchased great loue amongest his people, & the deuisers of that ordinance wan passing great hatred and malice. This yeare in Maie the king held his court of iustice at Lowder, and remooving it to Edenburgh, there continued the same, where the lord of Thorneton was conuicted for killing his wife, and therefore lost his head [at Edenburgh by the kings sentence.] There came an ambassador this yeare also from the duke of Gelderland, to renew the league betwixt the king and the said duke. Also an herald came out of France, who brought newes which the king liked well.

1506.

Fr. Thin.

A great ship made.

This yeare also, the king caused a mightie ship to be made, the which was put foorth into the rode the seuenth of Iulie, and the king sailed himselfe into the Maie, an Iland in the Forth, and was driuen in againe with tempest: but the same ship was after appointed foorth, and sent to the sea with sundrie valiant gentlemen in hir, to meet with the Hollanders which had taken and spoiled diuerse Scotish ships, and throwne the merchants and other that were in the same ouer boord. For reuenge whereof, Andrew Barton tooke manie ships of the Hollanders and filled certeine pipes with their heads, which he sent vnto the king for a witnesse how he had sped. A star like a comet appeared the tenth of August, giuing great light in the night season like to the sun beams. A Frenchman named sir Anthonie Darcie knight, called afterward Le sir de la Bawtie, came through England into Scotland to séeke feats of arms. And comming to the king the foure and twentith of September, the lord Hamilton fought with him right valiantlie, and so as neither of them lost anie péece of honor.

The Hollanders ships taken.

A bright star appeareth in the skie.

Anthonie Darcie.

This

This yeare Iames prince of Scotland and of the Iles was borne in the abbeie of the Holie rood house, the one and twentith of Ianuarie; and on the three and twentith of the same moneth, he was baptised in the said abbeie church. His godfathers were these, Robert bishop of Glascow, and Patrike earle Bothwell; and the countesse of Huntleie was his godmoother. The quéene, after she was brought to bed, was verie weake and troubled with great sickenesse, so that she lay in great danger: for recouerie of whose helth the king went on foot vnto saint Ninians in pilgrimage; and afterwards in Iulie, both the king and the quéene went thither to visit the same saint. 1507. Prince Iams is borne. The king went on pilgrimage.

Pope Iulius the second sent an ambassador vnto king Iames, declaring him protector and defendor of the faith, and in signe thereof sent vnto him a purpure diadem or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, togither with a sword, hauing the hilts and skabbert of gold set with pretious stones, which were presented vnto him by the said ambassador, and the abbat of Dunfermling, within the abbeie church of Holie rood house. At that time the peace contracted betwixt the two kings of Scotland and England was there confirmed. The lord of Terueer or Camfire in Zealand (whose ancestors not long ago came foorth of Scotland) sent his messenger the bailiffe of Terueer to the king, who presented vnto him certeine great horsses and other rich presents, in remembrance that he came of the Scotish race; and the king in recompense thereof, sent vnto the said lord his order, and made his ambassador knight, rewarding him at his departing (which was in August) with right honorable gifts. The pope declared king Iames protector of the faith. Horsses presented vnto the king.

The whole realme remained in such peace and quietnesse in these daies, that the king rode one day himselfe alone in post from Sterling, by S. Iohns towne, and Aberden, vnto Elgin; and reposing a little part of the night in the house of maister Thomas Lesleie then parson of Angus, went to horsse againe, and came to saint Duthois in Rosse, by that time they were readie to go to masse. This was on the one & thirtith day of August. About the latter end of September, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earle of Arrane, were sent ambassadors into France. They tooke ship the seuen and twentith of September. The seuentéenth of Februarie, Iames prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernor. Peace and quietnesse in Scotland. An ambassage into France.

* About this time, the K. (to tell you here, as saith Lesleus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speach he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceipt, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchumie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing doone, but that their pursses were emptied, and the vaine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his vaine glorie, and partlie to recouer the kings fauor) giue out a rumor, that he would (by flieng) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had loosed from shore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to méet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted togither, desirous to sée this new bird; amongest whome (for recreations cause) came the king also. *Fr. Thin. Lesteus lib. 8. pag. 345.*

What need manie woords. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted vp himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiuer suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (vncerteine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pitie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to flie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to sée him, which before would flie like Icarus, did now lie like Si-

mon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this woorthie abbat, to salue all the matter, referred the defalt of his flieng wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the doonghill (whervpon those birds liue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

1508. The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obinie, and the president of Tholous, came from Lewes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king Iames, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in mariage with Francis de Vallois of Vien, and duke of Angolesme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made suite for her. Because therefore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he estéemed king Iames as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduisement taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succéed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie forren prince, sith otherwise some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Tholous departed, reporting the same at his comming home vnto the French king, who therevpon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

An ambassage sent vnto the king.

The kings answer.

The lord D'obignie tooke a sicknesse and died therof at Corstorphin, in the moneth of Iune, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Ninians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilest he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had atchiued manie high enterprises against his enimies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whome he vanquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts atchiued, this lord D'obignie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and Iune, there were kept great iusts and tourneies in Edenburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

The lord D'obignie died.

This was the king himselfe.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent foorth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murrey into England. The fiftéenth of Iulie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortlie after she had receiued baptisme, deceassed, and the quéene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glascow died this yeare in his iournie to Ierusalem, the nine and twentith of Iulie; Iames Beton succéeded him in that see. The thirtith of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Maxwell, and the lord Creichton of Sanchar, where the lord Creichton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Daliell and the yoong lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The ninetéenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

Ambassadors sent.

The archbishop of Glascow died.

A bickering.

An earthquake.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horsses trimlie trapped with bards of stéele to be presented to king Iames, who thankefullie receiued them, and right honorablie rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned foorth of France in a great ship called the treasuror, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edenburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edenburgh the seuentéenth day of October, and earle Patrike succéeded him. Henrie the seuenth king of England, passed

Horsses sent vnto king Iames.

The archdeacon of saint Andrews came out of France.

The earle Bothwell died.

out

out of this world the two and twentith of Aprill, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succéeded him, after whose coronation king Iames sent an honorable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases apperteineth. 1509. King Henrie the eight succéedeth his father.

* At this time, Iohn and Andrew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portingals) preieng on the borderers of Portingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandize) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of prises being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portingals, gaue them cause gréeuouslie to complaine to their king, of the wicked pirasie of the Scots: but neither the king of Portingale with his councell, nor his people with their force, could at anie time suppresse the Bartons (defended with the Scotish letters of marque) but that he would inuade, spoile, & carie awaie the Portingale ships, if he happened vppon anie of them. Touching which, because it shall not séeme to be a manifest iniurie by the Bartons to the other (and not rather a iust cause giuen by the Portingals) we haue here inserted the letters of our king Iames the fift (as they be found amongst the records) written to Immanuell king of Portingale for this matter. In which it shall manifestlie appeare, whether the fault were not mostlie in the Portingals or no. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8, cap. 250.*

IAMES THE FIFT, KING OF SCOTLAND, TO IMMANUELL THE WOORTHIE KING OF PORTINGALE.

"Woorthie king, friend, and deere coosine, certeine yeares past, a Scotish ship laden with merchandize, & loosing from the port of Sluis in Flanders, was inuaded by two armed ships, gouerned by Portingals; whereof, the one was called Iohn Vasque, and the other Iohn Pret. Which ship (after certeine of hir merchants slaine, manie wounded, manie taken prisoners, and the rest cast into a fisher-bote to be set on land at the next shore) was by them caried into Portingale: all which was doone in the sight of the rest of the Lusitan ships, which at the same time did also loose out of that hauen to passe into Portingale. The full trueth whereof, Charles the duke of Burgognie, and earle of Flanders, vnderstanding (and mooued not so much for the singular iniurie doone to the Scots, as by the breach of the priuilege, & right of his harborows) did signifie the same (knowne, and found by order of iudgement) to the king of Portingale, admonishing him, that vnlesse he tooke order for such wicked deeds, and for the restitution of the hurt and losse: that he would indeuor, that all the Portingals (which frequented the marts of Flanders) should by sentence of iudgement, satisfie all the damages which the Scots had susteined. But the vntimelie death (of that iust and valiant man) did frustrat all his determination.

"The king also our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that iniurie to the king of Portingale, and had not much profited) gaue foorth letters of marque, that is, he gaue authoritie to Iohn & Robert Barton, brothers & heires to that Iohn, which was maister of that ship so caried away, to recouer so much of the Lusitans. Before the execution wherof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet verie yoong) the whole state of the realme did suppose it best to alter nothing in forren causes, vntill he came to full age. At time (being of sufficient yeares) he did forbeare to grant the vse of the said letter of marque, till he had first consulted with the king of Portingale thereabouts. Wherevpon (dispatching an ambassador vnto him) our father also died (before we could againe heare anie answer from thence) leauing me a child not past three yeeres old. For which cause, the gouernor of the kingdome iudged it best (during our minoritie) to defer these letters of marque, vntill we came to riper yeares; which was doone, not without great griefe and complaint of those miserable and poore men.

"Wherevpon, we also for these last two yeares (being now growen to riper age) are mooued

mooued aswell to prouide, that other merchants which in that ship of Iulian, haue lost their goods and kinred, as also to permit the heirs of the said Iohn Barton (by way of letter of marque before granted) to haue power giuen them, onelie to take so much recompense of the Portingals. Whereof yet, we thought it meet, that they should not vse any of them, vntill we had first (by this Snadone our esquier) laid before your maiestie the whole order of the matter, which is the iudiciall knowledge of the pirasie, the value of the losse, and the cause of our long silence, assuredlie hoping that you will not doo anie thing, in respect of your humanitie and vprightnes, but that which shall be good and iust. The which, if you deeme is yet to be deferred; we require your woorthinesse to consider, that we cannot forsake our subiects, afflicted with so great iniuries, whome hereafter we refer to the law of all nations, for recouerie of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to seeme to anie man (by anie meanes) to be the violating of friendship, league, or consanguinitie, wherewith we haue been linked. Wherefore, when that same shall happen, we desire your excellencie to take the same in good part (most woorthie coosine and confederat king) to whom I wish long and happie life. From Edenburgh the day before the Ides of Aprill, in the yeare, 1540."

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 353.

The king about this time gaue liberall possessions to Robert Borthwike, a notable artificer for making of field péeces and other guns; for the which liberalitie, he should make certeine great peeces in the castell of Edenburgh, whereof there are manie yet to be séene in Scotland, with this superscription:

Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.)

The king went on pilgrimage. A ship with munition. 1510.

This summer the king went in pilgrimage vnto saint Duthois in Rosse, and the quéene remaining at Holie rood house, was brought to bed of a prince, the twentie day of October, the which the third day after was baptised and named Arthur. Two great ships came foorth of France to the king, fraught with guns, speares, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bastard sonne to the king, newlie made archbishop of saint Andrews, who had béene long in Germanie student there in the schooles with that famous clearke Erasmus Roterodamus, and had profited verie well, came from Flanders by sea into Scotland, and was ioifullie receiued, because he had bestowed his time so well in vertues and learning.

The archbishop of saint Andrews.

The lord of Fast castell went into Turkie.

The lord of Fast castell came ouer with him, who had trauelled through a great part of christendome: and moreouer passing into Turkie, came to the emperour of Turkie at the citie of Caire, who reteined him in seruice, and gaue him good interteinement, so that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Fast castell was fallen to him by lawfull succession; notwithstanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight seuerall persons before him to succeed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceassed. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh. Two scorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the castell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great woonder, that anie should be séene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuersall sickenesse reigned through all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stoope gallant.

* Prince Arthur deceassed.

Two scorpions found in Scotland.

Stoope gallant a sicknes.

There came also a passing faire woman into Scotland about the same time, naming hir selfe Katharine Gordon, wife to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himselfe duke of Yorke, but at length being brought to the king, she confessed what shée was, and so auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir selfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, so that she liued there verie well and honorablie manie yéeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Rule, tooke diuers misgouerned persons, & brought them to Iedworth, where the principall of the Trumbils, with naked swords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themselues in the kings mercie, which were sent to sundrie places to be kept

Katharine Gordon.

he Trumbils with other are taken by the king.

kept in ward, with diuerse other of those countrimen, whereby the marches were more quiet afterwards: and from thence the king passed to saint Iohns towne, where iustice were holden the residue of the winter.

The next yéere in the beginning of Maie, the quéene went from Dunfermling toward saint Duthois in Rosse, and was all the way right honorablie vsed aud interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, she returned to Edenburgh, where she found the lord Dacres, and sir Robert Drurie knight come thither as ambassadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honorablie receiued. In the yéere next insuing, in Iune, Andrew Barton being on the seas to meet the Portingals (against whom he had a letter of marque) sir Edmund Haward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Haward, sonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to sea with certeine ships, and met with the said Andrew as he returned homewards néere to the Downes, hauing with him onelie one ship and one barke. 1511. 1511. *Lesle.* 1512.

An ambassage from the king of England.

The Englishmen at the first made signe vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, saue onelie to salute them as friends; but getting within them, they set vpon them right fiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themselues, so that manie were slaine on both sides: but in the end the Englishmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ship called the Vnicorne, and the barke called Iennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scotishmen that remained aliue in the same, which were had to London, and staied as prisoners in the bishop of Yorke his house for a time, and after sent home into Scotland. King Iames was sore offended with this matter, and therevpon sent an herald with letters, requiring redresse for the slaughter of his people, and restitution of his ships, sith otherwise it might séeme to giue occasion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the slaughter of a pirat (as he tooke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuerthelesse he promised to send commissioners to the borders, that should intreat of that matter, and other enormities chanced betweene the two realmes.

Two ships taken by the Englishmen.

* About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernor of all the marches of Scotland (which before were accustomed to be diuided into thrée parts) deerelie beloued to king Iames, being a man of a fiercer disposition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promised to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the English) that shortlie he and his followers with their kindred and aliances, would so bring the matter about, that the English should as greatlie lament for their losses, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victories. To the performance whereof, he gathered thrée thousand souldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there spoiled seuen townes before anie succour might come to rescue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accustomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delaie, presentlie diuided the preie in the host, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was néerest vnto him. Yet Alexander did not disperse such as he might kéepe togither: but assembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a small companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eie to sée if anie pursute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (passing the time more careles than before) he fell vnwares into the hands of thrée hundred English laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did set vpon him and his, and (driuing them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all such as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were slaine, and two hundred taken, of whome George Hume, brother of the said Alexander (exchanged for Comarch, Heron, and Foord, taken prisoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Car) was one, and the chiefest, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.)

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them sent ambassadors into Scotland vnto king Iames, requiring his assistance against England: but

The king of France required aid against England.

King Iames persuadeth to peace.

but king Iames minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, sent an ambassador vnto the king of England, desiring him in brotherlie and most louing wise to liue in peace and quietnesse, and not to make anie wars against his confederat friends, offering himselfe to agrée and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the said princes. The king of England, who had alreadie sent aid vnto the ladie regent of the low countries against the duke of Gelderland, made such faire answer herevnto as he thought stood with reason, and so dispatched the ambassadour backe againe to his maister, without anie more adoo in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 356.

* Much about these daies, there was called a prouinciall synod of bishops, abbats, and other religious persons at Edenburgh, in the monasterie of the Dominicke friers. Baiomanie the popes legat being present. In which by the common voice of them all (although against the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that benefices or priests liuings (whose reuenues did yéerly excéed the value of 40 pounds) should pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should giue to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which vnto this day is called the Baiomane monie or tax.] Iohn lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntleie, returned out of France, and was maried vnto the kings bastard daughter, in Nouember following, in this present were* 1512, of whome the house of Huntleie is descended.

The kings bastard maried.

[*sic.]

The bishop of Murrey came home.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murrey home, hauing béene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a clearke of Spaine in ambassage vnto the king. This yéere the eleuenth day of Aprill, the quéene was deliuered of a yoong prince in the palace of Luithgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named Iames the fift prince of Scotland, and of the Iles, that after succéeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to persuade king Iames to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie prouisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had drowned thrée English ships, & brought seuen awaie with him vnto Lieth for prises, in the which were but thrée Englishmen left aliue. Shortlie after, maister Iames Ogiluie abbat of Driburgh came foorth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Iulie brought into Scotland 14 prises of English men which he had taken.

A yong prince borne in Scotland.

The French king sent to persuade the king of Scots to warre.

Fourtéene prises of Englishmen taken.

About this season, the lord of Drumweidie was slaine in Edenburgh by two persons, which tooke sanctuarie in Holie rood house, and so escaped. Iohn erle of Atholl deceassed the ninetéenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceassed the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edenburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quéene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland, which the king of France had sent vnto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and band renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blacknesse the ninetéenth of Nouember. King Iames sent a purseuant called Vnicorne into France, and another into England called Ilaie, which Ilaie required a safe conduct for an ambassador to be sent from the king his maister vnto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Misrule exercised.

The quéene brought to bed of a child.

1513. *Lesle.*

The league renewed with France.

Purseuants sent into England and France.

Vpon the said Ilaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogiluie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixtéenth of March next insuing, doctor West came as ambassador into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certeine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of Iune next insuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be doone, as after shall appeere. The king sent Fornian bishop of Murrey into France, to signifie vnto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came

1513. *Lesle.*

Doctor West sent into Scotland ambassador.

1513.

certeine

certeine ships out of Denmarke laden with guns, powder, armor, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Mot landed in the west part of Scotland the sixteenth of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth of the some moneth. Munition for warre sent out of Denmarke. Prouision sent out of France.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king Iames at Edenburgh, the first of Iune, offering his friendship and seruice to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; wherevpon he was thankfullie receiued, honorablie interteined, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. Odonell profred friendship vnto king Iames.

The king prepared a great nauie of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaell, Margaret, and Iames. They made saile towards the sea the twentie seuenth of Iulie; and the king sailed in the Michaell himselfe, till they were past the Iland of Maie, Iames Gordon son to George earle of Huntleie being one of the capteins of the same ship. A nauie sent.

The commissioners met on the borders in Iune, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make anie redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delaie and continuance of time, they should vnderstand the state of their kings procéedings in France, and in the meane time reteine in their hands the Scotishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scotish writers affirme) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes vnto king Henrie then lieng at siege before Terwine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre vnto him. Wherevpon Lion arriuing in the English armie with his cote of arms on his backe, about the middest of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Garter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, hauing his nobles and councellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good woords first vttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth. Commissioners met at the borders. The English men protract the time. A king of armes sent vnto K. Henrie of England.

THE TENOR OF THE KING OF SCOTS LETTERS.

"RIGHT excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our deerest brother and coosine, we commaund vs vnto you in our maist hartie manner, and receiued fra Raff Heraulde your letters, quhar vntill ye approue and allow the doings of your commissiouners latelie being with ours at the borders of bathe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your councell should be continuet and delaet to the fifteenth day of October. Als ye write slaars by see aught not compeere personallie, but by their attourneys. And in your letters with our herauld Ilaie, ye ascertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treux taken betwixt the maist christian king and your father of Aragoun, because ye and others of the hale liege nether should nor may take peace, treux, nor abstinence of warre with your common enimie, without consent of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragoun, yea and euery of you be bounded to make actuall warre this instant sommer against your common enimy. And that so to do is concluded and openlie swornē in Paules kirke at London, vpon S. Markes day last by past. And farther haue denied safe conduct vpon our requests that a seruitor of ours might haue resorted to your presence (as our herauld Ilaie reports.)

"Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our deerest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissiouners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun before continuet to the commissiouners meeting, to effect that due redresse suld haue beene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissioners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrestet to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by see need not compeere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gef in criminall action all slaars suld naught compeere personallie,

na punitioun suld follow for slaughter, and then vane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouther keepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

" The great wrongs and vnkindnes done before to vs and our leiges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in vpbearing, mainswering, noundressing of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our wardan vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder color by your folks, in taking of vthers out of our realme prisonet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Androw Barton by your awn commaund, quha than had naught offended to you nor your lieges vnredrest, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

" Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissiouners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrate and als shew by vthers vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of commissiouners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and cousings within their awne countries that haue naught offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender cousing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & cousing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tine his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hase bene vnto you kind without offense, and more kindar than to vs.

" Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye because of vthers, haue giuen occasion to vs and to our lieges in time by past, nouther doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destructioun of our neerest friendes, quha mon doo for vs quhan it shall be necessarie ; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightlie fauour, manifestlie wranged your sister for our sake incontrarie our writs : and saieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the cõtrarie. Indeed such it is, we gaue you words as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naughtight haue stopped our seruitors passage to labour peax, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therevpon we were contented to haue ouerseene our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though vther informatioun was made to our halie father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Yorke, your ambassador.

" And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premisses, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our councell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of peax if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefore we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destructioun of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes with out remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of vthers, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

" Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and cousing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truist may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint

ordaint our herauld the bearer heereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence. Right excellent, right hie & mightie prince our deerest brother and cousing, the Trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Iulie."

King Henrie hauing read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his councell, sent for the herald againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Wherevnto Lion made this answer: "Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my souereigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth dooings and not saiengs, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home." Then said the king: "I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons." And heerewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

The herald is sent for.

The heralds answer.

KING HENRIE HIS ANSWER.

"RIGHT excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edenburgh the twentie sixt day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearsall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers doon by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembring that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore beene made to you & your councell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and coosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and sworne betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honor & kindnesse, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitors, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

"Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, nighnesse of bloud, honor of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, speciallie in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, seeke the waies to doo that in our said absence, which ye would haue beene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation heereof, we need none other proofes nor witnesses, but your owne writings heeretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

"Neuerthelesse, we remembring the brittlenes of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie beleeuing so much vnstedfastnesse, thought it verie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readines for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & alies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall councell expreslie excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnnaturall

demeanor haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

"And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceablie suffereth him to continue, wherevnto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: forsomuch as if anie law or reason could haue remooued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue beene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended greefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassador last sent vnto vs.

"Whervnto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath beene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heeretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had hertofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he doone now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe. Wherfore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and alies to prosecute the same; and as ye doo to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembred and acquited heereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of August."

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scotish herald, he departed with the same into Flanders, there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie passage he staied, and returned not into Scotland till Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For king Iames perceiuing all the Englishmens dooings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing taken order for the assembling of his people, immediatlie after he had sent foorth his herald with commandement to denounce the warre, he determined to inuade the English confines, and first before his maine force was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the thirteenth day of August, hearing that the Englishmen had fetched a bootie within the Scotish ground, assembled a power, & followed them into Northumberland, but yer he could returne he was forelaid [in Broome house, or Broome field] by the Englishmen, which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Scotishmen to the woorse, and of them tooke and slue manie.

Englishmen fetched a bootie in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. * These wars thus begun, the king determined to go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assembled. Wherevpon comming to Limuch, he went to the church to heare

Buchan. lib. 13 euensong; as the maner was. To whome, after he had entered the chappell, there came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yellowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance. This man seeking the king, passed through the companie standing there, and drew neere to the king. Who being now come vnto him (and with a certeine rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the king was placed) in homelie sort saied vnto him: "King Iames sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonishment that thou hasten not forward to the place which thou hast determined: which warning if thou doost despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commanded to giue thee intelligence before hand, that thou eschue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women, and if thou dooest otherwise, it shall succeed to thy hurt and reproch." After which thus spoken, he mingled himselfe

himselfe with the other companie, neither could after be found (the euensong being ended) when he was sought for by the king: for he was neuer séene after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which séemed the more strange, because that manie which stood néere him (marking all his order, and desirous to haue heard more things from him) could not perceiue his departure; amongest which persons (of those that meant to haue asked him further questions) Dauid Lindseie (a man of approoued credit and vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far estranged from lieng and falshood) was one, who told this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most certeine; or else I would haue ouerpassed it as a fable caried about by common report.]

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king Iames approching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his people, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to recouer that detriment; and herevpon he made such hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of his realme, which was in preparing to come forward vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed ouer the water of Twéed the two and twentith of August, and entered into England, lodging that night at Wesilham néere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the next day laid siege vnto the castell of Norham, and within short space wan the Braies, ouerthrew the Barnekine, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired the king to delaie the siege, while they might send to the earle of Surreie alreadie come with an armie into the north parts, couenanting if they were not rescued by the ninetéenth day of that moneth, they should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was granted: and because none came within the time to the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appointed day; a great part of it was ouerthrowne and beaten downe. After this he wan the castels of Fourd and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength, of which, part were ouerthrowne. He also tooke manie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland, and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eightéene daies within England, till two parts of his armie were scaled & departed home from him, which they did vpon this occasion.

King Iames approched néere vnto England with his power.

The king of Scots made too much hast.

Norham.

The Braies.

Barnekine.

Fourd and Etell taken.

* The king was determined & persuaded to haue besieged Berwike (beyond which he was now passed) since the same alone was more honor (than all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because they were sure that the towne and castell were vnfurnished of all things for the defense thereof. Wherevpon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on woorke as much as they might in the French wars) being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering courtiers) did leaue the same vndoone at this time, meaning in his returne easilie to haue obteined it. But as they were yet at Foord, a herald of the English came vnto them, requiring that they would appoint a day and place, where and when both the armies might ioine in battell. Wherevpon, there was a councell called amongest the Scots, in which it was agréed by the greater part, that the Scots should returne home into their countrie, least with so small a companie they might hazard the state of the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had alreadie sufficientlie obteined fame, glorie and riches, and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for number (so few) and for trauell (in ouerthrowing so manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe be laid open to so great a multitude of the English dailie increasing with succors. For it was said at that time; that Thomas Haward brought into the field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in France) before Turweine.

Pr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 13.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more strange) it was further added, that if the king did depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissolued, and could not that yeare againe be repared, because their souldiers were fet from the furthest parts of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight, that he then should doo it in his owne realme, keeping the time & place in his power alwaies to be appointed. But when the French

French ambassador (and certeine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and greedie of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the English came not foorth (at the day appointed to them by the herald, which before had beene with the Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that their not comming to battell was onelie a traine and deceipt, deferring the matter from day to day, to the end that their force might be increased, and the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie against them. For since they haue not attended the time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to returne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the riuer of Till (hauing hie banks) is not passable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engins placed therefore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (vnfoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rash answer, the whole nobilitie was greeuouslie offended.

Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in yeeres and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor doo anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie vnfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassador dooth so much vrge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which dooth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer lauish in powring out the bloud of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisedome) dooth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Neither should the losse of his host seeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) bicause that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here togither, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would soone be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewes doo suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else weried by delaie; what can be doone more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie, to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plaie as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by remooving to giue them cause to folow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valiant in words than deeds, doo with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castels, by the spoile of so manie countries with sword and fire, and by

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the driuing home of so great booties and preies) haue doone that iniurie to them, as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie yéeres recouer hir former estate? What greater profit may we looke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obteine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swords) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiors may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dowglas, although all they which were present séemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie eares; and in heat commanded Dowglas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Wherevpon he (conceiuing some vnkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) foorthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. "If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countries helpe, and my souereignes honor. But since I sée their eares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinred (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thée, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs." Which words when the Dowglas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (bicause they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) tooke that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (séeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselues with the benefit of the place, and therevpon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

The power of the north countrie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scotish campe.

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king Iames was incamped, and approching within thrée miles of the Scotish campe in full sight of the Scotishmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king Iames had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet bicause he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approch to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselues away, he thought good to kéepe his ground, speciallie bicause all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

King Iames was minded to kéepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come foorth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to incounter him, & namelie the earle of Huntleie, a man for his high valiancie ioined with wisedome and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Dowglasse had before said] that nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therfore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was alreadie great scarsitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that

The earle of Huntleie his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

His persuasions.

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in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke striken through disaduantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

Foule weather. And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the foule and euill weather sore annoied both parties; for there had not beene one faire day, no scarse one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scotish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vexed the Englishmen, as well in their iournie thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scotish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Ilaie the night before the battell, conteining as followeth.

KING IAMES HIS QUARELL VNTO THE EARLE OF SURRIE.

"WHERE it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we sware last before his ambassadors in presence of our councell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yer we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide." ¶ Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doo anie thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious chances. There chanced also manie things taken (as yée would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in councell with his lords, to vnderstand their opinions touching the order of his battels,

An hare. there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at hir, with great noise and showting, yet she escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mise had gnawne in sunder the

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawn with mise. buckle and leather of his helmet wherewith he should fasten the same to his hed. And

The cloth of his tent of bloodie colour. moreouer, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had béene of a bloudie colour.

Herevpon the king kéeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constreined by necessitie to séeke all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was

The English campe remooued by the earle. lodged, remooued his campe towards the hils of Floddon, where the king of Scots laie incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twisell bridge; the rereward going ouer at Milford, putting themselues as néere as they could betwixt the Scotish campe and Scotland. King Iames perceiuing the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that laie betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to preuent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins

The Scots campe remoued also. which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remooued to the other hill, being gotten thither yer the English men could perceiue him to be remooued out of his former lodgings, bicause the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, couered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

Aduantage gotten by the ground. In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scotish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vpwards vnder the leuill thereof, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting

King Iames his practise. off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king Iames hauing disappointed the

the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might atteine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scotish armie [after they had appointed the same into *Fr. Thin.* three wards, whereof (as saith Lesleus) the earle of Huntleie and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Montrosse; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argile and Lennox] making downwards, incountered with the English host neere to the foot of the mounteine called Branxton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horssemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constreined to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselues to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king Iames no sooner saw that wing of the English host ouerthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had beene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horsse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King Iames deceiued himselfe and alighted from his horsse.

His capteins did what they could by words to remooue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be doone in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doo no more than another man; yet keeping his place as apperteineth to his person, he may be woorth manie thousands of other. The king nothing mooued with these exhortations, breaking his arraie of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance, so that there was a right hard incounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt doone therewith.

The capteins good counsell not regarded.

The kings hardinesse marred all.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Branxton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scotish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scotishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remooue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Moreouer, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to doo; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recouer the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Sir Edward Stanlie inuaded the backe of the reregard.

King Iames slaine.

The lord chamberlaine stood still.

Howbeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king Iames had ordered himself wiselie in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had mooued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had beene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had beene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Wherevpon the Englishmen remembring how manifestlie Gods goodnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselues long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after noone, and continued three houres, in the which fiftéene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was crediblie reported)

The lord chamberlaine beareth the blame.

The English men thanked God for this noble victorie.

5000. *Buchan.* 15000 men slaine.

reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fifteene hundred.

But yet the Scotishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king Iames which the Englishmen found in the field, and tooke it for his; but rather an other Scotish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to driue foorth the residue of his daies, in dooing penance for his former passed offenses: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king; no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Nancie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

The Scotish men returne home againe. They were reuiled of their owne people.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scotish armie returned homewards the same way they came, wasting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euill of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine before their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reproowed, as cause of all that mischiefe, which behaued himselfe not as a capteine, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Vpon the honor of this victorie, Thomas Haward earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognisance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he before bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scotish armie was ouercome, and that worthie prince king Iames the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yeere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yeere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, hee deserued to be numbred amongest the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scotish nation. All theft, reiffe, murther, and robberie ceassed in his daies, by such rigorous execution of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised through all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the sauage people of the out Iles sorted themselues through terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwise of themselues they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecessors times was yet euer heard of.

The sauage people reformed themselues.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrewes his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Iles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilwennie: the earles of Montrosse, Crawford, Argile, Lennox, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell; Arrell high constable of Scotland, Addell, Atholl, and Morton: the lords Louet, Forbois, Elueston, Roos, Inderbie, Saintcleare, Maxwell, and his three brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Borthicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir Iohn Dowglas, Cuthbert Hume of Fast castell, sir Alexander Seton, sir Dauie, maister Iohn Grant, sir Dunkin Cawfield, sir Sander Lowder, sir George Lowder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Ellot, maister Cawell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Ellester, Macke Kene, Macke Clene, with manie others.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

* This Iames the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogither vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie

gentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vnwillinglie drawen vnto them. Against the detraction of the euill, and admonishment of the good, there was such woorthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe woord vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilest he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (obiected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (woone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

IAMES THE FIFT.

AFTER the death of that woorthie prince king Iames the fourth, slaine at Branxton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne Iames the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme togither at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, hir sonne the foresaid Iames the fift, a child of one yeere, fiue moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father Iames Beton archbishop of Glascow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouernement the queene obteined by reason of hir husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouernement amongest the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Floddon field, which gouernement she did not long inioy.

An assemblie at Striueling. 1513.

The king crowned, and the queene appointed regent. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 15.

For shortlie after they fell at variance amongest themselues, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had beene slaine at the field; by reason whereof, some of them writ letters secretlie into France to Iohn duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of bloud to the king, and neerest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceassed without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had beene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortlie after, the said monsieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who therevpon met at saint Iohns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edenburgh, the thirteenth day of March next, for the same intent.

A debate.

The duke of Albanie is sent for.

Monsieur de la Bautie is sent into Scotland.

An assemblie had at Striueling.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, thorough lacke of due administration of iustice, and by discord & variance dailie rising amongest the lords & peeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatlie to woonder thereat, and in weieng the same throughlie, no lesse lament the oppression doone to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of iniurious violence inuaded hir

The great disquietnesse reigning in Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fift.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preied and spoiled others) a great capteine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (querrunning Atholl and the adioining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred théeues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his vncle Iohn Creichton) taken by wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The king of England writeth to his sister.

The quéene sent louing letters vnto the king of England hir brother, requiring him of peace. Wherevpon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yéere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for hir sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succéed, if hir son were once out of the way. But the chiefest cause that mooued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to doo in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

The duke of Albanie confirmed tutor by parlement.

Now shortlie after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edenburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases prouided. Wherevpon, in Aprill then next following they tooke the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had béene deuised.

1514.

A legat from Rome.

This yéere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtith of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andrewes, and instantlie confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the quéene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortlie after the quéene called an assemblie at Edenburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agréed. And heerewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister Iames Ogiluie abbat of Driburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came foorth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next insuing.

The quéene deliuered of hir second son Alexander.

The mariage of the quéene mother.

The great seale taken from the bishop of Glascow.

This yéere, the sixt of August, the quéene maried Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, and immediatlie after in saint Iohns towne tooke the great seale from the bishop of Glascow, that was chancellor of the realme. Wherupon the said bishop got him to Edenburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the quéene and hir new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongest the nobles and péeres of the same.

A peace concluded betwixt England & France.

In the peace contracted betwixt Lewes the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scotishmen thought great falt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had béene attempted betwixt them and England.

The deceasse of the bishop of Aberden.

The same yéere, about the twentie fift of October, William Elphingston bishop of Aberden, and lord kéeper of the priuie seale departed this life at Edenburgh. He had béene a faithfull councellor to Iames the third & to Iames the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowed the college in the old towne of Aberden, for the increase of learning & vertue, which

hath

hath florished with good wits of students euer since, till these our daies. The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bautie receiued the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Albanie, at the hands of the deane of Glascow brother to the bishop of Murrey, called Forman. Shortlie after, Iohn Hepborne the prior of saint Andrews then elect archbishop of that sée, besieged the castell of saint Andrews, and wan it by force from the keepers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the name of Gawin Dowglasse, wherewith the queene and the earle of Angus were highlie offended. The twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & windie night, the earle of Lennox, and the maister of Glencarne vndermined the nether groundsoile of the castell gate of Dunbreton, & entered thereby into the castell, & so tooke it, putting out thereof the lord Erskin. Shortlie after (that is to say) the fiftéenth of that moneth, a great assemblie was made betwixt the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue fought with the other, which was the cause and beginning of great trouble that insued.

Monsieur de la Bautie.

1514.

The castell of Dunbreton taken.

The same day in Edenburgh were the buls published, which Forman the bishop of Murrey had purchased at Rome, for the obteining of the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Dunfirmeling, and Arbroeth, through supplication of the queene and duke of Albanie. From which buls the prior of saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the archbishops sée by election and generall gift of the lords of the realme; and hervpon got togither his friends in Edenburgh, as the maister of Hales and others. And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and diuerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings letters, by vertue whereof they proclamed the said maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the horne: wherevpon they were constreined to depart out of Edenburgh. And in Maie following, the prior went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The popes buls published. 1515. *Lesle.*

Contention about the ioieng of the sée of saint Andrews.

The foure and twentith of Februarie, a parlement was assembled at Striueling; but because the lords could not agrée amongst themselues, it was proroged till the comming of the duke of Albanie, which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or at the furthest in Maie next insuing, as he had sent word by sir Iohn Striueling of the Keir, that was latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords and péeres of the realme. The fiftéenth of Maie, truce was proclamed betwixt England and Scotland, to indure for three yeares, or three moneths (as saith Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the afternoone, the Englishmen entered the borders of Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the countrie, dooing great hurt therein, notwithstanding the truce. The seuentéenth day of Maie, Iohn duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland, arriued at the towne of Aire, with eight ships well appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of necessarie prouision for his estate.

1910.

Truce betwixt England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie his arriuall in Scotland.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed alongst the coast till he came to Dunbreton, and there came on land, & on the next day passed foorth to Glascow, were all the westland lords receiued him with great semblance of reioising for his arriuall. The six and twentith day of Maie, he was receiued into Edenburgh, a great number of lords méeting him on the way. The queene also came from hir owne lodging and met him, to doo him honor. Sundrie conceipts, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burgesses, to honor his entrie in the best maner they could deuise. Shortlie after his comming to Edenburgh, there came thither foorth of all parts of the realme, the lords and barons, where they being assembled in councell, he tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise, so that they would assist him in setting foorth of iustice and good orders, which they vndertooke to doo.

The duke of Albanie receiued into Edenburgh.

Herevpon was the parlement, which had béene proroged till his comming, summoned to be kept at Edenburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse acts were concluded and made; and the lord Drummond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for striking Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him of life and honor, but his lands and goods remained in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was afterwards restored to the same againe. In this parlement also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by the three estates of the realme

A parlement summoned.

tutor,

tutor and gouernor to the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to others, and namelie to their king and souereigne lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the vttermost of their powers, for the aduancement of his honor, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king should haue béene conueied foorth of the realme secretlie into England: wherevpon he suddenlie departed in the night time from Edenburgh, with his men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling, where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with the quéene; which castell, togither with the kings person, and the other within it, were deliuered to him the third day of August: wherevpon he committed them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of the realme, whereof the earles of Eglenton and Montrosse were two. The lord Hume, because he had assisted the earle of Angus and the quéene against the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and the earles of Lennox & Arrane, with manie others, were sent to his houses to seize the same into the kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gunpowder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that entered first into the castell were burned.

The king deliuered to the keeping of certeine lords.

The lord Hume denounced a rebell.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England, and sore disquieted the marches, so that no day of truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle marches. The twelfth of August, the quéene, the earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowglas, went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from thence passed to the nunrie of Caudstreame; wherevpon aduertisement being giuen to the K. of England, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and twentith of that moneth she was receiued by the lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter, called Margaret Dowglasse, afterwards maried to the earle of Lennox, as in place conuenient it shall further appeare. There was no Scotishman at this time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to the b[illegible] with his Frenchmen, where the sixt of October, the said lord Hume came & submitte[illegible] to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alexander shortlie after did the san[illegible]ey were both deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed to keepe [illegible] safetie within the towne of Edenburgh.

The birth of the countesse of Lennox.

The lord Hume submitted himselfe,

But the twelfth of October next insuing, the said earle o[illegible]parted from thence in the night season, with those his prisoners, stealing their [illegible] Herevpon, the gouernor causing the parlement to be holden that was su[illegible]egin the foure and twentith of October, the said lord Hume, maister William [illegible]e, and Dauid Hume, were conuict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fifteene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like maner. And in that meane space, the gouernor went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king Iames the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next insuing, came with the bishop of Glascow vnto Edenburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

The earle of Arrane stealeth away.

The lord Hume and other conuicted of treason.

The old countesse of Arrane purchaseth hir sons pardon.

About the same time, certeine lords tooke part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edenburgh, there was much adoo, & the towne greatlie disquieted. The gouernor lieng in the abbeie, came into the towne, and tooke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause: and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that sturre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and foorthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into

A commotion betwixt the earles of Murreie and Huntleie.

England

England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who tooke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rossele the kings brother departed this life at Striueling. Lion king of armes staied by the lord Humes.

The seuentéenth day of Ianuarie, a truce was taken betwixt England and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agréed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Planes the French ambassador, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gawin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. A truce concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernor againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir Iames Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanor within the castell of Edenburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbreton and diuerse other to be furnished, and tooke the castell of Glascow with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same. The earle of Arrane eftsoones reuolteth from the gouernor. The earle of Lennox furnisheth Dunbreton.

The gouernor aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glascow, where, by the labor of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernor, and tooke a new respit, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. Forman the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to the great disquieting of the realme, by such partakings as chanced thereabout among the lords, came now to the towne of Edenburgh, and resigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchased buls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfirmeling in the gouernors hands, to bestow the same at his pleasure: who by the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifieng of all debates, bestowed them as followeth. The earles of Lennox and Arrane take a respit. Forman resigneth his title to the archbishops sée.

First, the said archbishoprike he gaue to the said Forman with the abbasies of Dunfirmeling, and to maister Iames Hepborne he gaue the bishoprike of Murrey, and benefices woorth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Driburgh he gaue vnto maister Iames Ogiluie, and the bishoprike of Aberden (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gurdon, and to the archbishop of Glascow called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murrey a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning [and George Dundasse was made prior of the knights of the roads.] And thus he bestowed the benefices which had béene vacant euer since Floddon field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinsmen, that by such liberalitie vsed towards them, all debates and discords might ceasse, which had happened amongest them, speciallie about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was doone in the moneth of Februarie. Bestowing of benefices. *Fr. Thin.*

Shortlie after, the gouernor, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited togither, receiued into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Pantoun secretarie, who for his cause had béene kept as prisoner in Insche gaile. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the fift of Male, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fées, and honors. About that time, the lord of Strawen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Logiraith by the gouernors commission. 1515. The earle of Angus and others receiued into fauor.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolued but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernor foorth of the realme. But all the lords and states with The parlemen began againe. The king of Englands letters to the lords.

vniuersall

vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

The lord Hume and other arrested and committed to ward.

In the moneth of September, the gouernor commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and Dauid Kar of Fernihurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vp against them: and therevpon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were conuict of treason, for assisting and mainteining of the théeues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuith in Edenburgh: Dauid Kar was spared.

The lord Hume beheaded.

Ed. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

*Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the iniuries of those times gréeuouslie afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained in England amongest his friends. Iohn abbat of Iedwoorth was banished beyond Taie. Dauid the yoonger brother, which was prior of Coldingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by Iames Hepborne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, vnder color of a meeting and parlée, wherevnto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmelesse yoong gentleman, of a singular wit, and fowlie betraied by those of whom he ought not so to haue bin intrapped.

The duke of Albanie visiteth the borders. Another parlement. The duke of Albanie second person of the realme.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Iedwoorth with a great companie of men, & staied the great robbing & reauing which had béene vsed on the borders, & left there good wardens to kéepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edenburgh. The third of Nouember, another parlement was holden, in which it was decréed, that the gouernor should be déemed and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Orkeneie, which was alleged to haue béene first maried to their father the duke of Albanie, before he was maried to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernor. Wherevpon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agréed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers fauor, and was made bishop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernor required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths: but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

The gouernor asketh licence to go into France.

The earle of Lennox in ward.

Monsieur de la Bautie made warden of the marches.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edenburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbreton to be deliuered vnto one Alane Steward in the constables name; & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bautie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Ianuarie, the gouernor went to saint Iohns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fées thereof.

1517.

Ambassadors from France.

In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadors from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subiects.

An ambassage into France.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edenburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernor himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dunkeild, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadors should go thither: the which the thirtéenth of Maie, went a shipboord, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernor tooke ship at Newmarke beside Dunbreton the seuenth of Iune, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agréed, that he should haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glascow, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilest he was absent. Also he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bautie lieutenant of the borders.

The gouernor goeth into France.

He

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edenburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Marshall, the lords Erskin, Borthwike, Rithuen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The quéene that remained as then in England, after she vnderstood that the gouernor was departed towards France, returned to Edenburgh the seuentéenth of Iune, but she was not suffered to sée the king till August following: at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was remooued to Cragmiller, where the queene oftentimes came vnto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceiued, least the quéene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was eftsoones brought vnto the castell of Edenburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalfe.

Gouernors appointed to the kings person.

The king remoued. The doubt which the Scots had in the quéene.

* Much about this time in the which these things were doone, Iohn Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntleie, which for the praise of his singular goodnesse obteined the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernor) was singularlie welcomed and interteined of all men, who going vnto his owne people (in the north parts) was vrged with such grieuous sickenesse that he died therwith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature execute the same office) shortlie after buried in the abbeie of Kilrosse, with a goodlie toome erected on him by his said father. The death of which Iohn gaue (for manie causes) manie griefes vnto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earledome to his nephue, sonne of his sonne Iohn; who bicause he was but ten yéeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instructed in all goodnesse of maners answering to the excellencie of that wit wherewith he was indued.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 386.

This earle Huntleie adorned with excellent swéetnesse of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to depart out of his companie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treson was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intise the child to haue gone with him: but the yoong boie could not be allured with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting vp his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; bicause the said child was borne of his sisters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthonie Darcie lord Bautie the French aduanced to greater credit than themselues, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbreton the strongest fort of Scotland) began to raise tumults in the land. For William Cockborne (vncle of Comarch Lancton) who (expelling the gardians of the pupill) did keepe the castell of Lancton, assisted with the helpe of Dauid Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockborne had maried) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set vpon Bautie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lieng in wait for him.

Buchan. lib. 14.

For the castel of Langton or Lancton, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as tooke his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtill fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so iniuriouslie taken from him, and kept to the kings behoofe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recouer the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bautie might be intised to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bautie (suppos-

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 387.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bautie slaine by the lord of Woodburne. *Fr. Thin.*

ing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came foorth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [vpon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Ianuarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Bauties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edenburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, tooke George Dowglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edenburgh, bicause of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreouer, for due punishment of the murther of the foresaid de la Bautie, there was a parlement called the ninteenth of Februarie next, in the which, Dauid Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockborne & Iohn Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of Monsieur de la Bautie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

A parlement called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

Immediatlie after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Mers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillerie, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keies of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time.

The earle of Arrane commeth into the Mers.

The maister of Hales.

The master of Hales was also sought for at that time, that hée might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of Dauid Hume, prior of Coldingham, whom he had slaine traitorouslie.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France.

A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France.

Capteine Moores.

And at that same time was one capteine Moores a Frenchman sent foorth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordinglie he did, the same béeing deliuered vnto him.

1518.

The earle of Lennox, who had béene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, bicause the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselues euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and thervpon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of Iune, maister Gawen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and clearke of the register, was preferred to the bishops sée of Abberden that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill vsed at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberden a builder.

This Gawen founded an hospitall in Abberden, and indowed the same with lands for sustenance of twelue poore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with séuen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreouer, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Manie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowme; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buidings.

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The seuentéenth of Iune, there rose great stur in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the inioieng of the shiriffewike of Fife, by reason whereof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbreton.

ton. About the beginning of August, the quéene remaining in Edenburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then soiourning in Dowglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a clearke as ambassador from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, bicause the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee slue in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the quéene and hir husband.

1519. *Iesle.*

1519.

A mad man.

The king of England séeketh to keépe the duke of Albanie foorth of Scotland.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albanie, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pase vpon the seas to watch for his comming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was remooued foorth of the castell of Edenburgh vnto Dalkith, for doubt of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edenburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edenburgh to haue bin eftsoones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

The earle of Arrane.

Herevpon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, bicause of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughters thereof insued, as of the prior of Coldingham, and six of his men murthered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the sixt of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edenburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Crawford; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Orkenie, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glascow was the bishop of Glascows chancellor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglenton, and Cassels; the lords Rosse, Sempill, the abbat of Pasley, the bishop of Galloway, and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take anie order for the good gouernment of the commonwealth.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

In December, monsieur de la Faiot, and a French clearke called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarencieux, came from the kings of France and England, with an ambassador also from the gouernor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one yéere, betwixt Scotland and England: who comming to Edenburgh, were receiued by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancellor & the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anie néerer than to Linlithgo. The ambassador therefore tooke in hand to persuade, that an assemblie might be had in Striueling: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Neuerthelesse, the said ambassadors went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancellor and others, receiued them thankfullie, and proclamed the peace, according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlauerok, reproouing them sharpelie for their demeanor, and for taking their answer of the chancellor, so that they were not a litle afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would haue vsed some outrage towards them, which otherwise than in woords it should appéere he did not.

Monsieur de la Faiot.

The peace proclamed.

1520.

Variance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernihurst.

In Ianuarie, about the keeping of a court at Iedworth, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Kar the lord of Fernihurst; in whose aid, Iames Hamilton came with foure hundred Mers men: but the lord of Sesseford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Kelso with a great companie, and when they were lighted on foot, and should haue foughten, the Mers men left sir Iames Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne

owne men about him, so that with much paine he was horssed, and escaped in great danger vnto Hume, with losse of foure of his seruants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Rafe Kar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernihurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regalitie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Iedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, three miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Aprill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglasse, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne, against the earle of Arrane, and Iames Beton the chancellor, who were also there. But now by the comming of these succors, which entered by force at the neather bowe, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, sonne of the earle Eglenton, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight; the earle of Arrane, and the chancellor, were constreined to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.* [To reuenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Marnocke (which is the castell of Cuningham) but they shortlie returned backe without dooing anie thing against them.]

The one and twentith of Iulie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edenburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and Dauid Hume of Woodburne, and a great companie of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Tolbuith, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe beside the place where they were fastened on a iauill, and this was doone in presence of the prouost for the time being. The next day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Striueling, in hope to haue found the chancellor, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and causing solemne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that owght those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anie other thing for that present.

The lord Humes head taken downe.

In Nouember, the duke of Albanie arriued in Scotland on the west parts, at an hauen called Grawrach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the three and twentith he came to Edenburgh, accompanied with the queene, the archbishop of Glascows chancellor, the earle of Huntleie, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their comming thither, the prouost and bailiffes were deposed, because they had beene chosen in fauour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their roomes. Then was there a parlement summoned to be kept at Edenburgh, the six and twentith of Ianuarie next following; and on the ninth of Ianuarie, a generall summons of forfalture was proclamed at the market crosse in Edenburgh, wherin were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalehousie, Iohn Summerwell of Cawdstreme, and William Cockborne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appearance in the said parlement, to be tried for sundrie great offenses by them committed.

The duke of Albanie returneth into Scotland. 1521. *Buch.*

The prouost & bailiffes of Edenburgh deposed.

A parlement summoned.

1521.

Maister Gawin Dowglasse bishop of Dunkeld fleeth into England, and remained in London at the Sauoie, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning clearke, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelue bookes of the *Aeneidos of Virgill* in Scotish meeter, and compiled also *The palace of honor*, with diuerse other treatises in the Scotish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of forfalture to be laied against him at the parlement, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the gouernor. Wherevpon it was agreed, that the earle, and his brother George Dowglasse should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the gouernors pleasure: and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next yeere following.

Gawin Dowglasse bishop of Dunkeld fleeth into England.

The earle of Angus feareth the sentence of forfalture.

He and his brother banished.

The

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arriued in Scotland, and had taken the rule vpon him, doubting least he should persuade the Scotishmen to assist the French king, against whome, by persuasion of the emperor he ment shortlie to make warre, sent his herald Clarencieux into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alledging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last enterueiw betwixt them, which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreouer, whereas the king of England was vncle vnto the king of Scots, he considered with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephue, as he ment to doo; and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne to succéed, if ought came to the yoong king, should haue the gouernement of him, least he might be made awaie, as other yoong kings had beene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could inioy the companie of his wife, sister vnto the same king of England.

Clarencieux an English herald sent into Scotland.

The king of England douteth to haue the duke of Albanie gouernor to the king his nephue.

Clarencieux had therefore commandement, that if the duke refused to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he should intimate a defiance with open warre against him: which the said Clarencieux did, declaring his message vnto the duke from point to point at Holie rood house, as he had in commandement. To whome the duke answered, that neither the king of France, nor the king of England should staie him from comming into his countrie. And as touching the king, who was as yet yoong in yéeres, he loued him as his souereigne lord, and would keepe him, and defend both him and his realme against all other that would attempt to inuade the same, according to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as touching the earle of Angus, he had wsed towards him all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill demerits, and that principallie for the quéenes cause, whome he would honor as mother to his souereigne lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of England, contented him nothing at all, and therefore prepared to make warre.

Warre denounced by Clarencieux against the duke of Albanie.

The dukes answer.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seuen great ships into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the ships, and inuade the coast there: but they were so stoutlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suffered to doo anie great exploit, and so they returned without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew Forman bishop of saint Andrewes deceassed, and bishop Iames Beton archbishop of Glascow, chancellor of Scotland, was remooued to saint Andrewes, & made abbat also of Dunfirmling, and the archbishoprike of Glascow was giuen a yoong man one Gawin Dunbar, that was the kings schoolemaister. In the moneth of Maie, there was great adoo in Edenburgh, by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of Murrey and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of Huntleie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to partakings; but the duke comming suddenlie from the abbeie of Holie rood house, staied the matter, and committed the said earles vnto ward within the castell.

1522.

The death of the archbishop of saint Andrewes.

Iames Beton succéeded him.

A stur in Edenburgh.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded the king there to moone warres against the French king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the Scots were commanded to auoid out of England, their goods confiscated, and they conueied foorth of the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their vppermost garment. In Iulie, the earle of Shrewsburie was sent by the king of England vnto the borders, with commission, to raise the power of the north parts to inuade Scotland, who vpon the sudden entered and came to Kelso, where he burnt one part of the towne; but the borderers of the Mers and Teuidale, not being halfe so manie in number as the other, set vpon them, slue, and tooke manie prisoners, and so constreined them to returne into England with small honor.

The emperor commeth into England.

Scots and Frenchmen banished fourth of England.

The earle of Shrewesburie inuadeth Scotland.

* The gouernor after this (when he saw the English ouerrun all the borders of Scotland) called a parlement at Edenburgh, the 9 kalends of August, to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fearing themselues (because of a prepared and well furnished naule of the English which did euerie waie couer and kéepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to request him that he would either by counsell persuade, or by authoritie inforce his Scots to take armor against the English. After which (the matter being with great consultation and manie reasons tossed in argument

Fr. Thin. Lesteus lib. 9. pag. 490.

to

to and fro) it was decréed by common consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders from the inuasion of the enimie, & (the more stronglie to repell the English force) it was concluded, that the children of such as were slaine in that expedition, should be freed from all charges or troubles that might light on them during their minoritie: and further, that the wiues of all such which had anie lands (during their liues & fell in that conflict) should after the death of their husbands kéepe the same for the terme of fiue yeeres.)

The duke of Albanie raiseth an armie to inuade England.

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great preparation that the earle of Shrewesburie made, to raise an armie of foure score thousand men to inuade Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decréed) sent vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme, willing them to raise all such power as they could make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of Scotishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water of Eske ouer against Carleill: and perceiuing that the English armie came not then forward, he did what he could to persuade the noble men to enter into England: but as they were in councell togither about that earnest motion made to them by the duke, a certeine graue personage said to them in this maner.

The woords of a councellor.

"My lards, hither we be come by the commaundement of my lard gouernor duke of Albanie, and albeit we be readie to defend our awne natiue realme, contrarie the inuasioun of our auld enimies of Englaund, yet neuerthelesse it séemeth not guid, nor for the wéele of our realme of Scotlaund, to passe within Englaund with our armie to inuade the same at this time. And the earnest persuasiouns quhilk the gouernor makes to vs to doo the same, procéedes alanerlie for the pleasure of France. It appéereth to be sufficient inough for vs so lang as the king our souereigne lard is within age to defend our awn realme, and not to inuade: otherwise, we may put the haile countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tintsall: for king Iames the fourth brought the realme of Scotlaund to the best that it euer was, and by the war it was brought to the woorst almost that might be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte, quhilk Scotlaund sare laments. Wherefore by mine aduise, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him the cause why he wauld persuade vs to inuade Englaund."

The earle of Arrane declareth to the gouernor the mind of the lords.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for them all, and said: "My lard gouernor, by your will and commaundement, héere is assembled the maist of the nobilitie of Scotlaund with their power, vpon a pretense to enter within Englaund. My lards héere wauld know the cause and quarrell why this warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it should well satisfie their minds."

The dukes answer to the earle of Arrane.

The duke studied a little space, and said: "This questioun wauld haif bin demaunded yer now; for well you know, that I for yerie lufe I beare to the realme of Scotlaund (of the quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haife passed the seas from the noble realme of France, into this realme of Scotlaund. And great cause there was for me so to doo, to bring you to a vnitie, when ye ware in diuisioun, by reasoun whereof, your realme was like to haue bin conquered and destroied. And also the king of Fraunce, by my suites and intercessioun, will ioine with you in aid against the English natioun: and when this warre was determinate in the parlement, you made me capteine, authorizing me to inuade Englaund with banner displaied. Then was no demaund made of the cause or quarrell, and that I haif doone, is by your assent and agreement, and that I will iustifie. But to answer your demaund, me thinke you haif iust cause to inuade Englaund with fire, swoord, and bloud, gif ye be not forgetfull, and without you will beare dishonor and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of Scotlaund is our inheritaunce, as a portioun of the world allotted to our natioun and auncestors whome we succéed. Then where may there be better warre, than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance? Is it not dailie séene, the great inuasiouns that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manslaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they doo dailie? Is not this one cause

of

of warre? To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honor of noble men, and the verie seruice of chiualrie, and the dutie naturall of the communaltie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs doone by that natioun to vs and our predecessors. For séene the beginning of our habitatioun in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enimies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chaunce lost our souereigne lard, & diuerse noble men, quhilk was rather by treasoun of the lard chamberlaine, than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quhilk murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I wauld that you suld couragiouslie aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honor, and to be reuenged."

Then one wise man that was president of the councell, answered the gouernor, saieng: "My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he striks the strake, we can warke na meracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power sall increase dailie, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he sall) yet haue we not woon the field, for readie comming is the earle of Shrewesburie sa mikell dread in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send or bring another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reasoun whereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that flée are woorthie to be reputed as traitors to the king, and so by wilfulnesse and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndoone. I say, while the king is within age, we aught to mooue na weir, least by weir we may bring him to destructioun." 1522. The replie of a wise counsellor.

Then said the valiant gouernor: "Héere is an puissaunt armie of Scotlaund, gif we returne, we sall incourage our enimies. Therefore séene you thinke it not gude to inuade, my councell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we sée what the Englishmen pretends to doo against our relme." To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernor, the quéene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the procéedings and determinations, sent woord to the gouernor, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernors campe, vpon pledges, whervnto the gouernor condescended. Héerevpon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Musgraue] came vnto the gouernors campe, and thither also at that time was the quéene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quéene should send ambassadors into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace. The gouernors words to the presidents replie. Meaus made for peace. The lord Dacres.

In the moneth of October next insuing, there were three ambassadors sent into England, according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreame conditions proponed on the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honor and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scotishmen tooke the matter. And so those ambassadors returned without agréement or conclusion of peace: wherevpon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortlie after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceassed not till he obteined it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquesse Dorset warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches. The earle of Northumberland made lord warden. The earle of Surreie. The lord marques Dorset.

About the sixt day of March, the said lords came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie to serue the French. The lord Dacres.

The duke of Albanie goeth ouer into France. His request. His vaine brag.

French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartilie and gladlie receiued of the king, his request was onelie to haue fiue thousand horssemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almains, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, or else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleeued this vaine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuerthelesse, he promised him some aid, wherevpon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lords of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders monethlie, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, dailie looking for support from France. Euerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was doone on either part, and diuerse houses were ouerthrowne and destroied both in England and Scotland.

1523.

The borders watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great nauie of ships in the pase on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke embarquing himselfe with his people at Brest in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentith day of September landed at Kirkowbre in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, borne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edenburgh, burned the towne and the abbeie. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Iedwoorth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scotishmen assembling themselues against their inuasions, they were constreined to returne with losse (as some Scotishmen haue written.)

The duke of Albanie returneth into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. The earle of Surreie inuadeth Scotland.

* In this place, Buchanan (before he commeth to the parlement assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saieth he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongest the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering neere vnto them, and besetting the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuise of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such euils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the queene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betweene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather meet for companions than leaders in battells; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselues to the queenes faction.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 14.

Wherevpon she (to gratifie hir brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into hir owne hands) did (dissembling hir greedie desire to rule) persuade them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and them selues from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the queene did well forsee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against hir husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreamlie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betweene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now mostlie he wished it, not for anie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would imbrace, defend, and asmuch as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuade themselues to breake the league with the French, and ioine in amitie with the English; they should shortlie well vnderstand,

that

that the king of England did not seeke after souereingtie, glorie, power, or honor; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselues, & a league betweene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon Iames the king of Scotland; by which mariage, the Scots should not be subiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betweene the nations (and intercourse of merchandize, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the honor of the whole Iland.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disaduantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdome, and the benefit that they might looke for from their English neighbours, more than by anie possibilitie they might obteine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in toong, in maners, in lawes, in decrées, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie; as that they rather séeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of liuing, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselues) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind, and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vncerteine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but feele in déed what helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant doo also kéepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stiflie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chiefelie hang vpon the backe of Thomas Woolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifieng of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were mooued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse wits bred diuerse minds) did yet with like indeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could anie way sort to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had vsed that policie to intrap vnwarie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdome of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecilie to the sonne of Iames the third) did (the maid being readie for the mariage) dissolue the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissentions. According to which, the English doo now also seeke none other matter, than (casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdome.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefest strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors neere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we looke for anie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongest neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance bringeth foorth, and the stronger (hauing small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agréement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwéene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will absteine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the bloud of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts and couenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongest the good: but amongest the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and iniuries, doo dwell in people, whome neerenesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not vnlike maner of life hath ioined togither.

Where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murthered ten as the course of their histories will well prooue.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresée and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagréement, as persons drawen into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new aliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the consent of the parlement. Vpon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand, that there should not anie thing be doone therein; and therefore sent certeine of the French aid as ambassadors about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriuall came to Edenburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch as hearing of the slaughters, murthers and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same doone vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would bée partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries & wrongs doone to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Herevpon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dowglas dale the eightéenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldstreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of Dauid Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Warke, which was kept by sir William Lisle capteine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiors, and great prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scotishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

Dauid Car. Warke castell besieged.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Anwike, not far distant from Warke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt least the same should haue béene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Warke, and the same woone likewise as the other had béene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scotish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants ment to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a sore and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced that night, so that they

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thousand men.
The marques Dorset appointed to keepe Berwike.
Warke assaulted.
The Scots and French retire backe ouer the water.

they were constreined to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselues ouer the riuer againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Twéed, they might haue béene cut off by their enimies, before they could haue béene succoured.

In the meane time, whilest this siege continued, a number of Scotishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scotish side of Twéed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had inuaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honor to come forward, and he would méet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quéene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to mooue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuade the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by hir labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honor (as the Scotishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

Glendale burned by the Scots.

An herald sent.

A truce.

See more of this matter England.

1524.

On Trinitie sundaie, being the one and twentith of Maie, fiue hundred Scots entered England, to surprise the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwike, where yéerelie on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason therof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and tooke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the yoong lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the fift of Iulie, sir William Fenwike, Leonard Musgraue, & Bastard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entred into the Mers, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortlie compassed about with Scotishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and séeke to saue themselues by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bastard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fenwike, Leonard Musgraue, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

Scots enter into England.

Englishmen inuade Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

Bastard Heron slaine.

On the seuententh of Iulie, the lord Maxwell, and sir Alexander Iordein, with diuerse other Scotishmen in great numbers, entred England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displaied banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scotishmen; and therevpon set fiercelie vpon their enimies, insomuch that for the space of an houre, there was a sore fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Maxwell like a right politike capteine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceassed not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of Alexander Iordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in araie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recouered in maner all the prisoners, tooke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led aboue three hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

1524.

Fourethousand saith *Hal.*

The lord Maxwell inuadeth England.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lords were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should susteine such damage, as it had doone by those three last yéeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreouer, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lords holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the gardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another

An assemblie of the lords.

person. The duke of Albanie perceiuing how the lords were diuided amongest themselues, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie persuaded for the pleasure of France, hée declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he tooke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge séemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he tooke the seas in September, and sailed foorth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of Albanie returneth into France. *Fr. Thin.*

The king of England [before the rumor of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of Iune sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, persuaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordinglie he did; and being safelie arriued in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lords as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all meanes (as the king of England was informed) to destroie him & his: but yer the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentith of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine yoong lords, came from Striueling vnto Edenburgh; and thrée daies after, the quéene tooke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edenburgh with the king, where they soiourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edenburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Maxwell was appointed by the queene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edenburgh the third day of Februarie next insuing [and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberden (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The earle of Angus commeth into England.

The quéene taketh the gouernment into hir hands.

A parlement summoned. *Fr. Thin.*

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister Iohn Magnus, and Roger Ratcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quéene and lords, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had beene the onlie procurer of the warres. Herevpon they agréed to take truce to indure for one yéere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, aliance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and bicause of the displeasure which the quéene bare him, there insued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quéene by aduise of certeine lords, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeborne bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Mille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Gréenewich by the king of England the foure and twentith of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their comming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establishment thereof, they required that a mariage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

A truce taken for one yeare.

Ambassadors into England.

This request was well heard by the king, who therevpon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be maried. Bicause the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lords and councell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Vpon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie priuat houses in Edenburgh, and the pinacle of the tower of Dauid in the same castell) entered into the quéenes lodging with a great flame, which

Fr. Thin. 1525.

Leslæus. lib. 9. pag. 414.

which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.) Candida Casa.

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh was come, the king, queene, and lords, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe foorth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, and Iohn Steward earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edenburgh, bicause they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that laie in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberden, that by the queenes appointment had beene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dublane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other lords and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the queene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealth; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the three states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they wan it, all their liues within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted. The earle of Angus his request.

The queene, by the counsell of the earles of Arrane and Murrey, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would suerlie discharge all the artillerie of the castell against them. Heerevpon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burgesses, but by the diligence of certeine persons that trauelled betweene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forset, that neither meat nor other thing might be suffered to be conueied into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the kings owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the foure and twentith day of Februarie, the king came vnto the parlement holden in the Tolbuith in most honorable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, hauing the crowne, scepter, and swoord borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbeie, where he remained. He foresetteth the castell of Edenburgh. The parties are agreed.

In this parlement, there were eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie councell, the which tooke the gouernement of the king and realme vpon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishops of Aberden and Dublane: the earles of Angus, Argile, Arrane, and Lennox: the queene was adioined to them as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be doone. From this parlement also was the earle of Cassels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nintéenth of March. But bicause the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pauie, he would not proceed in the treatie of mariage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yéers and six moneths, the ambassadors returned into Scotland about the beginning of Aprill next insuing, without anie contract of mariage at that time. The agréement betwixt the queene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of Dublane or Dunkeld (as saith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obteined of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduise of the queene and other lords. Whereupon the queene departed and went vnto Striueling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, who tooke the whole rule and gouernment of the realme and king vpon him, and made his vncle Archembald Dowglas treasuror of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennox, who assisted him. Councellors appointed. Truce renewed. *Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 417.*

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earles of Arrane, Argile, and Murrey, remaining with the queene at Striueling, alledged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus sore against his will: and therefore they sent vnto the

earle,

The king not in his owne power.

earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to giue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the erle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue beene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appéered, for he willed them by priuie meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus deteined him. Herevpon shortlie after, they raised a power, and comming therewith to Linlithgew, purposing to passe into Edenburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennox and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displaied, and brought the king with him, although partlie against his will.

The quéene mother in armes.

The queene and such lords as were with hir there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might chance to them if they buckled togither in a foughten field, they withdrew themselues to Striueling, and from thence the quéene went into Murrey land with the earle of Murrey, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argile went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus tooke vpon him more boldlie the gouernment of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancellor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselues, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreouer, a diuorse this yéere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of S. Andrews, betwixt the quéene, and the earle of Angus hir husband, and then afterwards she tooke to husband one Henrie Steward, sonne to the lord of Auendale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methwen.

The great seale deliuered.

A diuorse betwéene the quéene and the earle of Angus.

1526.

On the foure and twentith of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the Karres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgouernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrosse, the lard of Boclouth, accompanied with a thousand horssemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to doo. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lard of Boclough; to know what his intention was to doo; who answered, that he came to doo the king honor and seruice, and to shew his friends and power as the vse is of the borderers.

The lard of Boclough his enterprise, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the Kars, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approch néere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Whervnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well inough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the Kars, the lard of Sesseford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsbacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennox, the lord Maxwell, George Dowglasse, and Ninian Creichton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lard of Boclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theeues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to ioining with their speares, they fled, leauing the lard of Boclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselues verie manfullie, and slue the lard of Sesseford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finallie, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Bocloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edenburgh.

The lard of Sesseford slaine.

The lard of Boclough put to flight.

All

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assisters, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue quailed that had béene attempted for his deliuerance, he thought to assaie the third; and héerevpon, procured the earle of Lennox to assemble an armie, with assistance of the quéene and hir friends, to helpe to deliuer him from the hands of his enimies. The earle of Lennox did so, and came with such power as he could raise from the west parts vnto Linlithgo. The earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of Lennox was gathering men, sent to the earle of Arrane for aid, requiring him to come with such power as he could make, and to méet him at Linlithgo. The earle of Arrane immediatlie héerewith gathered a power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before the earle of Lennox came thither, who shortlie after comming with his people, approched that towne, vnto whome the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, requiring him to turne and saue his enterprise, assuring him, that albeit he was his sisters sonne, he would not spare him, if he held forward vpon his iournie. The earle of Lennox héerewith answered in a great rage, that he would not staie, till he came to Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle of Arrane therefore not staieng for the earle of Angus his comming from Edenburgh, issued foorth of Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incountered the earle of Lennox and his companie, where there was a cruell onset giuen on both sides, but suddenlie the earle of Lennox his companie fled, and he himselfe with the lord of Hunston and diuerse other gentlemen were slaine.

The earle of Lennox gathereth a power.

The earle of Arrane gathereth a power.

The earle of Lennox slaine.

* The death of which Dowglas the king did greatlie lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that was made in that conflict, did send foorth (but all too late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored the Lennox, if by anie meanes he could. After this victorie, the faction of the Dowglasses (to the end that striking a feare in those that were enuious against them, they might make them alwaies to be in danger to them), began to mooue questions and sutes in law, against such as had borne armor against the king: for feare whereof some bought their peace with monie, some tooke part with the Dowglasses, some followed the Hamiltons, and some stiflie standing in the matter, were followed and called into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of Cassiles (when he was earnestlie pressed by Iames Hamilton the bastard, to yéeld himselfe to the part of the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue this answer, that the old league of friendship, which was betweene their grandfathers (in which his grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and first named) should not make him now so forgetfull of the honor of his familie, that he would séeme to degenerat from his ancestors, and willinglie grant to be vnder defense (which is the next degrée of seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall league and couenant was contented with the second place of honor.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appéered in the law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thither by the king, and not as enimie to the king, and he would (if need required) bring foorth the kings letters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons frowning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to manie others, to ioine with Iohn Steward earle of Lennox, who séeing the battell at hand, and that he had not time left to call togither his friends and followers, did with his present companie (taking his iournie out of the waie) turne to Striueling. Wherfore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause somewhat suppressed) Iames Hamilton the bastard stirred with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aire to dispatch him out of the waie, which he shortlie after did in his returne home. Afterward this Hugh, to the end he might dissemble his conscience or knowledge of this euill (the execution wherof he had committed to his fellowes) was remaining at the day and time of the same murther, with Iohn Areskine, whose sister was the wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

The death of the earle of Cassiles.

But she (as soone as she heard of that déed) did with manie bitter woords lay the fault

vnto

vnto him, because by that fact the noble house of the Kennedies had almost beene brought to vtter subuersion, had he not left a yoong sonne behind him. This yoong earle, after the death of his father, fled to his kinsman Archembald Dowglasse then the kings treasuror, to whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his familie. This doone, Hugh Campbell was called into law for the said déed, who being manifestlie conuicted thereof, was banished into an other place. Neither did the Dowglasses with lesse bitternesse exercise their auger against Iames Beton, for bringing their power to saint Andrewes, which they spoiled, as after appéereth.)

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing the king with him, arriued, and had come to the battell, but that the king was not willing to come foorth of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue written) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the waie, faining himselfe sicke: but George Dowglas droue and called vpon his horsse verie sharpelie, and constreined him to ride foorth with faster pase than he would haue doone, giuing him manie iniurious woords, which he remembred afterwards, and would not forget them. They went that night to Striueling, and shortlie after passed through Fife, searching for the quéene, and the bishop of saint Andrewes; and because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the abbeie of Dunfirmeling, and the castell of saint Andrewes, taking awaie all the moueables which the archbishop had within the same.

The quéene sought for.

* In the north parts also, the two families of the Leslées and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts taking: which enimities did after grow to be the greater, because there were dailie manie slaughters of the nobles & other people committed in Mar, Garreoth, and Aberden, whilest ech faction labored to defend it selfe against the others. For which cause (when the common-wealth was much deformed thereby, and all iustice seemed almost vtterlie ouerthrowne in those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the nobilitie (which were of the kings priuie councell) did not ceasse, vntill they had made vnitie betwéene those two families. But in the end (the heire of the Forboises, & the lord Lenturke, hauing by wait killed the noble baron Meldrume, which fauored the Leslées) those buried contentions began againe to be raised from the dead; whose enimities being once againe knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue thereof to the common state) they attempted all possible means once more to quench that deadlie flame, and afresh to ioine their minds togither in amitie, with this prouiso, that the murtherers of Meldrume should (for punishment of their offense) be banished into France, where the greatest part of them died, after manie miseries and reproches susteined in their pitifull life. Which last league so sincerelie vnited betwéene the Forboises and the Leslées, was imbraced with such faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with continuall mariages & other courtesies, that it continueth most firme euen vnto this day.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 423.

1526.

1520.

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 423, 424, &c.

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall disposition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long-suffered so to be vsed) did in like sort ouerrun and spoile all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all other stirs raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the Makintosches. Of which vnrulie people, the one familie was called the Glenchattens, and the other was surnamed Makintosches after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called Lachlane Makintosche a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singularitie of wisedome, that with great commendation he did conteine all his followers within the limits of their dueties, more than others did. Which constreints (when they could hardlie beare (as loth to liue in order) hauing so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was Iames Malcolmeson his kinsman (who thirsting after the desire to rule) tooke occasion (by the iniurie of the time) traitorouslie with deceipt to kill this Makintosche; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he flieth to the Ile (at the lake Rothmurcosie) as a sanctuarie or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the Makintosches did pursue him with such

Rothmurcosie.

* eager

eager minds, that by force taking him in the Ile, they woorthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednesse. After which (because the sonne of Makintosche, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with feare & punishment to bridle the minds of his fierce subiects) by common consent they chose the bastard brother of the slaine man (called Hector Makintosche) to be head and leader of that familie, vntill this yoong nephue might grow to yéeres, and might wéeld the gouernement of his owne tribe. New tumults in that familie.

Now when the earle of Murreie perceiued that if the sonne of Makintosche were committed to the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell, that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with manie troubles, he did most godlie (for the care he had of him his nephue being his sisters sonne) prouide, that he should be caried to an other place, to the Ogiluies, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he should be well instructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat Hector was greatlie offended, to sée that the child should so subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his possession, that thereby he might salue and recouer his credit and authoritie. But some there were, which supposed that the great care and labor which he so much emploied (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him awaie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne sonne to the gouernement of that familie. Which conceipt being déeplie grauen in the mind of the earle of Murreie, caused him to séeke the preseruation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of Hector.

Wherewith Hector being highlie incensed (and determining to spue out his choler, séeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother William & other of his kindred, that ioining their force, they might stronglie vex the earle of Murreie, and spoile his possessions: which they did with so great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of Dikes, and besieging the castell of Tornewaie, they executed manie cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other mischiefes vpon all sorts of people, men, women, and children, and all such as fauored them. For their hatred not limited against the earle of Murreie, extended further against the familie of the Ogiluies, amongest whome the child was left in custodie for educations cause. With which mind this Hector and his complices placing their campe at the castell of Pettens, which belonged to the lord of Durnens (one of the familie of the Ogiluies) they did so furiouslie besiege the same, as the people of the same were in the end forced to yéeld the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the Ogiluies, whom they found therein. Whervpon (their minds being now aduanced with spoiles and happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions) they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, vntill the erle of Murreie did with force execute iust iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld them immoderatlie reioising, in spoiling his lands, and committing other excessiue euils; he obteined of the king and his councell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to bridle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoiling the common-wealth. The familie of Makintosche raise seditions.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did with such speedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the first he tooke almost two hundred of their capteins, and committed them to the gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their capteine, as (when life was seuerallie promised to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confesse where their capteine Hector had hidden himselfe. For euerie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if so be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terror of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraie their maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient reuenge (for such capteins as the earle had taken) there were more greeuous punishments laid vpon William Makintosche (brother to Hector) because in the beginning he nourished those coles of choler for his brothers cause. For after that this William was hanged, his head was Woonderfull faith of euill men to their capteine.

chopped off and fastned vpon a pole at Dikes, and the other foure parts of his bodie were sent to the townes of Elgin, Foresse, Inuernesse, and Alderne, there to be set vp publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these sturs, Hector (seeing his men were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of Alexander Dunbar deane of Murreie, by whose aduise he goeth humblie and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vntò him: for he supposed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of Murreis certeine reuenge. Wherevpon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murther, & spoile (wherewith Hector did wickedlie defile his life) to go vnreuenged with most greeuous paine vpon the said Hector. For in the citie of saint Andrews, sudden death (than which there can be no greater punishment) was laid vpon him by one Iames Spense a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded.

When the earle of Murreie had shewed such reuenge vpon the freends of Hector and their companions; the people of the prouince of Glencatten did from thencefoorth keepe themselues within the limits of their duetie: vntill that the sonne of Lachlane Makintosche came to mans estate and full age. Which yoong man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and policie of life conformed therevnto, that when he was imploied about the common-wealth; all the capteins of them (who naturallie speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent woorkemaister to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certeine (not able to susteine the brightnesse of his vertue) did ioine in counsell with such as were neerest of bloud vnto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.]

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men vnto Iedburgh, to set some order amongest the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and so on the eight of Iune, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselues, and deliuering pledges for
1527. *Lesle.* their good demenors. The seuenteenth of Iulie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rood house, at what time, there came a simple fellow (to looke vpon) seruant and horskeeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people
Sir Iames Hamilton hurt by a desperat person. in the abbeie close, strake sir Iames Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie three seuerall stripes vp to the haft, and yet the said sir Iames died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saieng; "Phy on the feoble hand quilke wald not doo that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to doo." And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to doo the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to doo that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines dailie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Ferne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had beene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certeine articles, as of iustification, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by
The abbat of Ferne burnt. the church in that time, because he did affirme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

Edenburgh castell besieged. The eightéenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edenburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with Iames his brother being within it. But as soone as the
1528. *Lesle.* queene vnderstood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set

set open, and vpon hir knées besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother, and would not rest, till she had obteined the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentéene yeares, and of good discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistans resiant as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart foorth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wheresoeuer the same chanced to lie.

The king being seuentéene yeares of age, refuseth to be longer vnder gouernement.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and aduertised of the kings comming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murrey, till the kings pleasure were further knowen: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the sixt of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Dowglas, his vncle by his father Archembald Dowglas, Alexander Drommond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by decrée of parlement atteinted, and forfalted for diuerse offenses, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had deteined the king against his will with him the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

1528.

The earle of Angus forfalted.

The earle of Angus atteined by parlement.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the quéenes husband was created lord of Methwen, and made maister of the ordinance. * Besides which, in place of earle Dowglas was Gawin Dunbar, the kings schoolemaister made chancellor, a good and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archembald Dowglas the treasuror was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called Iohn Bannatine, who fauoring the Dowglas, did boldlie there protest, that whatsoeuer was therin doon, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Dowglas; since iust feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. Within a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monasterie of Holirood died, partlie by sickenesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well monied, did obteine of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Dowglas cut of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Constandie and Cranstoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.]

Henrie Steward created erle of Methwen. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib.* 14.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well prouided, that it might not be woone for all that could be doone at that season: in somuch that after Dauid Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. * Before the deliuerie whereof, the king déepelie sware that he would not leaue one aliue to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Dowglasses, so long as he liued and was king.

The castell of Tantallon besieged.

Dauid Fauconer slaine. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib.* 14.

Wherevpon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his councell to send a dailie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did vtterlie refuse; either fearing the power of the Dowglas (wherevnto all the other strength of Scotland did of late not seeme

to be equall) or that he would not (being then yoong) imbrue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon, since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enimies, & being offended with them for the death of Iohn Steward earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adioining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisedome, and approoued experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice déerelie loued of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglasses (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were inforced to depart into England to K. Henrie the eight, who honorablie and liberallie receiued and interteined them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarse kéepe all the couenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it séemeth) when Iames Coluille and Robert Carnicruse were remooued from the court (as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglasses) their offices were bestowed vpon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

1529. The eightéenth of Maie, in the yéere 1529, the earle of Cathnesse and the lord of Sincler, with a great armie by sea passed into Orkenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of Iames Sincler of Kirkewall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enimies: the earle with fiue hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were driuen. The lord Sincler and all the residue were taken. The Orkenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was séene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enimies. In the same moneth on the fiftéenth day, there was a great assemblie of the lords in Edenburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lard of Hinderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlaw, who was named king of theeues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and mainteining of théeues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuith of Edenburgh.

The earle of Cathnes passeth ouer into Orkenie.

The earle of Cathnesse slaine.

The blindnes of the Orknie men.

An assemblie of the lords.

King of théeues.

Execution.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict, for mainteining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edenburgh castell, and after sent into Murrey land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Maxwell, the lord Hume, the lards of Balglueth, Fernihurst, Pollort, Iohnson, Marke Kar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borderers kept better rule euer after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished) to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Iohnstone a théefe of noted crueltie, therwith to gratifie the king) began deadlie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kinreds.]

The earle of Bothwell conuict. *Fr. Thin.*

Banished the realme. *Fr. Thin.*

Other lords conuict, and put in ward. *Fr. Thin.* *Buchan. lib.* 14.

About this season, a landed man named Iohn Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lesleus] who now being returned into Scotland, (bicause it was bruted in other countries that hée had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Dauids tower in Edenburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to sée that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great woonder of the people. In the summer of this yeare 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had béene forfalted (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obteined fullie at his hands, bicause he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not béene (as he was indéed) altogither determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time,

Iohn Scot fasted fortie daies without receiuing any food. 1231. *Buch.*

1529.

and

and so he banished him into France, where shortlie after through griefe of mind he departed this life. Archembald Dowglas banished.

In the moneth of Iune, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knowen to be most culpable. And herevpon he caused fortie and eight of the most notable theeues, with their capteine Iohn Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell théefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and hir children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to Iohn, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserued. In August following, manie meruellous sights were seene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hils in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fifteenth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The king commeth to the borders.

Théeues hanged.

A théefe burnt to death.

Woonders séene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

The first of March, in the yéere 1530, the abbat of Culrose called Iames Inglis, was cruellie murthered by the lord of Tulliallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentie and seuenth of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edenburgh was degraded (the king, quéene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tulliallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yéere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edenburgh by the king, with consent of the three estates in parlement assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftéene councellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seuen temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is aboue the president, when he is present. There are also foure councellors extraordinarie, remoueable at the princes pleasure. In the yéere 1531, I find little doone to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not persuade the king of England in his fauor to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

An abbat murthered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

* The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuilie into England (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the castell of Edenburgh, & sir Iohn Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddesdale) to represse the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had béene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongest the citizens and people of Scotland, Iohn duke of Albanie obteined from the bishop of Rome, that a yeerelie summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that shuld be appointed therefore) should be leuied of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whervpon Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberden for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appealed to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the fift Ides of March, vntill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edenburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things doone, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decréed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth doo hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fifteene men, which haue perpetuall power therfore, being

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 14.

1532.

being in truth but tyrannicall gouernment, since their onelie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But bicause Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not depriue the reader of the seuerall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the states, it séemed good that the forme of iudgement vsed by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yeere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened, either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not atteine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the woorser part had vniustlie the vpper hand against the righter; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the vttermost by one man at one time, bicause the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must néeds folow, that seuerall iudges (hauing seuerall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, wherewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the persuasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edenburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the maner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnméet for the more explaning thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

1533. *Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 437, 438.*

Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 79.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom wee call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) dooth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the clergie and secular nobilitie (as a man may tearme them) that the one part of the laitie dooth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to bée doone by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisedome of the temporaltie, obteined by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the laitie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie. Ouer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancellor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then therevnto the Scots giue the chiefest preheminence in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

1532. Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders. He maketh a rode into Scotland

In the yéere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwike, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places: wherevpon the Scots assembling themselues to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselues to Berwike againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side vpon the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclamed. In September, in the yeere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastell, to intreat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries doone, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yéere 1532, vnto the day of the méeting of the same commissioners; which doings were little lesse in effect than had béene vsed in time of open warre, although the same was not proclamed. Bicause therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not bée had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

1533.

1534. *Lesle.* Further it was agréed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Steward bishop of Aberden,

den, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight [or (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne] the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had beene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed vpon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next insuing. *Fr. Thin.* A cluded.

About the same time were sent into France Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth, and Iames Erskin secretarie, as ambassadors to require the duke of Vandosmes sister in mariage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Neuerthelesse (as afterwards shall appeere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once seene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a sutor to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whome he obteined: wherefore the duke of Vandosmes sister would neuer after match hir selfe with anie other in mariage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadors into Scotland, the bishop of Duresme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Duresme, and one doctor Magnus, who were honorablie receiued in the moneth of Iulie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadors at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangablie sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

Ambassadors into France.

The king himselfe passeth secretlie into France.

The peace concluded with England.

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most valiant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortlie after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michaell. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.) *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 439.* 1534.

The same yeere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice dulie to be ministred in places where he came, against offendors. Moreouer, in Edenburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then vsed, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Maister Norman Gorleie that was abiured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlitgew, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yeere into Scotland, and were receiued.

Iustice ministred.

English fugitiues receiued into Scotland.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the fift, emperor) this Charles sent Godescall Erike (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [conteining the iniuries doone to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to hir daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall councell: the ouerthrow of the Lutheran heresie (to vse Buchanans woord) and for contracting of mariage] the said ambassador did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three Maries the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, hir husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his neece by his sister Leonara: or Marie of England his coosine germane by his aunt Katharine. Wherevnto the king answered, that the mariage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncerteine hope, of greater danger & labour, & of longer delaie than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kinred, that mariage by manie reasons should be most: *Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14.* 1534.

most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabell sister to the emperor. Wherevnto for deniall therof, Charles did shortlie make answer (at Madrike) that he was affianced to another.)

1535. In the yéere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king Iames to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decréed an heretike, schismatike, a wedlocke breaker, a publike murtherer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholike princes. In the yéere 1536, the king tooke the sea with fiue ships, without knowledge of the most part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Iles of Skie and Lewes, and the other Iles, and by storme was driuen to take land at saint Ninians in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Muskelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell tooke his voiage againe by sea with fiue ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue doone the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he imbarked at Kirckaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortlie after arriued in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Boid and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murrey, Lennox, and Cassiles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbroth, and others.

The pope sendeth into Scotland.

1536.

The kings voiage about the Iles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Vandosme.

Immediatlie after his arriuall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Vandosmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named Iohn Tennent, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had béene maister; and so comming to the duke of Vandosme his place, got sight of the ladie who shuld haue béene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to méet him seuen leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had beene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue béene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustes, tourneis, and other princelie pastimes practised and set foorth; in which iustes and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and valiant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he wan passing great praise.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a sutor for mariage.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadors and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for mariage to be had betwéene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad héereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willinglie giue him his daughter in mariage. But héerewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therfore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yoongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after maried to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in déed a plesant yoong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

The mariage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

Heerevpon the mariage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king Iames: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboords of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plentie of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreouer, all his charges and expenses were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of

amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the mariage appointed to be holden the first of Ianuarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Nostre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie maried the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king hir father, the king of Nauarre, seuen cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marquesses, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the mariage, king Iames remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinment. Finallie, the king and his wife quéene Magdalen tooke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen, where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the riuer to Newhauen where they imbarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed foorth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Lieth hauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood house.

*1539. The mariage contracted.

1537. *Lesle.*

The king with his quéene returneth into Scotland.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and séemelie demeanor, at hir first arriuall woone the loues and hartie good wils of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succéed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune enuieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time togither: for about the end of Iune she fell sicke of a vehement feuer, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Iulie next insuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of moorning garments amongest the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yéeres, is not verie common, though publike orders and manners doo euerie day grow woorsse and woorsse.]

Quéene Magdalen departeth this life. *Fr. Thin.*

In the summer of this yéere, Ione Dowglasse the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband Dauid Lion, and both of them brought to Edenburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Glames was also conuict for misprision and concealement of that crime, and therfore forfaiting all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was yoong and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yéere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.)] Shortlie after, Iohn maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had maried a sister of the said ladie Glames, was at Edenburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntleie, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edenburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edenburgh; but at length when nothing might be prooued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

The ladie Glames and hir husband conuict of treason. 1537. *Lesl.*

Fr. Thin.

The maister of Forbois beheaded.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be doone in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof thorough all parts of his realme. * The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent

Iustices appointed to sit in diuerse parts of the realme.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 14. pag. 447.

consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minoritie were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceiued that the kings charge and dignitie could not be mainteined with so small reuenues, they aduanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrosse, Kelso, Coldingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

1538. *Lesle.*

The king is a sutor for mariage to the dutchesse of Longuile. *Fr. Thin.*

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in mariage with some noble princesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Murrey, and Dauid Beton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pa. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinall, & they of France had made bishop of Miropreuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a mariage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Maxwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that mariage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbeie of saint Andrewes, being honorablie prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men,

The mariage solemnized.

openlie solemnized and confirmed the foresaid mariage with the said ladie in the abbeie church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his queene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the mariage, she conceiued with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore generall processions and publike praiers were made thorough all parts of the realme, for the prosperous successe of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders and all other parts of his realme, by exercising of iustice, and trauelling about the same in his owne person through all places (where néed required) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and policie vsed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuerthelesse there were certeine disobedient persons in the Iles.

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king saileth northwards to the Iles of Orkenie and others.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good nauie of ships, and in the moneth of Maie went aboord the same in the rode of Lieth, hauing with him the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with whome he sailed foorth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberden, Murrey firth, Southerland, and Cathnesse, till he came to Orkenie, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued verie honorablie by the bishop Robert Maxwell. Héere they furnished themselues with fresh vittels, and other such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas againe, sailed to the Iles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Clewd of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who sent foorth also a companie to Mac Clewd Haugh, who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Rosse & Kintaile, to the Ile of Tranternes, where diuerse of the Maconiles, such as the lord Olagarrie, Iohn Moidart, and others (who alledged themselues to be of the principall bloud, and lords of the Iles) were brought also to the kings presence. From thence trauelling through the residue of the Iles, Maclane and Iames Maconile of Kinter, being the two principall capteins of the small Iles, came likewise to the king who at length landed at Dunbreton, and sent the capteins and ships with

The out Iles brought to good order.

prisoners

prisoners to passe the same waie he came round about the coast, so to come to Edenburgh, where the same prisoners being arriued, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not suffered to depart so long as the king liued, whereby there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Iles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and paiment made to the kings controller in his excheker for the lands of the same Iles perteining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging therevnto within the maine land. [In this yéere (saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheranisme, whereof some were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were banished: amongest whom, George Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.] *Fr. Thin.*

Whilest the king was in this voiage, the queene was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andrewes, whereof the king being aduertised at his landing, hasted with all possible diligence to the quéene, and shortlie after was the child baptised, and called Iames. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quéene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounfiers made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the same. After this the quéene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methwen, where after she had remained a certeine time, a sicknesse tooke hir, of the which shortlie after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Iohns towne, by the toome of king Iames the first. The king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were present at the funerals, which were kept in most solemne and pompous manner.

The quéene deliuered of a sonne.

The quéene mother departed this life.

The same yeare were burnt at Edenburgh for heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests were degraded, and condemned to perpetuall prison. The same time there was a graie frier in the citie of Glascow burnt for the like cause, and manie other summoned; and because they would not appeare, they were denounced heretikes. About the same time, Iames Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in saint Andrews. Before his departure, he had prouided successors to all his benefices, first to his archbishops sée, and to the abbeie of Arbroth, maister Dauid Beton, afterwards cardinall; and to the abbeie of Dunfermeling maister George Durie that was archdeacon of saint Andrews. These men, without anie gainesaieng of the king, entered with his good will into the same benefices, immediatlie after his deceasse. This Iames Beton builded a great part of the new college of saint Andrewes, and left great summes of monie and treasure to go through to make an end of the same woorke.

Certeine persons burnt for religion.

1539. *Lesle.*

The death of Iames Beton archbishop of saint Andrews.

This yeare in the moneth of August sir Iames Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edenburgh, was arrested by Dauid Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the castell of Edenburgh. Which commandement he willinglie obeied, thinking himselfe sure inough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had doone to the king, speciallie in reparing the palaces of Striueling and Linletgew; as also for that the king had him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuerthelesse, shortlie after he was brought foorth to iudgement, and conuict in the Tolbuith of Edenburgh, of certeine points of treason laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next insuing [after that he had liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie iot offended the kings maiestie, and that this death was yet woorthilie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iustice; because he had often offended the law of God to please the prince, thereby to obteine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admonished all persons, that (mooued by his example) they should rather follow the diuine pleasure, than vniustlie séeke the kings fauor, since it is better to please God than man.]

1540.

Sir Iames Hamilton arrested.

Sir Iames Hamilton beheaded. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 451.*

This summer the quéene remaining at Striueling, was deliuered of an other prince, which was baptised in the chappell of Striueling, and called Arthur: but within eight daies after, the said prince deceassed at Striueling aforesaid. On the verie same daie, prince Iames the

The quéene deliuered of another son.

The two yoong

princes departed this life.

kings eldest sonne being at saint Andrews departed this life also, in such wise, that there was but onelie six houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which caused no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their birthes. After this, the queene went vnto saint Iohns towne, where she was honorablie receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countrie, and from thence she roade to Aberden, the king then being come vnto hir, where, by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plaies, set foorth in the best maner for their pastime. They remained there the space of fiftéene daies, and were highlie interteined by the bishop of that place.

The king and quéene at Aberden.

There were exercises and disputations held in all kind of sciences in the colleges and schooles, with diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praise and commendation of the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From thence the king with the quéene returned to Dundée, where a costlie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had béene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland.

Capteine Borthwike accused of heresie.

In the moneth of Maie, sir Iohn Borthwike, commonlie called capteine Borthwike, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinall, and diuerse other bishops and prelats there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being prooued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memoriall of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 453.

* The king of Scots hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) tooke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessors before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king Iames his authoritie did séeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by manie ages was vnder the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length K. Iames did yéeld therevnto; and that the rather, because the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Makeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

A small portion in déed.

1541.

This yeare the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting some practise to be deuised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Dauids, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to méete him at the citie of Yorke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Yorke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his vncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his councell and prelats [especiallie Iames Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of Aberden (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.] assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they tooke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king Iames his predecessor was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

The king of England sendeth to the king of Scots.

Fr. Thin.

And againe, for that it was certeinelie knowen, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to persuade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had doone within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreame head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like information. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his

great

great friends and confederats. Herevpon they persuaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time, hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as shortlie he should vnderstand by his ambassadors, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And shortlie after sir Iames Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not comming to méet the king of England at Yorke; as also to make complaint vpon certeine inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and also for the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

Sir Iames Leirmouth ambassador into England.

1542.

The king of England meaneth to make warre into Scotland.

But the king of England sore offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Yorke (as before is recited,) would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scotishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a redinesse. In the meane time he sent commmissioners to méet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redresse to be made of harmes doone vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agréed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for reparing of wrongs doone by the inuasions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were drawen foorth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

A DECLARATION CONTEINING THE IUST CAUSES AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THIS PRESENT WARRE WITH THE SCOTS, WHEREIN ALSO APPEARETH THE TRUE AND RIGHT TITLE THAT THE KINGS MOST ROIALL MAIESTIE HATH TO HIS SOUEREIGNITIE OF SCOTLAND, AND THUS IT BEGINNETH.

A declaration of the iust causes of the war against the king of Scots.

"BEING now inforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephew the K. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefits toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioise in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and divulging of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstances knowen, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enormitie doo burst out and appeare.

"The king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whome we in his youth and tender age preserued and mainteined from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the roiall possession of his estate, he now compelleth & inforceth vs (for preseruation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like vnkindnesse hath beene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldome as it hath now come to passe. It hath béene verie rarelie & seldome séene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in mariage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sorie that it tooke no better effect.

"The king our father in that matter minded loue, amitie, and perpetuall friendship betwéene the posteritie of both: which how soone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his vniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for euer. And yet in that present time could not the vnkindnesse of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that

should

should haue woorthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought vp our nephue, to atchiue his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so vnkindlie vseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armor and warre against him.

" It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe greefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speach and flattering words, we be indéed so iniuried, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. Words, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath béene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the trée would bring foorth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put foorth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beléeue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deeds of the contrarie, being neuerthelesse the same déeds so manifest, as we must néeds haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

" And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yéere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same méeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Yorke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the méeting to the aduise of his councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, and according therevnto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadors as repaired hither at Christmas afterward, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good words, sweet words, pleasant words, eftsoones proponed by the said ambassadors, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

" And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and interteined such rebels as were of the chéefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuerthelesse, vpon offer made, the said ambassadors to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in spéech desired, we were content for the time to forbeare to presse them ouer extreamlie in the matter of rebels. Alleit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of déeds, condescended to the sending of commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

" Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit insued, that being for our part chalenged, a péece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more autentike, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the same was neuerthelesse by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeit now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuerthelesse by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath béene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

" After which their recesse, the lord Maxwell warden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therwith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraw their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scotishmen borderers, the fourth of Iulie entered into our realme suddenlie, and spoiled our subiects

contrarie

contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had béene in the time of open warre, whereat we much maruelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs Iames Leirmouth maister of his houshold, with letters deuised in the most pleasant maner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuerthelesse, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subiects, & to their extreame detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemelie dissimulation, we were not a little mooued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finallie so extreamelie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the persuasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

" In the meane time of these faire words, the déeds of the borderers were as extreame as might be, and our subiects spoiled: and in a rode made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet deteined in Scotland without putting them to fine or ransome, as hath béene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a sursesance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceassed not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots déeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subiects, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might atteine such a peace, as for the safegard of our subiects we be bound to procure.

" After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceassed not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought eftsoones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in déeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, dooth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to staie our armie at Yorke, appointing the duke of Norffolke our lieutenant, the Lord priuie seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our horsses, there to commen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadors of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such conditions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

" In this communication betwéene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrées of commission shewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proponed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficill or hard of our part, but so agréeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephue might haue a méeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: wherevpon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much outward ioy in communication of meeting. They shewed themselues in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioise in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they tooke it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obteine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agréed.

" After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a méeting preciselie at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & kéepe. Wherewith when our commissioners were miscontent, the ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time,

shewed

shewed foorth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadours to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought conuenient. Which maner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadors of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obteined a delaie of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

"Now after these six daies they brought foorth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, conteining such a restraint as the former commission did conteine, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last remooued and taken awaie by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadors, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadors of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and conuenient, which for want of commission they might not doo, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie professe.

"Then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselues, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to discharge themselues, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without dooing for their part that by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to doo. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any ransome, contrarie to all custome and vsage of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie alreadie prested, and in our wages to go forward.

"In this time ambassadors (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie inuented for a delaie, which hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weied and considered, doo vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continuallie labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his vnkind and displeasant deeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kinred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onlie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obteine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

"We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notablie the last yeere, when we made preparation at Yorke for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is doone by the Scots, whatsoeuer their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be deteined contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also doone by them, whatsoeuer their words be. Should we suffer our land to be vsurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is doone by them whatsoeuer their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie doone against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter,

ter, if we had not euidentlie perceiued the lacke of such affection as proximitie of bloud should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud, to our nephue, than we did tofore his fathers inuasion.

" But weieng that we be so suerlie ascerteined of the lacke thereof, and that our bloud is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be by the vnkind dealing, vniust behauior, & vnprincelie demeanor of him, that yet in nature is our nephue, & in his acts and déeds declareth himselfe not to be mooued therwith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the interteinment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sorie for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue béene) but for recouerie of our right, the preseruation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as haue passed betweene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceipt, and dissimulation.

" Hitherto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superioritie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath béene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong ministred by the nephue to the vncle most vnnaturallie, and supported contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to atteine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our nephue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

" This title is not deuised by pretense of mariage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by inuention of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, words, acts, and writings continuallie almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the sixt, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proximitie of bloud betwene vs, we haue béene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer beene alwaies glad, rather without preiudice to omit to demand our right if it might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof to be séene to mooue warre, speciallie against our neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome we haue preserued from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

" But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuerthelesse true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue doone homage and fealtie for the same. This appereth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondlie, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasurie. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudiciallie and autenticallie made, yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title béeing most plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

" First, as concerning histories, which be called witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finallie the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, conteining a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance.

For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice, amongest rude people, two or more of one estate might be rulers in one countrie, vnited as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissention, that there should be one superiour, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

"According wherevnto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine tooke first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (as being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doo homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superior. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Iland, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superioritie as afore; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Iland, at that time speciallie, when the people were rude? Which cannot without continuall strife and variance conteine twoo or three rulers in all points equall without any maner of superioritie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superioritie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

"The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according heerevnto we find also in historie set foorth dy diuerse, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some deposed, and put other in their places. We will heere omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not distinctlie to commit to writing. But some authors, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and beside that which he writeth of the natures, maners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue beene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnited vnto the same; as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appeere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for proofe and confirmation thereof.

"In which matter, passing the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Bren two brethren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred fortie two yeeres past, a time of sufficient anciencie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident proofe of the execution of our right and title of superioritie euermore continued and preserued hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And heere is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state three and twentie yeeres.

At which time Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland, he vnder him, adding this princelie woord, that it was more honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king. Twentie foure yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 947, king Eldred our progenitor Athelstanes brother, tooke homage of Irise then king of Scots. Thirtie yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessor tooke homage of Kinald king of Scots. Heere was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroied by the deceit of his mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeers after the homage doone by Kinald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 1018, Malcolme king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor.

"After this homage doone, the Scots vttered some peece of their naturall disposition: wherevpon,

wherevpon, by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the confessor, twentie nine yéeres after homage doone, that is to say, the yéere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme giuen to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor saint Edward: to whome the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie, within eleuen yeeres after that William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof he accounted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said yéere, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1068, the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest king of England. Twentie fiue yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1092, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offenses and demerits deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar, brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did homage and fealtie accordinglie.

"Seuen yéeres after, that was in the yéere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar K. of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seauen yéeres after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Mathild the empresse, as daughter and heire to Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by Stephan, then obteining possession of the realme, to make his homage; he refused so to doo, because he had before made it to the said Mathild, and therevpon forbare. After which Dauids death, which insued shortlie after, the sonne of the said Dauid made homage to the said king Stephan. Fouretéene yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a reseruation of their dutie to Henrie the second his father. Twentie fiue yéeres after, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion & resistance, according to their naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then being in Normandie, William then king of Scots knowledged finallie his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

"Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first. Fourtéene yeeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king Iohn, vpon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, being there present, a maruellous multitude assembled for that purpose. Twentie six yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king of Scots maried Margaret, the daughter of our progenitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realme fiftie six yeers. And therfore betwéene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scots, and the homage doone by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yéeres: at which time the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie eight yéeres after that, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1282, Iohn Balioll king of Scots made his homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first our progenitor.

"After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to mooue sedition therefore against them of the house of Balioll, which made for a season some interruption in the said homage; but yet no intermission without the termes of memorie: for within fortie foure yéeres after, which was the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a great victorie had in Scotland against the other faction, and inioieng the crowne of Scotland, made homage to our progenitor Edward the third. And twentie yéeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrarie faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the crowne of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our said progenitor Edward the third.

" Within nine yeeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre against them: when after great victories, Edward Balioll, hauing the iust and right title to the realme of Scotland, surrendred clearlie the same to our said progenitor, at the towne of Roxburgh in Scotland, where our said progenitor accepted the same, and then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on the one part by confiscation acquited, and on the other part by frée will surrendred vnto him. And then after the death of our said progenitor Edward the third, began seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the second, which was augmented by the alteration of the state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accustomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recouerie of his right in France, commanded the king of Scots to attend vpon him in that iorneie.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being descended to the house of the Stewards, of which our nephue directlie commeth: Iames Steward king of Scots, in the yéere of our Lord 1423, made homage to Henrie the sixt at Windsore, which homage was distant from the time of the other homage made by Dauid Bruse, three score yéeres and more, but farre within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages and fealties as they appéere by storie to haue béene made and doone at times and seasons as afore, so doo there remaine instruments made therevpon, and sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testifieng the same. And yet dooth it appéere by storie, how the Scots practised to steale out of our treasurie diuerse of these instruments, which neuerthelesse were afterward recouered againe.

" And to the intent ye may know of what forme and tenure the said instruments be, héere is inserted the effect in woord and sentence as they be made, which we doo, to méet with the cauillation and contriued euasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue beene made for the earledome of Huntington, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

THE FORME OF THE HOMAGE.

" ' I IOHN N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Edward by the grace of God K. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honor, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledge, and shall doo to you seruice due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.'

" Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriouslie handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath beene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solemne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by 12 competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Merchia, Willielmus de Vesci, Willielmus de Rosse, Robertus de Pinkeni, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Mundeuile, Ioannes de Comin, D. Ioannes de Hastings, Ioannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Bruse, Ericius rex Norwegie.

" Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Balioll, according wherevnto he inioied the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the K. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, insomuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended therevpon; it was

then

then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering vpon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superioritie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yeeld and giue place, and by expresse consent recognise the same.

"At which parlement was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forren princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Wherevpon the said parlement did there agree to this our superioritie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and seuerallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoeuer withdrew himselfe from dooing his duetie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scotland was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castels and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the meere gift of our said progenitor as in the right of this crowne of England. Shiriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeied, and executed.

"Finallie, all that we doo now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glascow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Yorke, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; wherevnto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armor & compulsion? If they say they did it not, they speake like themselues; if they say they did it, then doo they now like themselues, to withdraw their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

"Thus appeareth vnto you the beginning of the right of superioritie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certeine omissions and forbearings vpon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their opportunities to withdraw the dooing of their duetie in knowledge of our superioritie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also extreame detriment. But as they detracted the dooing of their dutie, so God granted vnto this realme force to compell them therevnto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the sixt neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaired. From the time of Henrie the sixt, vnto the seuenth yeare of our reigne, our realme hath beene for a season lacerat and torne by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie vexed and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part therof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

"Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the sixt, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to atteine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then vsurped for a small time in yeares, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battell, and most iustlie atteined the possession of this relme, who neuerthelesse, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceassed and forbare to require of the Scots to doo their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assaie to tame their nature by pleasant coniunction & conuersation of affinitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare

to

to constreine and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephue his minoritie, being then more carefull how to bring him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receiue of him homage, when he had full possession of the same.

"Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the sixt, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was doone at Windsor by Iames Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was thrée and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentie yeares hath passed in the minoritie of our nephue. So as finallie, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of discontinuance of possession, can onelie allege iustlie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage doone by Iames Steward, such as the silence in them (had they béene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred preiudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and prooued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, wherevnto the homage was due? What should Richard the third search for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage doone vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to doo their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, séeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill séed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

"Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allegable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minoritie of the king of Scots hath indured twentie one yéeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirteene yéere, which thirtéene yéere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceassed to offer and render the same: for which cause neuerthelesse we doo not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioise and take comfort in the friendship of our nephue as our neighbour, than to mooue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the woorks of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superioritie may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according therevnto all things gouerned in due order héere, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to doo in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs."

When therefore the king of England had set foorth this declaration of the causes that mooued him to make warre against Scotland, hé prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same foorth to the sea, that they might take such Scotish ships as were to returne from their voiages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandize, with which the English ships incountred, tooke 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandize and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

Scotish ships taken.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all spéed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought stood with reason, séeing no war was proclamed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soone, till other articles of agréement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to inuade Scotland, who according to his commission, with thrée thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and

Sir Robert Bowes inuadeth the borders.

and to spoile certeine small townes: wherevpon the fraie being raised in the countrie, George Gordon the earle of Huntleie, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediatlie gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight; sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuerse other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Halden Rig in the Mers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentie fourth of August.

The earle of Huntleie giueth an ouerthrow to the Englishmen. 1542. *Lesle.*

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norffolke with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots estéemed them, though they were not manie aboue twentie thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentith of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water Twéed: but the earle of Huntleie, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Twéed within the Scotish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised héereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowtraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue doone, if the time of the yéere and prouision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue béene better aduised, before they had ioined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recouered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horsses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntleie and others tooke from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawne home foorth of Scotland, king Iames being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes doone by the Englishmen within his countrie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and inuade England, himselfe to go therewith in proper person. And héerein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduisement taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Murrey] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were latelie deceassed, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most vncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therwith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to constreine the enimie for feare to leaue the inuasion thereof, as presentlie they had doone; and declared that they were determined to haue giuen battell to their enimies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they hauing so iust a cause, and being inuaded in their countrie, but that they should haue obteined the victorie. The king hearing their determination, albeit his high courage pressed him to inuade; yet the approoued wit of his nobles and councellors caused him to follow their aduise, and so returned with his armie backe againe, the first of Nouember, the armie of England being first discharged, and the duke of Norffolke in his returne towards London.

The king breaketh vp his armie.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Maxwell was warden, whome togither with the earles of Cassiles, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to inuade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliuer Sincler [the brother of Rosseline Comarch] and the residue

The king goeth to the west borders. 1541. *Lesl.*

Oliuer Sincler.

sidue of the gentlemen of his houshold. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Katharines euen, being the foure and twentith of Nouember, began to burne certeine townes vpon the water of Eske. But as soone as the scrie was raised in the countrie, of lord Wharton warden of the west marches of England, suddenlie raised the power the countrie, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselues in sight vnto the Scotish armie.

The lord Wharton.

The Scotish lords perceiuing the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselues togither, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliuer Sincler was holden vp on two mens shoulders, where he sheweth foorth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoeuer that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselues imbased too much, to haue such a meane gentleman aduanced in authoritie aboue them all, and therefore determined not to fight vnder such a capteine, but willinglie suffered themselues to be ouercome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrarie, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

The enuie of the lords against Oliuer Sincler.

The Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

This rode was called Solowaie Mosse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Cassiles and Glencarne, the lord Maxwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Someruile, the lord Oliphant, Oliuer Sincler, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke vpon the borders not farre from Solowaie Mosse, when this misfortune fell vpon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusall made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla vpon his request to inuade England. Heerewith such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and therevpon tooke such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenlie from thence to Edenburgh, and after remooued to Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being sore vexed in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue accesse to him, his secret & familiar seruants onelie excepted.

The griefe of the king for the ouerthrow of his men.

Now, as he was thus disquieted, newes were brought him that the queene his wife was brought to bed of a faire yoong princesse the seuenth day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasantnesse, insomuch that he perceiued the end of his life to approch, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come vpon the realme of Scotland, for the pursuit which the king of England was like to make therevpon against the same, to the end he might bring it vnder his subiection, either by mariage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some vnkindlie medicine: but howsoeuer the matter was, he yéelded vp his spirit to almightie God, and departed this world the fouretéenth of December, in the yéere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtie thrée yeere of his age, and thirtie two of his reigne.

The birth of the Scotish quéene.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conueied into Falkeland vnto Edenburgh in most honorable wise; the cardinall, the earles of Arrane, Argile, Rothes, Marshall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) it was buried in the abbeie church of Holie rood house, beside the bodie of quéene Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and mone made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well beloued among his subiects. * He was of swéet countenance and courteous speech, graiesh eied, hauing a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreséeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that hée was neuer vnprouided against the danger of anie thing, or was drawne from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein: whereby he might incurre the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 460.

All

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) mannage the whole affaires of the common-wealth. For as he did chieflie labor that his table might not excéed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparing for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the vses thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine seueritie, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a woonderfull gentlenes of his naturall disposition, bicause he seldome put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or mulct punish the offense. For he was woont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to kéepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to kéepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifullie furnished with riches, and his owne treasurie not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, siluer and other furniture: for which cause it should not séeme strange, that his death was greatlie lamented of his subiects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 writeth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature, for the libertie of althings had then dissolued the publike discipline, which could not be staied but by great seueritie of correction. And this made him more couetous of monie, bicause that he was kept extreame hard when he was vnder the gouernment of others. Whereby, when he came to bée at libertie, he was anew to furnish all his courts with houshold stuffe, finding his houses emptie, and all things conueied awaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie vpon those whome he willinglie would not to haue receiued it. Besides, for his excesse of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gaue him libertie thereto, supposing therby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatlie take his death grieuouslie, bicause he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small few (for auoiding his displeasure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themselues to the enimie than to his anger.)

QUEENE MARIE.

THE eternall God calling to his mercie Iames king of Scotland, the fift of that name, Marie his onelie daughter and heire began hir reigne ouer the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yéere of our Lord 1542, Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight ouer the Englishmen. She was not passing seuen daies old when hir father departing this life, left vnto hir his kingdome, hir mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Leuingston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and frée consent. 1542. The lord Leuingston.

Moreouer, immediatlie after the kings death (bicause he deceassed without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yoong queene his daughter) Dauid Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the aduancement and continuance thereof, inuented and forged [by Henrie Balfure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adioining with him the earles of Murrey, base brother to the king deceassed, Huntleie and Argile, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet Iames Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland. Dauid Beton cardinall. His forging of a will.

The protestants espied the cardinals craftie iugling.

Those that professed the reformed religion, beeing then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was euer a cruell enimie and sharpe scourge, espied foorth his vniust dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to imbrace the gospell, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he remooued the cardinall and his adherents from the vsurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclamed gouernor and protector of the realme. [And therevpon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and vseth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasurie to account, whereof he reteineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

1543. *Lesle.* *Fr. Thin.*

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and roome, as next in bloud to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of K. Iames the third, maried to his grandfather lord Hamilton, in the yere 1475, by reason of which mariage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yeere at Edenburgh, it was agréed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that now there was offered a most readie meane and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloudshed, by the mariage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yéeres of age, with the yoong quéene of Scotland.

The king of England talketh with the lords of Scotland prisoners for a mariage betwixt his son and their quéene.

He therefore being resolued fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet meanes or by force, and sending for the erles of Cassiles, and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, and Fleming, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied vnto Hampton court, where the seuen and twentith of December they being right curteouslie interteined, he made vnto them an ouerture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter vnto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of mariage might be made betwéene his sonne the prince, and their yoong queene; promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would doo their indeuor to persuade the gouernor, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agréeable herevnto.

1543. *Buch.*

The Scotish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to doo their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their comming home: wherevpon they were licenced to depart, and so comming to Newcastell, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had receiued foorth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefest of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernor, requesting effectuouslie, that they might be restored to their roomes, lands and possessions in that realme.

Duke of Norfolke. *Buchanan.*

The earle of Angus sent home into Scotland.

1543. *Lesle.* 1542.

These lords arriuing at Edenburgh, about the midst of Ianuarie, declared to the gouernor their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernor being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edenburgh, to a conuention there, to be holden the seuen and twentith of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next insuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Dalketh: the lord Seton béeing appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had béene taken at Halding rig on saint Bartholomews day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernor into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie vnto the said gouernor, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree vnto the king his masters monitions, trauelling so diligentlie in the matters wherabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement to send ambassadors into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

A conuention of the Scotish nobilitie.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halding rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into England.

And

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, sir William Hamilton, sir Iames Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and comming into England vnto the king, remained there till the latter end of Iulie. In which meane time, such couenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the mariage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parlement. Heerewith also the lord gouernor shewed himselfe to imbrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guilliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie publisht through the realme of Scotland. The mariage confirmed.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as before ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the quéene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yoong quéene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be remooued vnto his owne castell of saint Andrewes, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Dowglasse, and the lord Glames, the heire of Iames Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 465.*

Iohn Hamilton abbat of Passelew, brother of the gouernor, returning out of France (where he had imploied himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Paniter, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courteouslie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasuror of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a valiant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honorablie welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kinred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king sore misliking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of aliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be vtterlie dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the deceasse of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recouer the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remooue Arrane and others from it. The French king misliketh of the match with England. Matthew earle of Lennox.

The earle of Lennox heerevpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherin the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, before the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by keeping promise to the English, to conueie the yoong quéene vnto them. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.*

Wherevpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie color for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongest the rest would not yéeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedie

earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawen from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid before him commit such a fault, as that he would redéeme his life with the bloud of his two brothers: for which cause he went foorthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherevpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yoong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knowne to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honorablie rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great vprores by means of the quéenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Matthew Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linnucho: which yoong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinesse of bodie, in the verie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the woorthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in mariage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be ioined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king Iames, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre vp his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yéeres and more, during the quéenes minoritie, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the quéene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yoong quéene) that he should obteine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of Iames Hamilton latelie deceassed, since the gouernor was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not looke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French before mentioned. Wherevpon, the yoong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle of Lennox passeth into Scotland.

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and procéed, tooke his leaue, and with all spéed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arriuall) he came to Edenburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernor, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not séeke to make anie new aliance with the king of England.

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not tarrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argile, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenlie departed foorth of Edenburgh toward the west countrie, highlie displeased (as should séeme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quéene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conueie hir into England.

The earle of Lennox conferreth with the quéene Dowager.

1543. *Lesle.*

The castell of Edenburgh recouered to the gouernors vse.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Pasleie, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edenburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creichton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto Iames Hamilton laird of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennox, with the assistance of the earles of Huntleie, Montrosse,

rosse, Mentife, Argile, and others of the French faction in August following, conueied the yoong quéene with hir mother from Lithgew vnto Striueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his kéepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Héerewith was a day appointed and proclamed for the coronation of the yoong quéene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Cassiles, the lords Maxwell, Someruile, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edenburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the drifts of Lennox, and other of that faction, requiring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the preiudice of peace with England.

The yoong quéene conueied to Striueling.

The king of England aduertised héereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scotish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatlie least these lords, in whose hands the quéene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conueie hir ouer into France: wherevpon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that she might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the mariage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

The king of Englands doubt.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Euers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioine themselues with the gouernor and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in a readinesse to march, through the secret labor of the cardinall wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well inough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennox that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, what by the cardinall and the earle of Huntleie of the one part, and the queene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and ioined himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennox, as their purpose was to haue doone, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

The lord Wharton. The lord Euers.

The earle of Arrane a faith breaker.

Shortlie after, the yoong queene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in bloud to the quéene, and the earle of Lennox to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parlement was called and holden at Edenburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarch of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadors, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Menage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preseruation (as they pretended) of the yoong queene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that she shuld remaine with the old quéene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minoritie, and certeine rents of that seigniorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Leuingston, Erskin, and Fleming [or (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, Iohn Areskin, Iohn Lindseie, & William Leuiston] were appointed to abide continuallie with hir, for the better safegard of hir person.

The coronation of quéene Marie.

A parlement.

The patriarch of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quéene.

Fr. Thin.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as séemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Wherevpon the earle of Lennox, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe reiected, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughlie of the iniuries to him doone, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake: and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkindlie dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he

The earle of Lennox his displeasure.

he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiected vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recouered, and to haue beene mainteined therein by his support.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thencefoorth not to looke for the same anie more at his hands. Heerewith Lennox ioining himselfe with the earles of Angus, Cassiles, and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, and Someruile, the shiriffe of Aire, the lard of Drumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yeere was spent in ciuill dissention betweene them. And heere is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arriued in the mouth of the riuer of Cloide on the west coast, fiue ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of Iames Steward of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Menage, the French kings ambassadors.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriuing in the riuer of Cloide.

There came with them also the patriarch of Apulèia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboord in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennox therefore, when he first resolued to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbreton, reteining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue beene imploid to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The earle of Lennox seized vpon the French ships.

The earle of Lennox therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Leith against the gouernor that was then in Edenburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Murrey, and Argile, the matter was taken vp, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglasse was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Cassiles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennox came vnto Edenburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithquho, from whence the earle of Lennox secretlie departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glascow, fortified the castell.

The earle of Lennox raiseth an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges deliuered.

The earle of Lennox commeth to the gouernor. He departed from him againe. He fortifieth Glascow.

* When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glascow, he (assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especiallie of the lord Boid) went vnto Glascow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enimies. But before the battell, the earle of Lennox had withdrawen himselfe vnto Dunbreton, to gather a greater assemblie, shortlie after to returne to Glascow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Houstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennox, Ramfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the euent of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennox) more in haste than good speed. Wherevpon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Wherevpon the battels ioined, the hosts began to fight violentlie, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncerteine victorie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 468. 1543. Lesle.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the incouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enimies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennox there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monniepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glascow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the

the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreit, & with much spéed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glascow, where he vsed (by the persuasion of the lord Boid) woonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he depriued some (of the chiefest condition amongest them) from all the vse and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennox remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from anie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennox, doo afresh stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: wherevpon he dooth restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glascow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (minding to preuent all his indeuors by wise counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glascow, all the nobilitie of the south parts, and (bringing foorth the hired souldiors) commanded the great péeces to be planted against the enimie. Wherevpon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen), and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) inforced the other to yéeld their forts. After that the castell was thus come into the gouernors hands, he hanged eighteene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennox, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennox (vnderstanding that his affaires began to wauer, and to obteine such euill successe) dooth send the earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell to the gouernor to intreat of peace betweene him and the earle of Lennox, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.]

The earle of Angus and the lord Maxwell committed to ward.

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretlie conueied from the councell by the backeside of the blacke friers of Glascow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenesse. The lord Maxwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edenburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for anie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennox by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret Dowglasse daughter to the Earle of Angus, and néece to the said king.

Mens opinions for the imprisoning of the earle of Angus.

1544.

The earle of Lennox sendeth to the king of England.

* Herevnto the king granted. For the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quéene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennox was condemned of treason; wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the quéene. Whilest the French king was ascerteined that Lennox had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenlie committed to prison Iohn Steward lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennox, and depriued the said Iohn Steward of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scotish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes; for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 470.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glascow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwéene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glascow, who should in that citie be

be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in th' end came to this issue, that both families fell togither by the eares, which of them should go before with his crosse borne vpright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andrews and primat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glascow should not haue his crosse borne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glascow tooke in such disdaine, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threw it to the ground. Wherevpon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from words to swords) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therwith to be brought to Edenburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honorablie enterteined and feasted of the quéene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murrey had the Patriarch on a day to a banket, in which this Murrey did shew an honorable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in store of siluer vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupboord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupboord as it were vnwillinglie. Which the seruant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenlie fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat mooued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man afresh to furnish the same cupboord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Muranoe and Venice did not anie way excell these. Truelie this earle of Murrey was honorable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongest them. Who shortlie after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaie.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the sée of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the mariage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honorablie enterteined in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iourneie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honor to the Scotish nation.]

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was persuaded that Lennox ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vniustlie not onelie his maiestie had béene dealt with, but also how vnthankefullie and discourteouslie Lennox had béene vsed, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankefullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lisle to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinmouth with their people, arriued in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe aboue Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie conteining aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennox.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edenburgh, hearing of their

arriuall, went foorth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiuing the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edenburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Ottenborne prouost of Edenburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his comming; and withall offered, that if there were anie iniuries or wrongs doone by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorised thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into towne of Edenburgh.

The prouost of Edenburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vniust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edenburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all those that were within the same to come foorth, and submit themselues before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and therevpon returned to the towne.

The earles answer.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Striueling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edenburgh, passing vp the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scotishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entred the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batterie against it; but the capteine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their péeces, so that in the end they were constreined to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbeie of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Maxwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, and others.

Edenburgh entred by force.

Sée more hereof in England.

Edenburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horssemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Euers, and his sonne sir Rafe Euers; who ioining with the armie at Leith, scowred the countrie on euerie side of Edenburgh. Finallie, after the English armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt that towne also, and sent their ships awaie fraught with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne, as in Edenburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe towards England. And therwith the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, and others, returned by land through the countrie vnto Berwike, as in the English historie more at large appeareth. Whilest the English armie was thus occupied in that part of Scotland, the erle of Lennox with an armie of men which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs of the gouernor and his adherents, if they had assembled their forces and come forward to haue giuen the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

Leith burnt.

The earle of Lennox.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and the Iles, did now in these turmoiles begin to shew some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which paied yéerelie tribute in the time of Iames the fift, kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and well obeied the gouernor) did now (after they saw all things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and destroie their neighbors, in the same vttering the humor of their naturall disposition. Wherevpon the gouernor (to restreine their boldnesse) called vnto him George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and the

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 474. 1544.

earle of Argile, whereof he made the one gouernor of the north parts of Scotland, of the Orchades, and Shitland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argile, and the Iles Hebrides. Wherevpon Huntleie with all spéed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to bridle the Glancamerons, the Gencronelles, the Mudiardes, & the Kindiardes, with force and authoritie. The capteins or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mackoneilglas, and Iohn Mudiard, who did possesse the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntleie had incamped néere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne possessions: which being defended partly by the west sea, and partly included about with the mounteins, stopped Huntleie, so that hée might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes whereof (these dissessors being banished) the lords Grant and Louet were restored to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarilie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enimies. For at that time both the companies were disposed into such order, that neither partie could absteine from fight. Wherevpon they first discharge their bodies one against another, and their arrowes spent, they after flie to their swords, with which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so great slaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Mudiardes there were manie slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and brought vp in France) with thrée hundred of the bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt séemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor spred, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraisers left aliue that was of mans state. But it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they left their wiues with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised and restored. Huntleie (greatlie grieuing that the Fraisers had receiued this grieuous wound) gathered a power togither, and with armes so pursued those factious people, that he tooke and beheaded Ewin Allanson, and Ronald, with diuerse others, and put the rest in prison. The earle of Argile discharged the office committed to him as well as Huntleie did and with more happie successe, for all the Iland men humblie submitted themselues vnto him, and deliuered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

Buchanan. lib. 15.

Buchanan saith that this battell as it was beléeued, was procured by Huntleie to destroie the Fraisers.

The earle of Lennox goeth into England.

About this time the earle of Lennox, accompanied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, otherwise called lord of Kilmawse, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montrosse, sir Iohn Borthwike knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, tooke the sea to passe into England, and arriued at Westchester about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the court, he was ioifullie receiued. And immediatlie therevpon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks of yeerelie rent of assise, in consideration of this mariage with the kings néece, and in recompense of lands lost by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the decéasse of Robert Steward lord Obenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

He marieth the ladie Margaret Dowglas.

Lord Obenie.

Moreouer, king Henrie being now vpon his iournie towards Bullongne, aswell for the anoiance of his highnesse enimies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accompanied with sir Rise Mansfield, sir Peter Mewtas knights, maister Thomas Audleie, master Thomas Brookes, old maister Winter comptroller of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William Winter that now is, and sundrie other capteins, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikes, beside the mariners belonging to those ships that were appointed to go foorth on this iournie, being in number about twelue or fourtéene saile, belonging to Bristow, and other of the west parts.

The earle of Lennox returneth into Scotland.

Vpon

Vpon their arriuall on the coast of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and raced the gouernors castell there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and tooke the castell of Roseie standing therein (from whence the Stewards kings of Scotland had their originall) the capteine they had awaie prisoner with them into England. Here also they tooke two French ships laden with wines, and this doone they entered the Firth of Clide, thinking to find none but their friends in the castell of Dunbreton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the capteine thereof called Houson, to keepe it in the name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennox, were in his absence persuaded thorough practise of the queene Dowager, not only to renounce their promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell; but also to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him prisoner.

The Ile of Bute taken.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with three hundred men: and so farre foorth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennox being entered into the castell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the boord, to be paid to the capteine for his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennox, & such as were with him, perceiuing some treasonable practise in hand, got foorth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

The earle of Lennox in danger to be betraied and taken.

For if they had staied that night, they had beene intrapped by George Dowglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunbreton, shortlie after that the earle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displaied, hailsed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennox his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, tooke aduise togither at the Ile of Bute what they were best to doo.

The earle sore mooued to haue beene thus repelled from Dunbreton, and stomaching the matter sore, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great shew of manhood tooke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great store of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure score of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of three men onelie on the English side.

The earle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

This doone, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approched, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboord in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that aduanced themselues most forward. About foure or fiue daies after, the earle of Lennox with fiue hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day togither, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennox with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennox landeth againe in Argile.

After this they inuaded the Ile of Kinter, where Iames Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, tooke and caried awaie great booties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennox, suing to him for assurance. In these exploites the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen score men of the head of Lennox, that

Kinter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

that spake both Irish, English, & the Scotish toongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much auailable seruice in the streicts, the marishes, and mountaine countries.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. * During these things, they which had gouernment of Scotish affairs (as the quéene Dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decréed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armor, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortlie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Coldingham, standing in armor a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horsses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tendernesse susteined in the last daies labor of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Berwike) suddenlie (vnknowne to the other nobilitie) did flie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue béene betraied to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, bicause the secreter it was (and the reason vnknowne) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at randon. But others (who were more carefull, and would séeme lesse fearefull) doo agrée to stuffe the péeces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Dowglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked déed to a wicked flight. Who when he could not staie any man, either by threat, intreatie, or authoritie, he exclamed with a lowd voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a secure and rich life with such dishonor. "Wherefore you my friends consider what you will doo, for either I will bring awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie." When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were mooued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Dowglasse with such companie as he had (placed in good order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horssemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backes. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouslie applied the dastardnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

Sir Peter Mewtas. To conclude, after the earle of Lennox and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Mewtas knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scotish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his procéedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles iornie, which the king tooke in verie good part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennox was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

1545. Sir Rafe Euers inuadeth Scotland. About the middest of Februarie, sir Rafe Eure commonlie called Euers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots; and comming first vnto Iedwoorth, lodged there that night. And therewithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeie of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got foorth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and left their beds and all their houshold furniture which they had in store there with them, not hauing time to conueie it awaie at their departure, their warning was

so

so short. Sir Rafe Euers at his comming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbeie, vtterlie defacing the toomes and monuments of the earles of Dowglas, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, and those of his linage. He defaceth the monuments of the Dowglasses.

* After this (the comming of the English being looked for the next yéere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, bicause they were hopelesse to atteine anie succor from the gouernor, which vsed the aduise of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Wherevpon Archembald Dowglas earle of Angus (greatlie mooued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Tiuiot, and partlie to sée his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, persuading him to incounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Dowglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would imploie their liues, liuings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onelie leaned to the spiritualtie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace. *Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 15.*

"Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwéene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are not better performed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their bloud therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our slouth) permit the enimie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will folow, that either they shall shortlie banish vs, or bring vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speaches, but with bloudie weapons.")

Wherevpon the gouernor and the said earle (sore aggreeued to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled togither [vnder the leading of Norman Lesle son of the earle of Rothsele] all such forces as they might recouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fifteene hundred men, wherof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Iedworth, they met them at a place called Pannier hugh, or Broomehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, ment to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seuen or eight hundred reuolted vnto the part of their countrimen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constreined to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Euers, the lord Ogle, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiors to the number of eight hundred. They tooke also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine péeces of artillerie and other munition. *Fr. Thin.* 1544. *Lesle.* *Buchanan.* Sir Rafe Euers & others slaine

This victorie fell to the Scots the seuentéenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasant to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthie gentleman sir Rafe Euers was greatlie bemoned, and that euen of the king himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had béene found in him. His seruice had beene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obeisance of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before ye haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, bicause he was imploied otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.] His seruice against the Scots. *Abr. Fl.*

* The occasion of the English ouerthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equall ground, and with vnequall helpes. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came foorth of a narrow & marish place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betweene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10. pag. 478.*

number

number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, wherevnto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceiued of the Scotish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

Death of bishops.

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncorse bishop of Rosse departed this life, to whome succéeded Dauid Pantane, secretarie to the gouernor and prior of saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberden likewise deceassed, and maister William Gordon chancellor of Murreie, vncle to George erle of Huntleie, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that sée, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Dowglasses.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. *pag.* 479.

* About that time, the king of England by prise & preies persuaded the Flemings to take sixteene of our ships harbored in the hauen, and to conuert the commodities (wherewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbad them to fish on their coasts, and did sometime intercept their ships, without further iniurie doone vnto them.)

1545. *Buch.*

Monsieur de Lorges sent into Scotland.

This yéere also, Montgomerie, otherwise called monsieur de Lorges, knight of the order of saint Michaell, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbreton, & came in good order to Edenburgh the thirteenth of Maie: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michaell, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, and Argile. Herwith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approched the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts comming downe, tooke such direction for the safe kéeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprise, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue beene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

Knights of saint Michaels order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. *pag.* 480.

* This castell of Dunbreton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Wherevpon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes wherof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennox, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortlie obteine the castell. The king of England reioising of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should foorthwith be receiued into the castell. Wherefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbreton togither with the cardinall, and the earles Huntleie, and Argile, laieng present siege to the same, which was stronglie doone, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntleie, it was so agréed, that the castell (which was by nature inexpugnable) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorablie intreated the capteine for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennox to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

Frenchmen and Scots ouerthrowne.

The sixteenth of September, thrée or foure hundred Scots, with Maxwell, Lochinuart, and Iohnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine streit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king,

king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Maxwell eldest son to the lord Maxwell, was taken in a rode made by him and others, into the English confines on that side; although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a rode into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parlement holden at Linlithquho, begun there the twentie eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas bishop of Vtheltree, were forfalted, and all their lands and goods giuen awaie and annexed to the crowne.

The lord Maxwels son taken prisoner.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Iles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennox to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell tooke such effect, that the Iland men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partlie for that they were in a manner sworne enimies to the earle of Argile, and his familie; and partlie for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennox and his house, hauing an ancient bond of aliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Heerevpon, they elected amongest them a lord of the Iles, the next of bloud: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennox, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yeerelie, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The earle of Lennox procureth them of the Iles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Iles elected, being one of the Maconels.

The first proofe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennox, vnder colour of conference for matters touching the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his aliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrappe the earles of Argile and Huntleie. And although they escaped verie narrowlie, the lord Louet an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, togither with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends: insomuch that there remained not but one yoong boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more fullie handeled out of Lesleus.]

Clane Reginald sleieth the lord Louet.

Fr. Thin.

After this, the lord of the Iles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed ouer into Carrike, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Cassiles, then a great enimie to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slue manie of the enimies. After which enterprise so atchiued, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennox and Ormond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to ioine with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argiles countries, & consequentlie the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made readie for that iorneie, the new lord of the Iles deceassed, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennox, stood the king of England in foure hundred pounds sterling.

The lord of the Iles inuadeth Carike.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departeth this life.

But now to returne vnto the dooings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. Ye shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken vp, the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled togither, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horssemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, past vp by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Tiuidale, the abbeies of Kelso, Melrosse, Driborne, and Iedworth, with townes & villages, to the number of fiue score.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest neere to the same, and returned backe without anie incounter: for after the Scotish armie was broken vp, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, sore indamaged the Scotish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other,

other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scotish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15. * Much about this time, or rather before, Robert Maxwell the sonne of Robert (a yoong man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing doone woorthie the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leadeth the gouernor about the néere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundée called Toadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Thither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, togither with the erle of Rothseie, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifieng of the other tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and factious persons addicted to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernor that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) vnderstood that the gouernor was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernor commanded them to sunder themselues, and seuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Wherevpon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Rothseie being shortlie deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it séemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernor taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinfane Comarch, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason whereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (sith manie of both parts would ioine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the woorse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Vpon which occasion the gouernement of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Kinfane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willinglie obeie: as it séemed that they would not; because they tooke it with some griefe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernor) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had wholie taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Taie. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did inuade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to doo anie thing therein. Greie assalting it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would séeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flie awaie. But the multitude confused and driuen into a streict, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongest the other, did hinder the first that they could not flie: in which vnorderlie multitude, manie were troden vnder foot, and thrée score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing

hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernor after the fouretéenth of December to saint Andrews, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernor more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernors sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagernesse of the Scotish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernor) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernor should with like lightnesse be drawen to assist his enimies, as he had béene led to take his part.] During the time whilest they were at S. Andrews, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelats of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andrews, where a learned man, named maister George Wischart, that had beéne in the schooles of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publikelie preached, and priuatlie taught in Dundée, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so vrged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andrews during the time of that conuention or assemblie. George Wischart a learned man burnt.

* When these things were thus doone, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what spéeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawfords sonne. Which mariage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to inuade the Scotish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andrews, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble togither to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance whereof, he had determined, togither with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 15.*

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble yoong gentlemen called Norman Lesle, sonne to the earle of Rothseie, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times emploied his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Norman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common spéech to brallings, and from thence to bitter tawnts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Wherevpon they departed with the gréeued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatning that being ouertaken by deceipt, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Wherevpon Norman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agréed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder afterward. This Norman accompanied onelie with fiue of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andrews, and went into his accustomed Inne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunninglie dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen vnto them to execute this deuise. With which small companie this Norman feared not to aduenture the death of the cardinall in the same towne, furnished in euerie place with the seruants and friends of the cardinall.]

Wherevpon the thirtéenth of Maie, the cardinall being within his castell of saint Andrews, certeine of his owne friends (as he tooke them) that is to say, the said Norman, lord Lesleie, William Kirkandie, the yoong lord of Grange, and Kirkmichell with sixteene

chosen men, entered the castell verie secretlie in the morning, tooke the porter, and all the cardinals seruants, thrusting them out of the place by a posterne gate. And that doone, passing to his chamber where he laie in bed, as he got vp, and was opening his chamber doore, they slue him, and seized vpon the artillerie and munition, wherewith that fortresse was plentifullie furnished, and likewise with rich hangings, houshold stuffe of all sorts, apparell, copes, iewels, ornaments of churches, great store of gold and siluer plate, beside no small quantitie of treasure in readie coine.

The cardinall of saint Andrews murthered.

Sir Iames Leirmouth, prouost of saint Andrews, assembled all the people of that towne for the rescue of the cardinall, after he heard that the conspirators were entred the castell; but they shewed the dead bodie of the cardinall ouer the wals, as a spectacle to the people, and so they made no further attempt, sith they saw no meane how to remedie or reuenge the matter at that present. The cause that mooued the conspirators thus to kill the cardinall, was thought to be partlie in reuenge of the burning of maister George Wischart, fearing to be serued with the same sawce, and in the end to be made to drinke of the same cup. Partlie it was thought they attempted it through counsell of some great men of the realme, that had conceiued some deadlie hatred against him.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 481.

* But Lesleus also, writing of the causes of his death saith, that they were diuerse: as the seuerall tormentors seuerallie framed euerie one a part for his owne excuse. For Norman & Iohn did complaine, that they were wronged by him with no small iniurie, because that the cardinall had not recompensed him for the losse he susteined; when the cardinall had restored to Colwine lord thereof (before through the cardinals counsell banished by the king) the castell and possessions of Easter wemes; which the king had after giuen to the said Norman. The lord Grange affirmed that he reuenged himselfe, because he was remooued by the cardinals aduise from the office of the treasurorship; which (being granted by the king to him) he had discharged with great profit to the realme, & honor to himselfe. And Kirkmichell did also say that he was dispossessed by the cardinall of some other (I cannot tell what) possessions. All which causes were but veiles which they spread against the wind and report of so wicked and shamefull a deed. For vpon the fact, Norman being vexed with remorse of conscience, did not onelie labor to pacifie the anger of such, that (either by bloud or benefit) were tied to the cardinall with all kind of duties: but did also, to shun the danger thereof, passe into France, and there by valour (in the seruice of Henrie the second king of France) endeuored to wipe away that note of infamie, which he had cast vpon his familie. All which notwithstanding, both he and others (some after one sort, and some after an other) were worthilie punished for their wickednes.]

The same euening that the cardinall was slaine, the old lord of Grange, maister Henrie Balnauis, one of the councell of the realme, and sundrie gentlemen of the surname of the Meluins, Iohn Knocts and others, to the number of seuen score persons, entred the castell to their support, taking vpon them to keepe it against the gouernor and his partakers. Not long after, the gouernor, considering that his deere cousine the cardinall was thus made awaie, assembled the great lords of the realme, as the earle of Angus, Huntlele, Argile, and others, by whose aduise he called a parlement, and forfalted them that had slaine the cardinall, and kept the castell of saint Andrews.

1546.

The slaiers of the cardinall forfalted.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged.

Herewith also he raised a power, and besieged the same castell, planting diuerse peeces of great artillerie against it. But it was so stronglie furnished with all maner of artillerie & munition by the cardinall in his life time, that they within cared little for all the inforcements that their aduersaries without could aduance against them. Wherevpon, after that the siege had continued the space of three moneths, the gouernor was glad to take an appointment with them within, to the end he might get out of their hands his eldest sonne, who was remaining with the cardinall at the time when he was murthered, and so kept by them that did the murther, till now they agreed to deliuer him to his father, with condition that he should raise his siege.

The siege raised.

They deliuered also the dead bodie of the cardinall, after it had laine buried in a dunghill within

within the castell, euer since the day in which they slue him. [The gouernor did name the abbat of Paslew his brother to the bishoprike of saint Andrews, and gaue the abbeie of Arbroth (being before granted to Iames Beton kinsman to the slaine cardinall) to George Dowglasse bastard sonne to the earle of Angus: which things were afterwards occasions of great troubles in the realme.] In the yeare next insuing, king Henrie the eight departed this life, after whome succéeded his sonne Edward, the sixt of that name, king of England, France, and Ireland. Shortlie after, that is to say, the last of March, Francis the French king deceassed, and his sonne Henrie, the second of that name, succeeded him; who at the desire of the gouernor of Scotland, appointed Leone Strossie prior of Capoa, a knight of the order of Malta, with a nauie of 16 gallies, fraught with men of warre, and munition, to passe into Scotland, to helpe to win the castell of saint Andrews.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 483.

1547.

The king of England deceassed.

The death of the French king.

The gouernor in the meane time with an armie passed to the west borders to besiege the castell of Langham, the which was kept at that present by Michaell Wharton, hauing then with him but sixteene Englishmen, who neuerthelesse abid three or foure daies siege, and seuen canon shots, and so yéelded the house to the gouernor: and hereby was the peace broken, first by the Scots, euen as the Englishmen could haue wished. Moreouer, at the same time, the erle of Rothous then returned out of Denmarke was acquit by an assise (as they call it) of earles and lords, of an accusation wherewith he was charged, as confederat and partie with them that had murthered the cardinall.

Whilest the gouernor was thus passed with his armie to the west borders, he was aduertised that the prior of Capoa was arriued, and [against the wils of such as were against it] entred into the towne of saint Andrews: wherevpon the gouernor, with all the nobilitie that were then about him, hasted thither to assist the prior, and so the siege was stronglie laid about the castell there. The prior caused certeine péeces of artillerie to be drawen vp, and mounted on the top of a church, which was higher than the castell; so that those peeces shot plump into the castell, that none durst shew themselues on the wals, or abroad in the yard within the castell. He caused also certeine canons to be drawen with engins, néere to the verie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were néere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell downe.

Fr. Thin.

The castell of saint Andrews besieged by the French.

Moreouer, the gallies at an high water approched on the riuer side so neere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they sore annoied them within, and slue diuerse. The defendants perceiuing themselues thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put foorth a token vpon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them comming foorth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quéene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

But this would not be granted, the gouernor vtterlie refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who vpon the surrender entring the same, left nothing behind him* that might serue them to anie vse in taking it away. All the principall men within it were led to the gallies, and conueied awaie into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diuerse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we* set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

The castell of S. Andrews yeelded.

[*Sic.]

[*Sic.]

Thus was the castell of saint Andrews rendred the nine and twentith of Iulie, fourtéene daies after the arriuall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great valiancie, well knowen afore that time, was so renewed, as his praise for his spéedie dispatch and good successe therein was much aduanced. Shortlie after, the duke of Summerset, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hertford, vncle by the mother vnto the yoong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subiects,

The prior of Capoa.

The duke of Summerset protector of England.

minding the aduancement of the yoong king his nephue, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt him, and the yoong quéene of Scots.

But perceiuing that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he séemed loth to let passe the opportunitie of time then offered (as he tooke it) to serue his purpose; and therevpon by aduise of councell leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwike, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entred Scotland with the same armie, conteining seauentéene or eighteene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall wards, the vant-gard led by the valiant earle of Warwike, the battell by the duke of Summerset himselfe, and the rere-ward by the lord Dacres of the north.

He entreth Scotland with an armie.

There were certeine wings and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horssemen, and also of harquebusiers, that attended vpon these three wards, garded with diuerse péeces of great artillerie. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall of the armie had the generall conduction of the men of armes and demilances. Sir Francis Brian, lieutenant of the light horssemen, with eight hundred of them was appointed to the vant-gard. Sir Peter Mewtas capteine of fiue hundred hagbutters, and sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, with a thousand light horssemen, were appointed to the battell. And sir Richard Manners, with six hundred light horssemen, attended vpon the rere-ward.

The order of the English armie.

In this order marching through the Mers, and Louthian, they came at length vnto a place called Buckling Braies, neere to the Forth side, in which riuer the English fleet was arriued, and laie before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay néerer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the comming of this armie of England thus to inuade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemne summons for the leuieng of a new armie foorth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and inabled for the incounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

The English fléet.

The gouernor raiseth an armie.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 485.

* For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be vsed in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carieng a fierie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue sixtéene yeares old, and vnder sixtie, should presentlie (with their armor) repaire to Mussilborow, and there be readie to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordinglie came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) & placed themselues at Inuernesse ouer against their enimies.]

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horssemen oftentimes would come pricking almost within their staues length of the Englishmen as they marched, whouping and shouting, to the end they might traine them foorth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to prouoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset, doubting the goodnesse of the Scotish prickers, gaue secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scotish horsmen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to beare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he tooke it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The goodnes of the Scotish horsmen feared of the Englishmen.

The lord Greie desireth to incounter the Scotish horssemen.

The duke at the first by no meanes would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a iolitie of courage, than of anie knowledge of the enimie, and séemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scotish horssemen: but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Warwike assisted his request, the duke in the end yéelded thereto. Herevpon when the lord Hume with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaie the ninth of September) came foorth to offer the skirmish after their woonted maner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horssemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsmen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and

Italian hagbutters on horssebacke to kéepe on a wing, and to gard the hindermost troope of the English horssemen.

He also gaue order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enimie should once offer, in anie wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie and proffer of charge, that troope that it was offered vnto, presentlie vpon the enimies wheeling about should throughlie giue it them; and that so giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those troopes wholie togither to helpe other without breaking. The Scots comming forward, pricking and whouping after their old woont, the Englishmen forbare a great while, till at the last, foure or fiue hundred of them came scattered vpon the spurre, with a maruellous shout within a stones length of the formost troope. Order giuen by the lord Greie.

These thinking then to haue wheeled about, maister Nicholas Gainesford, the leader of that troope, and lieutenant of the lord Greies band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried; A charge, which as spéedily on the English part as vnlooked for of the Scots being giuen, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were driuen to gallop awaie so fast as their horsses might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at what time the lord Hume (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horsse, was grieuouslie wounded, and caried to Edenburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured too farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their capteins, as sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Gower, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of seuerall bands of light horssemen. ¶ Thus much for this Fridaies skirmish, wherein the chiefest force of the Scotish horssemen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest. Nicholas Gainesford. The Scots horssemen put to flight. *Fr. Thin.* English capteins taken.

* The English armie remaining still at Preston, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And therevpon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obteine anie thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with couenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. "That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to and of whome (vnlesse they vtterlie forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vniust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a felowship and liberall imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that mariage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of iniuries should bée greater from the stronger to the weaker. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 15.

"Wherefore they should chieflie consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their quéene was of necessitie to be giuen in mariage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be auoided; and the moderation therein verie hard: that the onelie power to choose hir a husband was left vnto the publike councell or parlement. And if they would choose (to their quéene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take choise, than of a king their neighbor, borne in the same Iland, néere of bloud, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same maners and language; not their superior onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and ornaments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old iniuries? But if they call to them anie other (differing from them in language, maners, and lawes) to take the kingdome: let them thinke with themselues,

themselues, what and how manie discommodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselues: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

"Wherefore (as touching themselues) if they shall not perceiue the Scotish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord, they would mitigate somwhat of their former promises (which by law they might chalenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and bée alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should inable hir fit for mariage, and vntill such time as she might choose hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should absteine from warre: and that also the quéene (during that time) should neither be conueied into anie strange nation: nor that they should conclude anie pact or couenant with the French, or anie other forreine prince touching hir mariage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handfastlie promise, the English would foorthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed anie hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrie) they would recompense the same by the iudgement of good men."

These letters thus sent, the gouernor did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to Iohn his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinall.) These two aduanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, bicause they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willinglie incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumor to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take awaie the quéene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdome into their subiection. For the gouernor being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other councellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affairs of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, Iohn archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Durie, with Archembald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Rigs, a lawier, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than anie knowledge in militarie affaires. These foure had so puffed vp the gouernor (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euerie rumor) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. In the meane time, his friends hauing spread a feined tale (through the Scotish host) by him deuised, the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnaduised spéed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate procéedings, as after shall appeare.)

The Scots meant not to haue giuen battell.

For being true (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernor, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to hazard battell within their owne realme, but rather to lie still and defend their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduertised thereof, the morrow after this great skirmish, raised their field verie earlie, purposing to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to shoot into the Scotish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to dislodge from their ground of aduantage. The gouernor and the Scotish lords, beholding their enimies thus marching forward, thought best to staie their enterprise, and therefore suddenlie, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing foorth of their campe, passed forward to incounter their enimies.

The purpose of the Englishmen.

The ordering of the Scotish battels.

They were diuided into three battels; Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntleie, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argile and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the Scots to come forwards with great hast, staied for their comming; but the Scots were so rash and hastie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so vp towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to

keepe anie ordinarie marching pase, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Howbeit, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English horssemen, and so rigorouslie reincountred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and horsses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherwith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath béene reported) they had vndoubtedlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Warwike had not béene shewed at that present, according to the woonted valure of his often approoued prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselues againe.

The English horssemen beaten backe.

The valiantnesse of the earle of Warwike.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots aduanced forward with great courage. But there was a gallie & two pinesses of the English fléet, which from the sea shot so terriblie at the Scotish armie, that the same was not onelie sore galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And héerewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable woords and behauior of the earle of Warwike, and other the capteins, made towards the Scotish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Wherevpon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had béene lost, gaue backe, and tooke them to flight; whome the Englishmen followed amaine, slaieng the Scotishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Manie were also drowned in the water of Vndereske, through the which they tooke their flight.

The gallie and pinnesses.

The earle of Huntleie and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chase was past by them: but at length were driuen to make awaie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskin, the maister of Graham, the maister of Meffine, the maister of Ogiluie, the maister of Leuingston, the maister of Rosse [the maister of Argendale and Meffane] the lard of Lochinwar, the lard of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zestrie, the earle of Huntleie chancellor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The earle of Huntleie taken prisoner.

Men of name of Scots slaine. *Fr. Thin.*

The next day, the English armie remooued to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being sore wounded. But the earle of Huntleie, entering bond for them that they should well and trulie paie their ransomes, agréed vpon betwixt them and their takers, or else to come and present themselues prisoners in England by a certeine day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie of which bloudie day, there were not a few which did impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they did arrogantlie reiect such honorable and beneficiall peace, and did hope (if they obteined the victorie) to haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than vnto the English, either because they would (as I my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or else haue vsed extremitie against such as secretlie misliked this conflict with the English.)

The earle of Huntleie entereth bond for his countriemen. *Fr. Thin.* *Buchan. lib.* 15.

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quéene regent was, togither with hir daughter the yoong quéene. Héere, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argile, Rotesen, and Cassiles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Menteith, where they remained in the abbeie of Inch Mahome [deliuering the yoong quéene to hir mother, Erskine and Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie was departed out of the realme, and then they remooued againe, and came to Striueling. [After that the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at Edenburgh] the English nauie wan the Ile of saint Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie other exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may appéere.

The quéene remoued from Striueling. *Fr. Thin.* *Lesleus lib.* 10. *pag.* 487. *Fr. Thin.*

Fr. Thin. The Ile of saint Colmes Inch woon by Englishmen.

Moreouer,

The earle of Bothwell.

Moreouer, the earle of Bothwell, whome the gouernor had before kept in prison, and was the night after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of Summerset, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen of Louthian, whilest he laie at Leith, offering themselues to be at the king of Englands commandement, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or damage by the English power. The duke of Summerset hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edenburgh, but could not obteine it, departed thence the eightéenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer the mounteins of Soutreie, comming the third day before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by countenancing to win that fortresse, that within thrée or foure daies after their comming thither, it was surrendred.

1547.

The English armie returneth homewards.

Hume castell rendred to the Englishmen.

This castell being woone, & a garrison left therein to kéepe it, they remooued to Rockesburgh, where within the compasse of the ruinous wals of an old castell, they built a fort; & after returning into England, left a conuenient garrison to kéepe it. They got also about the same time a strong fortresse, called Fast castell, standing néere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it. And moreouer, in this meane time, their fléet by sea wan the castell of Broughtie crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to kéepe the same (as in the English historie it may further appeere) and in what sort also all the chiefest lords and gentlemen of the Mers and Tiuidale came in, and submitted themselues to the duke of Summerset, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Fast castell woone by them.

Broughtie crag woone.

Furthermore, whilest the duke of Summerset with his armie did thus inuade Scotland on the east part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of the councell to the king of England, that Matthew earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then warden of the west marches of England, should with a power inuade Scotland on the west side, to the end that there should not anie of the west borders nor countries come to assist the gouernor against the duke of Summersets armie, but be driuen to remaine at home to defend their owne countrie. Herevpon, there was an armie leuied, to the number of fiue thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horssemen, with which power the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the first night vpon the water of Eske, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortresse of good strength, the wals being foureteene foot thicke.

The castell of Milke yéelded.

Capteine of this castell was one Iohn Steward, brother to the lard thereof, who vpon the approch of the earle of Lennox, yéelded the house to him, without anie shew of resistance. Wherevpon, Ferguse Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Erske, was appointed with a garrison of souldiors to keepe that castell to the vse of the yoong king of England, and was afterwards confirmed capteine there with fiftie light horssemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerset, & the councell; so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enimies to England, and preseruation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vse.

On the twentith of September, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, incamped néere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approching néerer to the same, gaue summons vnto the capteine therof, called Lion, of the house of Glams, who with an hundred Scots [whereof Maxwell and Iohnstone, and Cokpull (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 489.) being parcell] kept the church and stéeple of Annand, being péeces of themselues verie strong and mightilie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yéeld, and valiantlie defended themselues. The greatest péeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat onelie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approch hard to the wals, and vndermine the same, so as the roofe of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death. Such as escaped fled into the stéeple.

Fr. Thin.

The church of Annand vndermined.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the capteine mooued by persuasion of the earle of Lennox, to whome he claimed to be of kin,

rendered the stéeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiors, with condition to haue their liues onelie saued, and the capteine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediatlie vpon their comming foorth of the steeple, fire was giuen vnto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blowen vp into the aire, & raced downe to the ground. This doone, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing vpon an other, for that the same towne had euer beene a verie noisome neighbour to England.

The stéeple yéelded.

The church and stéeple of Annand blowen vp with powder.

The Englishmen had conceiued such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a péece of timber remaining vnburnt, they would cut the same in péeces with their bils. The countrie herewith was striken in such feare, that the next day all the Kilpatrikes and the Iordeins, the lards of Kirkmichell, Apilgirthe; Closburne, Howmendes, Nubie, and the Irrewings, the Bels, the Rigs, the Murreies, and all the clanes and surnames of the neather part of Annerdale, came in, and receiued an oth of obeisance, as subiects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their assured loialtie. The residue that would not come in and submit themselues, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell fetched awaie by the English light horssemen, that were sent abroad into the countrie for that purpose.

The Scots that came to assure themselues.

These things thus executed, the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles, receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the fiue & twentith of September, from the duke of Summerset, then lieng at Rockesburgh, about fortifieng of that place. The gouernor perceiuing thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now got such foot hold within the realme of Scotland, required the queene Dowager, and monsieur Doisell, liger ambassador for the French king, to persuade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The gouernors sute to the quéene Dowager, and to the French ambassadors.

The quéene and monsieur Doisell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to haue the quéene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduise) they vndertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernors desire, if he with the states of the realme would agrée that the quéene might be sent into France, and a contract made for hir bestowing in mariage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernor condescending héereunto, assembled the states, and by their aduises, passed certeine couenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The quéene Dowager promiseth aid out of France with condition.

The French king gladlie accepting this message, prepared a nauie of ships and gallies to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernor laied siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerset, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoiance of Clidesdale, apperteining to the gouernor and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obeisance of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennox to make a new inuasion into Scotland, and to vse for triall of their fidelities the helpe of two thousand Scotish light horssemen, that were alreadie assured & sworne to serue the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be imploied.

The gouernor sendeth into France for aid.

Broughtie crag besieged by the gouernor.

The earle of Lennox desirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father in law the earle of Angus, the lard of Drumlanrig, and those lards and gentlemen of the countries of Kile, Conningham, Renfreu, and Lennox, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horssemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and comming first to Dunfreis, where the generall assemblie was appointed of the two thousand assured Scotish light horssemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarse three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countries of Annandale, Ewisdale, Esdale, and Lidesdale.

The earle of Lennox entereth into Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne came thither in déed, but vnder a counterfet shew of good meaning, where in truth he ment nothing but craft to discouer all the earle of Lennox his purposes:

The earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

poses: who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to assist him, as he looked for, and moreouer, mistrusting the loialties of the maister of Maxwell, and the gentlemen of Nidesdale, meaning (as he tooke it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the quéene Dowager, and the lord gouernor, stood in perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without atchiuing some enterprise.

Now lord Harries.

The earle of Lennox in doubt what to doo.

The lard of Drumlanrig.

The earle of Glencarne had shewed to him two letters written by the lard of Drumlanrig, signifieng, that if the earle of Lennox came, accompanied onelie with Scotishmen, he would both serue him and honor him in the best wise he might: but if he brought those Englishmen in his companie, he would not onelie refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or otherwise, to resist him, and proffer him a repulse. The earle thus perceiuing that he was in danger to be betraied among them, and that there were all the deuises practised that might be to staie those that should come to the deuotion of the king of England, dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were suborned to betraie him; pretending to them, that he would follow the course of their deuises.

The earle of Lennox dissembleth with dissemblers.

But in the meane time he got togither the English capteins that were appointed to attend him, and all such Scotishmen as he knew he might trust. And meaning to scourge Drumlanrig, & to cut him short, for that he was the chiefe instrument to staie all the Scotishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gaue secret warning to all the capteins & leaders about nine of the clocke at night, that they should be readie with their men to mount on horsbacke at the sound of the trumpet, and kéepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Maxwell, the lards of Closburne, Kirkmichell, and others the gentlemen of Nidesdale and Annandale.

1547. *Buch.*

Horssemen sent foorth to scourge Drumlanrig.

He sent foorth six hundred chosen horssemen vpon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, vnder the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the capteins of the garrisons, who in the dawning of the next morrow, arriued neere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed foure hundred of their horssemen to passe to the forraie, who raised fire, and burnt two miles in length, both townes and villages on ech side, euen hard to the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, woorth to the value of two thousand marks, got three thousand shéepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, beside nine score horsses and mares.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number foure hundred men, departed with their preie homewards. The lard of Drumlanrig, lieng all this while in ambush with seuen hundred men, forbare to breake out to giue anie charge vpon his enimies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had kept a stale behind: but now after he perceiued that the most part of the enimies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & capteins of the English horssemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercelie followed after them with his power, in hope not onelie to ouerthrow and distres them, but also to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

Maister Henrie Wharton and those six score horssemen, retiring beyond the water of Nith, and perceiuing that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water rashlie to pursue them, returned, and gaue such a desperate charge vpon them, that Drumlanrig and his companie were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken vpon him, through the goodnesse of his horsse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this ouerthrow, and the brute of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the gouernor to leuie his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed to come from thence, the better to defend his countries of Clidesdale, and Dowglasdale. Sir Andrew Dudleie, capteine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie valiantlie, in defending the castell during this siege, so that the Scots certes lost diuerse hardie personages: and among other, Gawen Hamilton, the gouernors kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

He is put to flight.

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, the prior of Whiterne by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to obeie the king of England: and the inhabitants of the burrough and hauen townes of Wigton and Kirckowbre, the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, the lard and tutor of Bombie, the lard of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Nidesdale, and Galloway, euen to Whiterne, being foure score miles in length from Caerleill, through the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Garleis, (for the fauour they bare to the earle of Lennox) within two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came vnto Dunfreis, and there receiued an oth to be true to the king of England, and afterwards went with the earle to Caerleill, leauing the countrie in good quiet, aud the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Nidesdale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof. The prior of Whiterne.

And after that the forenamed persons had remained for a space at Caerleill, they deliuered pledges, but especiallie for Iohn Maxwell, & returned home to their countrie, as assured men & subiects to the K. of England. In this meane while, the gouernor hauing held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister Iames Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of horssemen, and appointed him with capteine Leirmouth (whome he left in Dundée, with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie against the Englishmen, if they issued foorth of Broughtie crag, to atchiue anie enterprise anie where néere thereabouts. The Scots deliuer pledges. Iames Holiburton. Capteine Leirmouth.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue of the councell in England, minding to bridle the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselues to the king of England, tooke order [with the lord of Wilton, who (as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, vntill the tenth kalends of Iune] for the building of one fort at Lauder, and an other at Hadington, as in the English historie it may appeare. And further it was appointed also, that about the end of Februarie, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with seuen hundred English horssemen, beside the assured Scots horssemen, and about foure or fiue thousand English footmen, should by the west borders inuade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Louchmaben, and there lodged. 1547. *Lesle.* *Fr. Thin.* Forts built. 1548. The earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton inuade Scotland.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilest they remained there, the earle of Angus being come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennox. But sith it was perceiued that this was doone, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the least wise to driue time, vpon consultation had with the maister of Maxwell, the lard of Cloesborne, and others the gentlemen assured of Nidesdale and Annandale; it was concluded, that the townes of Morton, Dusdere, and others, néere adioining togither in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawen to the field, and caught by some one meane or other. The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnight therefore, the forraie being set foorth, vnder the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horssemen, the maister of Maxwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongest them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton marched foorth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And where the earle of Angus was drawen to the castell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennox (but meaning to intrap him if it were possible,) he was so inuironed by the English footmen yer he could haue sufficient warnning, that he was forced to flée onelie with fiue persons in his companie. But now the English horssemen being come to Dusdere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire. Maister Henrie Wharton. The earle of Angus put to flight. Dusdere set on fire.

But the maister of Maxwell, with the other Scotish gentlemen and light horssemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horssemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to woorke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come

vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scotish footmen, with speares and lancestaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lard of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horssemen was aduanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dusdere.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be suerlie inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field neere to Dusdere, hoising vp a blacke pensill vpon a speares point for a token, reuolted wholie, and ioined themselues to the lard of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horssemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton were comming forward with their footmen, neere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumins, they bruted it abroad, that the English horssemen were quite ouerthrowen.

The reuolting of the assured Scots.

A false rumor spred.

The earle of Lennox, beholding the maner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horsse, willing the lord Wharton to doo the like; for this day (said he), I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horssemen fetching a compasse in retiring backe from Dusdere, came neere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horssemen had beene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horssemen thus comming in, and perceiuing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue driuen them through shrinking backe into anie disorder.

But such was the violence of the shocke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the English horssemen, that the Scots were therewith put out of arraie, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Maxwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awaie. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Nith. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbeie, Christie Irrewing of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hempsfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennox and the Englishmen returned thither, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the councels pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

The Scots put to flight.

Dunfreis spoiled.

There were at the first euill news spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this iornie, how the earle of Lennox and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derbie, the Lord Scroope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enimies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scotishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good news. Herewith were letters directed downe from the councell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certeine pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Maxwels pledge, being one of his neerest kinsmen of the house of the Herries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlauerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Lawder and Hadington built, the castels of Yester and Dawkith woone, all the mils burnt within foure miles of each hand of Edenburgh, and other exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expressed.

Pledges executed.

1548. *Buch.*
1547. *Lesle.*

A nauie prepared at Brest in Britaine.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chieflie to command in the same: monsieur de Desse lieutenant generall,

monsieur

monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, the countée Reingraue coronell of the Almains, monsieur de Malleraie, monsieur Doisell, Pietro Strozzie coronell of the Italians, monsieur Etauges capteine of the horssemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other woorthie personages, and men of approued valiancie. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middest of Iune came into the rode before Leith, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arriuall into France (as saith Lesleus. libro 10. pag. 491.) Chappelle Bironne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therwith) that there should a greater armie shortlie come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scotish lords, the French power went to besiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themselues in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streictlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constreine the Englishmen to yéeld. They forbare yet to giue a generall assault, bicause they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men as might haue béene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

Hadington besieged.

Why the Frenchmen forbare to giue an assault

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable, that with small paine they might haue entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wils in them so to haue doone, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they within stood in great necessitie of things behouefull for the defense of the towne. Wherevpon sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horssemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessaries, greatlie to the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterprise till it was doone in the night season, by the good and fortunate conduction of them that had the conueiance thereof.

But after this, there came a power of English horsmen to the number of little lesse than two thousand demilances, light horsmen, & harquebussiers on horsbacke, vnder the leading of sir Robert Bowes, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Henrie Wharton, capteine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer rashlie within danger of the whole French power, were ouerthrowne and chased: sir Robert Bowes, & sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capteins, gentlemen and souldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this ouerthrow of those horssemen, the French remooued their siege from the places were they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent foorth of England vnder the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constreined to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie expressed; to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

The English horssemen ouerthrown

The earle of Shrewsburie remoueth the siege from Hadington.

But this is to be remembred, that whilest the siege remained at Hadington, by a conuention or assemblie of the lords it was decréed, that the quéene should be sent into France. And therevpon monsieur de Villegaignon, with foure gallies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, hée might passe about by the Iles of Orkeneie, and so by the west Iles, till he came to Dunbreton where the yoong queene laie. This iournie he fortunatelie atchiued, the same neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with gallies.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies compasse about the realme of Scotland by Dungesbie head.

1547. *Lesle.* At his arriuall & conuenient landing at Dunbreton, he found all things readie prouided, necessarie for the imbarking of the quéene, that he might conuey hir into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iournie in hand. Herevpon she being brought aboord into the kings owne gallie, wherin monsieur de Brezze was also appointed to be aboord with hir, as he that had beene sent with expresse commandement to sée hir conueied into France, [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Areskine, and Leuingston, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the yoong quéene, as Marie Leuingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who togither with Villegaignon shewed such diligence in atchiuing that enterprise, that finally they arriued with prosperous wind and weather in the hauen of Brest in Britaine with that yoong quéene, béeing as then betwixt fiue and six yéeres of age.

Monsieur de Brezze.

Fr. Thin.

The yoong quéene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thin. (*Lesleus lib.* 10. *pag.* 494.

* From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept hir right course to the kings palace of S. Germins in the towne of Laion, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the comming thither of the king, at that time pacifieng the seditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, hée gladded all men with his presence, and prouided that there was a large houshold, as well of the noble men and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the yoong quéene, which he still increased (as the quéene grew more in yeeres) vntill such time as she might be maried.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there. After that the siege of Hadington was raised by the English armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen therevpon retired themselues vnto Muskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themselues within the same. And herewith there came to them fiftéene thousand Scotishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwards to assaile them, they found them so stronglie imbattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbare to set vpon them in that ground of so great disaduantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Hadington, and after homewards, hauing furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

The Frenchmen in campe at Muskelburgh.

Sée more hereof in England.

Here is to be noted, that the English fléet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occasions might haue beene offered. But the lord admerall perceiuing no likelihood of battell by land, tooke vpon him to atchiue some other enterprises, and first comming to Brent Iland, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chiefest in the riuer; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But Iohn Erskin lard of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such dailie and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterprise could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so preuented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and happie was he that might first get againe to shipboord.

The lord admerall of England.

The lard of Dun.

The Englishmen repelled at saint Menets.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

* For Iames Steward, brother to the queene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other few citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did also ioine themselues, vnderstanding the cause of that assemblie. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flie awaie. But this Iames Steward (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enimies, that foorthwith he ouerthrew them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides thrée hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The earle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Hadington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen

giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Desse, remaining in campe at Muskelburgh, hearing that the English armie was remooued homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horsmen and footmen being left in Hadington, were readie to come foorth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he tooke aduise, to trie if he might draw them foorth to their losse, and therevpon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Reingraue appointed to choose foorth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with thrée hundred horssemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This doone, a few horssemen were drawne foorth to draw the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enimies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horssemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and streight had the French in chase; who retiring, mainteined the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Desse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake foorth, who togither with the horssemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enimies, that they were incontinentlie discomfited: and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euen hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and aboue an hundred taken prisoners.

The English men put to the woorsse at a skirmish neere to Hadington.

After this, monsieur de Desse raised from Muskelburgh, and comming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarking themselues in the gallie that yet remained, tooke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chappelle de Biron remained coronell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furniture on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approoued skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arriuall of the English nauie & armie to the succors of them in Hadington, monsieur de Mallerie vice-admerall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Wilton afflicted the countries of Tiuidale and Liddesdale, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partlie touched in the historie of England.

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Mallerie vice admerall of France.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edenburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarelling with two or thrée Scotishmen; and falling togither by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the fraie, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awaie. Wherevpon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely Iames Hamilton lard of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, with his sonne; and maister William Steward one of the quéens seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled togither in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeuors therin, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edenburgh.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edenburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Desse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the brute thereof gaue foorth (for it was rather increased ye may be sure than diminished) vndertooke an enterprise in hand to win the towne of Hadington by a camisado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capteins and souldiers

The French men giue a camisado to Hadington, &

are beaten backe.

souldiers then within the towne, yée may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seuen score (some say three hundred) slaine in the base court.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. *Vipian Ful.*

But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, sithence the lord gouernor raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortlie after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not preuaile, he tooke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constreined to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yéere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundée, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Desse with his Frenchmen was comming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

He raiseth his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundée abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Reingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etauges with his companie of horssemen were sent before, who comming to Dundée, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staieng till monsieur de Desse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going foorth to view the fort, were in danger to haue beene caught yer they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lanceknights that were there with them (part of Conrad Phennings bands) issued foorth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue béene distressed, if the Reingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troope. To be short, monsieur de Desse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seuen ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundée, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This doone, he returned to Edenburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

The Reingraue.

Dundée fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. 1548.

* While these things were in dooing, the gouernor of Scotland sent the lord Carneigeie knight (and senator) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ransome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntleie being prisoner: which if he could not obteine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not set the earle frée, vntill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this prouiso, that he should not withdraw himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Vane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntleie was committed to certeine kéepers, who should carie him from London to Morphet, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle dooth there looke for his wiues comming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to hir. For he had agréed with George Kar, that he should one night priuilie bring to him thither, two of the swiftest horsses that he could get to flie awaie vpon them. According wherevnto Kar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 498.

The erle prepareth a supper for his kéepers, wherevnto they were solemnelie inuited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaie the tediousnes of the night. At length (as though he had plaied inough at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his kéepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going vnto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discerne anie thing, it was so extreame darke ouer all the element) easilie vnderstand that all things were readie for his iournie. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in good hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnaduisedlie (as doubtfull men are woont

woont to doo) burst out in these speeches; "Oh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpenesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknowne way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iourneie." His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) answered, that those words were vsed as a prouerbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Morton, vttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Whervpon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth downe againe to cards.

After which suddenlie he rose from them, as vrged by loosenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he foorthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leapeth foorth, found the horsses readie furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iournie did flie to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed ouer the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iournie in the house of Kar, he went the same night (being Christmas eeue) to Edenburgh, where he was ioifullie & honorablie receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soone as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedilie run to horsse, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they seeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the erle put them out of all doubt for obteining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedome to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners, who (vpon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, restored vnto him the chancellorship, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edenburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedilie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.)

Hume castell recouered by the Scots.

On saint Stephans day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and woone out of the Englishmens hands. One of the surname of the Humes, a man of threescore yeers of age, was the first that entered on the wall, sleieng one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that side. * Not long after, when the capteine of Falkecastell had commanded the husbandmen adioining, to bring thither (at a certeine day) great store of vittels, the yoong men there abouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laieng them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laieng downe that which they brought) they suddenlie (by a signe giuen) set vpon the keepers of the gates, slue them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and inioied the castell for their countrimen.)

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15. 1549. *Leslie.*

1546.

About the same time, the Reinsgraue returned into France, leauing his fiue ensignes of Almains behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Retonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Etauges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English historie: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbreton foure bands of souldiers, Prouancois and Gascoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of three moneths. Sir Iames Wilford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Desse was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Iedworth, to preuent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof she stood in some doubt.

The Reinsgraue returneth into France.

Monsieur de Etauges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir Iames Wilford taken.

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lard of Fernihurst requested him to helpe to recouer his castell of Fernihurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Desse

taking with him monsieur de Oisell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hasted thither with the chiefest part of his armie, sending before certeine capteins with their bands to surueie the house; who at their comming thither, vsed such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enimies that came foorth to giue them the skirmish; and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

The castell of Fernihurst woone by the Frenchmen.

Héerewith a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, burst in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had doone them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scotishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and yeelded himselfe to monsieur de Dussac, and la Mouthe Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the prese: but suddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished,

The crueltie of the Scots.

smote off his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or fiue yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots séemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken héere at Fernihurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Desse returning to Iedworth, aided by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceassed not in occasions of aduantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Cornewall (an old house built after the ancient maner of fortifieng) was taken by the Frenchmen, and spoiled of all things woorth the bearing awaie. Also capteine Cobios a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horssemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horssemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and tooke more prisoners (whome he brought to Iedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

The castell of Cornewall woone.

Capteine Cobios.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent foorth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of horssemen that belonged to monsieur de Etauges then prisoner, and fiue hundred footmen beside Scots, to make a road into England: which enterprise he atchiued in burning townes and villages, and returned without anie great losse susteined at that time. Within

Another made by monsieur de Desse.

two daies after his returne to Iedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field péeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, tooke the castell

Fourd castell woone.

of Fourd and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countrie thereabouts, situat within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Fourd, which was

Thomas Kar.

kept by Thomas Kar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it, remooving that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scotish ground.

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certeine light horssemen; but neuerthelesse the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Iedworth, hauing sore indamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the

Scots gaine by spoile.

value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen sore gréeued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Iedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterprise after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoiance, assembled a power togither at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Iedworth.

Monsieur de Desse fléeth out of Iedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrosse, and after further off within the countrie, fearing to be constreined to giue battell. Which he could not haue doone without manifest losse of his féeble armie, hauing not past fiftéene hundred footmen, and fiue hundred horssemen able to haue doone seruice: for such was

the

the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie susteined through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Iedworth, that what through sickenesse and hurts receiued in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselues; insomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselues happilie escaped. The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed fiue and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriuing at the Basse, neere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant woords to haue persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yeelded the place into their hands. But perceiuing their persuasions would not be regarded, they tooke their course vp into the Forth, and fiuding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized vpon them as a wished preie: and the morrow next insuing, at the verie breake of day, they came before Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which meane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the place could be put in anie strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Iland foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the pioners and the Iland against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them. Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

After the English nauie was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the queene mother being at Edenburgh, determined with all diligence to imploie all such forces as they might make about the recouering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to anie perfection. Heerevpon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, imbarked in the gallie of monsieur de Villegaignon, rowed foorth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectuall wise, that approching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same. La Chapelle de Biron.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arriued at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horssemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the queene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got togither within Leith hauen all the botes that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie sundaie, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the breake of day the queene was come to Leith, to see the imbarking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselues abroad, & the comfortable woords of the queene greatlie incouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Desse and the other capteins, till they were all set forward. The diligence of the Scotish queene. The forwardnesse of the souldiers.

Villegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discouering the vessels at their setting foorth, conceiued streightwaies what was intended: and therevpon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approch, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and droue the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strond vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plumpe togither, dooing their best to defend the place against the assailants. Inskith assaulted by the Frenchmen.

But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being slaine with George Applebie esquire, a capteine of an ensigne of footmen sent foorth of Derbishire, and one Gaspar Pizoni, that was capteine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constreined to retire vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slaine diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their Capteine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slaine.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was striken through the hand with an harquebuse shot, and his burguenet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conueie him into one of the gallies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgian. Also a gentleman named Desbories, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slaine with a pike by the hands of the forenamed Cotton the English generall.

Inskith recouered by the Frenchmen.

Thus was Inskith recouered out of the Englishmens hands, after it had beene in their possession by the space of sixtéene daies, the more to the high contentation of monsieur de Desse, for that at the same time he stood vpon his discharge and returne into France, being appointed to surrender vp his place to monsieur de Thermes, latelie before arriued (as ye haue heard) with commission to receiue the same. So that monsieur de Desse, to end his charge with the glorie of this atchiued enterprise, estéemed it much to stand with his honor: and no doubt with the swelling humor of the glorie thence redounding he was blowen vp; as in cases of victorie it commeth to passe in them that make a good hand: whereas the vanquished (God wot) are contrarilie qualified.

Monsieur de Desse returneth into France.

Monsieur de Thermes succeedeth in his place.

Shortlie after, he returned into France with the gallies, and monsieur de Thermes succéeded in his place for the generall conduct of the French armie in Scotland. Who by the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scotish lords, determined with a siege volant to kéepe the Englishmen in Hadington from vittels and all other reliefe. First therefore, after that Desse was departed towards France, monsieur de Thermes with his Frenchmen and some Scots incamped at Aberladie, where they began the foundation of a fort, so to impeach the Englishmen from setting on land anie vittels there, to be conueid from thence to Hadington, as before they had doone.

A fort builded at Aberladie.

In this meane time, the Englishmen had increased their numbers of Almaines, and other strangers, and not onelie furnished their forts with new supplies of men; but also had an armie in the fields which lay most an end at Dunglas, and one while besieged Hume castell. But after they saw themselues disappointed of the meane, whereby they supposed to haue recouered it, they raised from thence, and spoiled the most part of Tiuidale and other the marches thereabout; in reuenge (as they alleged) of the disloialtie and breach of promise proued in the assured Scots. Generall of this armie was the earle of Rutland, lieutenant at that present of the north parts, a noble man, right valiant, wise, well aduised, and staied in his dealings, verie honorable and courteous in all his demeanor.

The earle of Rutland.

He was accompanied with capteins of good estimation and approoued prowesse, as sir Richard Maners, sir Francis Leake, sir Iohn Sauage, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Oswald Wulstrop, & others. He so behaued himselfe in that dangerous time of the vprores and rebellions of the commons, through the more part of the realme of England; that although the appointed forces against Scotland were staied, and turned to the suppression of the rebels, to the incouragement (no doubt) both of Scots and Frenchmen in Scotland, yet they were so fronted and kept in aw by that armie vnder the earle of Rutland, that they rather lost than gained in this season at the Englishmens hands.

At one time the same armie, vnder the conduct of the said earle, passing foorth with a conueie of vittels vnto Hadington, came so suddenlie vpon the Frenchmen where they laie in campe, that whether through default of their scouts, or other negligence vsed by them, or through the great diligence and prouident forwardnesse shewed by the Englishmen, the Frenchmen were in such hazard to haue béene vtterlie distressed, that if the Englishmen had not doubted more, than by anie was thought néedfull, they might haue ouerthrowen, taken, & slaine the Frenchmen handsmooth (as was supposed) at their pleasure. But the Englishmen euen at their first comming in sight of them (as it stood with the reason of warre, eith by the aduenturing rashlie oftentimes in such cases too late repentance easilie insueth) staied, the better to conceiue of that which they had to doo. Wherby the Frenchmen had leasure to march their waies a maine pase, till they were got out of danger: for after they once beheld all the troops of the English horssemen almost at their elbowes, and herewith the

The Frenchmen in danger to haue béene distressed.

battell

battell of the Almaines suddenlie appearing on the hill top readie to come downe vpon them, it was no need to bid them packe awaie. The Frenchmen retire.

The Scotish light horssemen comming on the backe of the English armie, perceiued where the Almaines (to make them readie to giue battell) had throwen off their clokes, and left the same (with all their baggage and stuffe which they had about them) in keeping of none but of their women and boies: wherevpon those Scotish horssemen, not minding to suffer such a preie to escape their hands, came galloping in, and tooke all the best stuffe they could lay hold vpon, and returned in safetie, before anie enimie could come backe to the rescue. The Almains were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments and other necessaries; but there was no helpe then to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were withdrawen and got quite out of danger. The baggage of the English Lansquenets spoiled by the Scotish horssemen.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, passed foorth to Hadington, with their cariages laden with vittels, to the great comfort of them within that fortresse, standing in great necessitie before this conueie came. This summer also, and a little before the vittelling thus of Hadington, vpon knowledge had that Iulian Romero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged in Coldingham, six miles distant from Berwike: certeine bands of Almains and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudden, and surprising the Spaniards before they were aware of their approch, set vpon them in their lodgings, tooke, and slue in maner the whole number of them. Hadington vittelled. Iulian Romero distressed.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raised by the commons of that realme; but also with the warres which the French king made against them, within the countrie of Bullognois, so that they had not meanes to imploie their forces against Scotland as they had determined to haue doone; as partlie before, and more largelie in the historie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof, anon after Michaelmas they gaue ouer the keeping of Hadington, and raising their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioising of Louthian, to whome that towne had giuen occasion of great troubles and calamities. Vpon the giuing ouer thus of Hadington, the gouernor and the queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recouer againe all that the Englishmen held within the bounds of Scotland. 1549. Hadington raced and left by the Englishmen.

But first it was thought good to assaie the winning of Broughtie crag; for it sounded (as was thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estimation, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the English should keepe foot so far within the realme, in despight of their whole puissance. Herevpon monsieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and did so much, that with shot of canon to make batterie, and other meanes of inforcements, that giuing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen, they entred the fort the twentith of Februarie by fine force, so that all those within were either taken or slaine. Whervpon those English also that kept the castell, rendred vp the same without further resistance: amongest other prisoners, sir Iohn Lutterell the capteine was one. 1550. Broughtie crag woon by the Frenchmen.

In this meane time there were certeine commissioners appointed betwixt the two kings of England and France to commune of a peace: but because they continued long in their treatie yer they could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceassed not in occasions of aduantage to pursue the warre, so that comming before Lowder they besieged that fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that issued foorth, to incounter them, droue them in at the gates with some losse on either part. And this doone, the French held them within so streictlie besieged, that if peace had not béene the sooner concluded, sir Hugh Willoughbie capteine of that fort must néeds haue yeelded through lacke of shot, & other necessarie things seruing for defense; which were spent, so that they were constreined to vse their pewter vessell in stead of bullets. But as it fortuned, a peace was accorded, passed and confirmed, that A treatie for peace. Sir Hugh Willoughbie. A peace concluded.

that verie selfe time betwixt the two kings of England and France, through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the commissioners appointed to deale therein, whose names insue.

The names of the commissioners appointed to treat of peace.

First for the king of England, the right honorable Iohn earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and lord priuie seale; William Pager lord of Beaudesert, knight also of the garter; sir William Peter knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & sir Iohn Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French toong. For the French king were appointed Francis de Mommorance, lord of Rochpot, knight of the order of saint Michaell, and lieutenant for the same king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Vandosme; Gasper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon, knight also of the order, and capteine generall of the footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrew Guillard lord Mortier, knight also of the order, and one of the same kings priuie councell; and Guillaume Bouchettell lord of Sassie, knight likewise of the order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And for the Scots (as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 506. D. Painter bishop of Rosse.]

Fr. Thin.

The articles of the peace.

Among other articles comprised in this peace, it was couenanted, that all such forts, castels, and places as the Englishmen held in anie part within the Scotish dominions, should be deliuered and restored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas, Roxburgh, and Aimouth, which the Englishmen had built and raised out of the ground, should be raced and throwen downe, to auoid all occasions of new controuersies that might grow by reason of keeping or defending the same: so as the peace now concluded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept and obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scotland, as England and France, and betwixt all and euerie the subiects of the same realmes, both by sea and land. Monsieur de Mourret was sent into Scotland with the copie of this peace, by whose means it was proclamed anon after Easter about the beginning of Aprill, and euerie thing vsed and ordered according to the articles of the agréement concluded.

Monsieur de Mourret.

The Frenchmen returne home.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were imbarked at Leith in sixtéene French ships, and certeine Scotish ships, and departed from thence into France. A few there were, as Nigropellice and Saint Falcise, capteins of light horssemen, with others that pased through England, and so home into their countrie. Moreouer the marquesse de Maine, after duke Daumals comming ouer into England about the same time for an hostage, passed afterwards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his sister queene Dowager, and shortlie after returned. They mourned both for the death of their father Claud de Loraine, the first duke of Guise, who deceassed the eightéenth of Aprill this presest yeare 1550.

The marquesse de Maine.

The death of the first duke of Guise.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 503.

* Now when the French departed out of Scotland, there were manie Scots appointed vnto them; partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should offer them anie iniurie in the streict of the British sea, and partlie for honors cause to bring them on their iourneie into France. By whose departure Scotland was freelie deliuered from all forren souldiers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of Insketh and the castell of Dunbar committed to their charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chappellie, and diuerse other capteins of France, remained also in Scotland (after that the others were imbarked to be gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and beholding the cities, searching the castels, and marking the bulworks of defense) did constantlie affirme, that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of December, in which they all went into France with the queene Dowager.

Buchanan. lib. 15.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the French) with forren nations, which continued three yeares: so was there within the wals and kingdome warre and dissention amongest the Scots; which was most perillous and troublesome. For they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews and others) did vse all things with extreame cruelties & couetousnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all things, as though it had beene permitted

vnto

vnto him. For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he permitted the slaughter of William Chreichton to go vnpunished, the same William being slaine in the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight) by Robert Semple: next followed the death of Iohn Maluill an old man of Fife; who next vnto the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chiefest of his familiars. This Iohn had his letters (which he wrote to an Englishman, to whome he did commend a capteine his friend) intercepted. In which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie fault, yet was the author of them punished with the losse of his head. Whose patrimonie made his death seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to the yoonger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these wicked parts did perteine to few, the enimie thereof to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For by reason of this vnskilfull gouernement of the kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended the common people; the gouernor began to be had in contempt almost of all men.]

In September following, the quéene Dowager accompanied with the earls of Huntleie, Cassils, Marshall, Southerland, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie tooke the sea, and sailing to France landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the prior of Capoa, & Leon Strozzie, sent and appointed with six gallies to haue the conduction of hir. From Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king then laie, of whome she was right courteouslie receiued, and had such attendance and seruice doone vnto hir, during the time of hir tariance there, as stood with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the high praise likewise of the king and his court in that behalfe. The quéene Dowager saileth into France.

The causes of the quéene Dowagers going into France were, that now hauing disposed all things at home in Scotland, she might renew the old league in France, she might sée hir daughter and hir other friends; and procure the gouernement of the realme to hir selfe. For the ambitious and subtill woman did thinke in hir mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanor would soone be put out of his office, and that she might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before hir shipping into France, and whilest they were preparing, the earle of Huntleie commanded William Makintosche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilest he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first depriued of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earles of Cassils, and others that fauored the Makintosche) did so stir them against Huntleie, that a commotion and tumult had béene raised by them, vnlesse the wisedome of the quéene had appeased the furie of their minds. *Buchanan. lib. 15. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 508.*

1551. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 508.*

For although the quéene certeine yeares after, had vndoone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Makintosche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances vnto the sonne of Makintosche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwéene Huntleie and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnreuenged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Makintosche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruellie kill him (as the betraior of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministred and blew the cole that fired Huntleie, to make the said William Makintosche out of the waie. Lanchlane Makintosche apprehended.

A little before which, the maister of Ereskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glascow were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioising of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer anie violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuasion of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in deteining their ships and merchandize. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 509.*

Thus

Thus much digressed from the quéene Dowagers going into France, wherevnto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rone, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome vnto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shews, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michaell, he admitted the earle of Huntleie and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the queene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures séemed the more augmented, in that the yoong quéene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lesleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eie, the king of France, the two quéens of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of the citizens most ioifullie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntleie, and the other Scots; that he séemed for euer most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesies; where he remained all the winter.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 410.

Now the quéene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of hir comming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Loreine (hir brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongest others, the chiefest cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed [illegible]. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet she would wholie res[illegible] determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without anie tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Wherevpon the quéene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuade the king to confirme the dukedome of Chatelerault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires, & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Murreie to the earle of Huntleie (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothseie to his sonne, which had maried the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the erledome of Morton, to the sonne of George Dowglasse. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yoong quéene. These things now doone, the French king carefullie receiued the yoong quéene of Scots into his protection; vntill she should come vnto more sufficient yeers, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to doo, the French king wold then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

Buchanan. lib. 16. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 410.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the queene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rosse (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Gawin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbeie of Kiluinin was giuen in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betweene the king of France & the quéene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quéene mother should susteine the parts and place of the queene hir daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, sith the same mostlie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yéeld therevnto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chatelerault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassadour to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortlie after, the bishop

of

of Rosse was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoo did wring from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie, and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obteined, the bishop of Rosse goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had doone. Wherevpon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbeie of Labseie in France.

Whilest these things were in dooing, Edward the sixt, king of England, did send the marqeesse of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadors to Henrie the second, king of France, then sojourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in mariage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quéene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Aniow, Nants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before seene since he atteined the crowne. After certeine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinblew. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 511.* Blois.

But the quéene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Iamieslie: where remaining a certeine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duches of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certeine griefe (for hir father latelie deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quéene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorablie interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kinred, and hauing obteined a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots doo vrge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie therevnto. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 512.*

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother mooued and persuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iournie through England into Scotland. By occasion wherof, loosing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and happilie landed at Portesmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriuall comming to king Edward the sixt, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to interteine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshire, Sussex, and Surreie (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had béene there most honorablie receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after noone, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 512.*

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Dowglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scotish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke, and the lord treasuror were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the vpper end thereof, and the erle of Warwike holding the sword before him. She at hir approching to him, kneeled downe, and he courteouslie tooke hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quéenes chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while. Hir receiuing at the court.

She dined on the quéenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both togither; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all maner of costlie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set foorth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quéenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where

he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she tooke hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

F. This. * And here I must not forget what Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yoong quéene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the mariage bed of king Edward the sixt. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that mariage, and the willingnesse of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) bée well answered, as matters that not verie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithfull seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Rosse) but set them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leauing the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 118. When the quéene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasurie, openeth the monuments, laieth abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obteine the good will of the queene. For he after persuaded hir with manie spéeches, that she shuld giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decréed by the Scotish nobilitie: which he prooueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the cots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Therewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwais be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwéene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Wherevnto the queene both presentlie and wiselie answered, that the cause of hir daughters mariage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protector of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnaduisedlie doone of him, to séeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the mariage bed with faire promises and flattering spéeches. Whervnto she ioined, that the Scots were so vehementlie pressed by him, that they were inforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obteining whereof, they were vrged to leaue the yoong quéene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, otherwise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labor the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to sée if hir trauell and furtherance could doo anie thing with him therein. Thus much Lesleus, and so againe to the matter.)

The sixt of Nouember, the queene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing foorth at Bishops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasuror brought hir to Shordich church, and there tooke their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with iauelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in black veluet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke veluet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke iauelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasuror had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with iauelins in like maner, well apparelled: which three companies of horsmen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as she passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltam towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentle men there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aswell for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the prouision for their horsses, was borne

borne and allowed by the king. [Besides which, (as saith the same Lesleus) Richard Shelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dudleie baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorablie receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume.] The earle of Huntleie, and diuerse other of the Scotish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrosse, about the latter end of December. *Fr. Thin.*

* After that the quéene was arriued in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bralles which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Argile, and by the quéenes trauell, the controuersies mooued about the archbishoprikes of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishoprikes of Dunkeld and Brechine, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchechafrie, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens children, and some vpon such persons as woorthilie deserued them.) *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 513.*

Doctor Wanthop, whome Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scotishman borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus à latere* by Iulius the third, deceassed this yéere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after atteined to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (whereto he must néeds aspire altogither by the eare) (sith he was quite depriued of the benefit of sight) coopled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing. The archbishop of Armachane. 1551.

This yeere in the moneth of Iune, the quéene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of Scotland; and at Inuernes, Elgin, Bamf, Aberden, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redresse of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glascow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countrie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuieng of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redéemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart. 1552. Wrongs done are by iustice redressed.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Whereupon, when nothing séemed to want for the setling of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by driuing booties of cattell from the borders of England, séeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Iedworth, and remooued such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betweene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councell kept at Bithquoe, where the Caluinists with their doctrine were condemned and accurssed; and all things decréed in the councell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other néedfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 515.*

In which meane time, Dauid Panter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfullie consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassador legier, came out of France to Iedworth: where, when 1552.

when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Rosse, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knighthood certeine borderers, who had deserued well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more inlarged toward the care of their countrie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cesford and Fernihurst, Andrew Kar of Littleden, Couldinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.) *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 516.*

The quéene mother séeketh to be gouernor.

In this iorneie (wherein the gouernor was thus the iustice) the quéene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quéene came to sufficient yéeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good wils in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuie bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handeled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yéere following, the gouernor agréed to surrender vp the gouernance into hir hands, hir daughter the yoong queene being not yet full twelue yeeres of age. 1553. *Lesl.* 1553.

The gouernement is resigned vnto the quéene.

The gouernor was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *Quietus est* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, iewels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made, during the time he had exercised the office of gouernor. And foorthwith the queene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 517. 1552.

But before the gouernor had consented to the queenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for she well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yoong quéene had atteined to the age prescribed for hir full yeeres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine anie longer vnder tutors, than to the age of foureteene; & the quéene (as it is in other women) at the yéeres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yoong quéene chose amongst other (as after shall more appéere) the quéene Dowager to be one: wherevpon, the quéene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yeeres of twelue. Against which the gouernor did stiflie contend, constantlie affirming that the yoong quéene did not excéed the age of elenen yeeres.

Whervpon the quéene, to take from the gouernor all starting-holes and other shifts, dooth vrge the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yeere in which the Scotish king or quéene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernors to rule vnder them. Which the gouernor perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quéene it did not appeere; sith it séemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies héeretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appéered from the Bruses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or doo what he could, the gouernor did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appéere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things doone in this place: which is, that whilest the gouernor & the queene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 519.

with

with hope to scape vnpunished) did renew the memorie of old iniuries. For heerevpon it happened, that manie of the familie of the Kars did (at Edenburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slaie Baleleuche the knight. Besides which, the yoonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Rewen, did publikelie thrust through and slea iohn Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yoong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betweene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into sute of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that verie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoeuer with force or armes did either pursue or abate, recouer or lose in anie action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter foorthwith (euen in that moment of time) iudged against him.] 1552. Soudrie slaughters of the nobilitie.

This yeere, the sixt of Iulie, Edward the sixt of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succéeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to K. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requireth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and vaded. Onelie this is woorthie the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospell, if God had not (for the vnwoorthinesse of the English people) taken the yoong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.] 1553. *Abr. Fl.*

* About this time, Norman Lesle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did priuilie conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstood of the gouernor, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Norman to flée to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the sixt; of whome, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteouslie receiued, with yéerelie pensions out of the exchéker or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates. *Fr. Thin. Lesley lib. 10. pag. 520.* 1554.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome (earnestlie vrging that their pensions might be paied to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Norffolke did publikelie say in the councell, that it séemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie anie pensions to such as had murthered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Norman was almost stroken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Brunstone, whom this Lesle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scotish light horssemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, woorthilie, and honorablie behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the fift then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies formost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmelie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happilie performed against the enimie) following the battell at Renton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing néere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieued by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Montrulle, where he shortlie after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards

whom (after his death) the French king was yet so louing (for the singular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Brunstone) to be receiued into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

The couenants and articles are perfected. 1555. *Buch.* 1554.

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the couenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quéene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thervpon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edenburgh, the tenth of Aprill next insuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edenburgh vnto the lord Erskin to kéepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agréement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edenburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the couenants of agréement had & made betwixt the quéene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quéene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lorrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chatelerault vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it apperteined.

A parlement. Edenburgh castell deliuered to the lord Erskin to keepe. The quéene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made duke.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the thrée estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in which they bound themselues to warrant the queenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbreton (as saith Buchanan] with other things conteined in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put therevnto their seales. Which doone, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the queene mother, & monsieur Doisell being there present, who receiued the same in the quéenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission shewed, giuen by the quéene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quéene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she tooke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorised in the quéenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quéene regent.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quéene.

The quéene giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quéene mother. *Fr. Thin.*

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoritie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoritie of Charles Iames the sixt, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declination of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edenburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quéene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselues. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of Iohn Areskine, which he should not deliuer to anie, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

Buch. lib. 16.

About this time, the quéene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntleie to apprehend Iohn Mudiard (or Muderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable théefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked déeds: which iournie it is supposed that Gordon did not verie faithfullie discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, wherein he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spred false rumors thereof, laieng all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did onelie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Leslæus lib. 10. pag. 522. Buchan. lib. 16.

Whilest the quéene prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William

William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yoong man liberallie brought vp with the earle of Murreie for kinreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle; for none other cause but for that he would not yéeld him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him frée and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quéene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge woorthie anie punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he persuaded the yoong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yéeld him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be prouided for, which the yoong man did accordinglie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yoong and giltlesse man in his absence, supposing thereby to transferre all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not doone by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtill wit of Gordon the earle of Huntleie, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie persuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Whereupon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and variétie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine yeares, & some would onelie haue an excessiue mulct to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were reiected by the chiefe of his enimies, Gilbert earle of Cassiles. For he, perceiuing by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betweene Scotland and France; did vtterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtilie and vnconstantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge, of and vpon such as were emulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that anie domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustome the French to shed the Scotish bloud. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Murreie, & other things.

The quéene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Cassils treasuror, & Veilmort a Frenchman controller; also an other Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, kéeper of the great seale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntleie, who was chancellor and then in ward; [and Iames Machill register, and the abbat of Couper keeper of the priuie seale, as saith Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 521. Bonald gouernor of the Iles.] These mens counsell and monsieur Doisels she vsed principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Murreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Orkenie and Sheatland, and to the earledome of Mar, and of the quéenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of fiue yeares. But yet afterwards the quéene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gaue to hir fiue thousand pounds in monie.

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Huntleie renounced manie things.

*About the same time Marie the quéene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betweene both nations, and that their commissioners should méet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Kinwardie, and Iohn Bellenden of Achnowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallesse, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awaie from both nations. Richard Norton, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Norham castell in England, was at that time

Fr. Thin. Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 522.

1551.

cause

The law for fishing.

cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take awaie anie fish that was taken; that he should paie the mulct of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

Couenants for seamen.

Further it was agreed, that whosoeuer by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might freelie by land or sea, either on horssebacke or on foot returne home. Prouided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriuall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclere deane of Glascow, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with Iames the fift, aswell for the singularitie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 523.

1555.

But in the time of the gouernor, the courtiers (not greatlie estéeming such wisedome & learning) made no account of him, although the quéene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great honor; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was foorthwith both author and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orchades chiefe president, and to the other senators, that there should be new lawes made for the shortending of sutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awaie of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more hollie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had beene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence vsed by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awaie vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion, that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Maine (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence therevnto) come into Scotland to sée his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stewkleie of England now knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 524.

1555.

In Iulie was a parlement held at Edenburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these séeme woorthie to remaine chronicled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsuntide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go foorth) should assemble armed, to cast foorth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants méeting togither, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Hood a wild or vplandish man. Thirdlie, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwéene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

A parlement.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 524.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 525. Buchanan. lib. 16.

In the verie same yeare 1555. in the eight kalends of August, fell the mariage of Marie queene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassadors were sent from the quéene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulat their mariage. Besides which, these ambassadors did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to méet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilest the quéene regent did administer the affaires of south Scotland, Iohn Steward earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen companie, to breake the force of Iohn Mudiard or Muderace. At what time this earle vsed such courtesie and counsell in pacifieng, and such celeritie and wisedome in executing of things;

things; that he brought the seditious Mudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernor) to the quéene, to whome the said Mudiard did willinglie yeeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

To which man, the queene (in respect to singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of hir nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Meffens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the fox (as the prouerbe is amongest vs) cannot liue without his starting holes; so this Mudiard and his companions, imbued with more than foxlike conditions, did (deceiuing their keepers) returne to their owne caues, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quéene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oires: in which she might bridle the euils of wcked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Iulie, the quéene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Rothes, Cassils, and Marshall; the bishop of Aberden and Rosse, M. Doisell, Rubie, and others went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie (the faults known by publike accusation) there was iust punishment taken vpon the offendors. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment; she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countrimen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by Iames the fift; with a great paine set vpon the chiefe of those families: if the other did stiffie resist, & would not come into iudgement. 1555. *Buch.* 1556. *H. B. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 527. Buchan. lib. 16.*

Wherevpon it followed, that sundrie of diuerse families, that were by contempt departed awaie, did come to publike iudgement. Where manie, and those not of the meanest sort, paied the punishment for troubling the peace; amongest which, one Grant a baron being commanded to bring Iames Grant and diuerse other wicked persons before the iudges, did prouide to bring their dead heads, when they could not take their liue bodies. The earle of Cathnes also, because that being warned thervnto, he did not bring his people before the iudges; was first committed to prison in Inuernesse, then at Aberden, and lastlie at Edenburgh, from whence he purchased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Mackeie in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe of Strathnauerne & of Glencone, being called to iudgement (for that he had often wasted the countrie of Southerland next adioining) did contemne the precept. Wherevpon the quéene prouided a great armie, which vnder the erle of Southerland brake into Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of doubt, least anie hole might be left for the théeues to passe awaie from thence. Wherevpon Mackeie, when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of flight was left him) yeelded himselfe to Hugh Kenedie, who led him to the quéene, by whom he was committed to prison at Edenburgh a long time, but they of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to safe and strong prisons) were reserued to the iudgement of the quéenes pleasure.

After this, the queene leauing Inuernesse, and progressing the prouince of Rosse, she came to Elgine, Bamf, Aberden, and the chiefe places thereabouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdemeanor of those people. At what time she did temper the rigor of law with such courtesie, that she punished the offendors by fine, and not by death. From thence shée came to Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, obseruing the same cause and course of hir comming. When she had thus passed ouer the summer in bringing the mounteine people to their dutie, she sent the earle of Huntleie to ioine with the bishop of Rosse and Orkeneie, and to Hugh Kenedie; to whom she did substitute a better and more commodious forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who should receiue the libels and accusations of priuate persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the townes of Inuernesse, Elgine, and other places. By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those countries (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were made the more quiet. *Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 532.*

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how honourablie & sumptuouslie the queene in all hir progresse was receiued (without anie charge to hir) of the péeres, bishops, and

other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, sith the Frenchmen (which were then present with hir) haue opened to other nations as well as to their own people (with singular commendations to the Scots) the gorgious shew of this Scotland, being a most woorthie signe of the fauour they bare to the queene.] In the meane time there were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bishop of Dunblane, the lard of Lethington, & maister Iames Macgill; where doctor Tunstall bishop of Durham, & certeine others for England met them at Duns, and remained there till the queenes comming backe foorth of the north in September next following.

Commissioners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 527.

A parlement. Gentlemen restored.

This yeere was a parlement holden, in which the lards Brimston, Ormiston, and Grange, with maister Henrie Balnaues, and others, which were forfalted in the gouernors time, were restored. At the same time the queene, by the counsell of monsieur Doisell, and Rubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of Scotland, requested that a new order might bee made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put in an inuentarie, and according to the rate thereof to paie a yeerelie taxation, to be put and kept in the treasure-house till warres began, and that then men of warre might be waged, therewith to lie vpon the borders, and none in that case to be charged to come from their owne houses, but when anie great armie came foorth of England to inuade Scotland.

A yeerelie tax to be ioined is proponed.

This taxation is not granted. 1556.

Diuerse of the great lords were agreed to this ordinance: but the most part of the barons hearing thereof, assembled togither in Edenburgh, to the number of two hundred & aboue, and sent the lards Iames Sandlandie of Calder in Louthian, and Iohn of Wemis in Fife, to the queene and lords, beseeching them not to set such new taxations vpon them, for they could not beare such burdens; but would defend the realme, as before time their elders had doone, not meaning to put their goods in inuentarie, as if they should alreadie make their last will and testaments: and be past all hope of inioieng their temporall goods, as persons not to liue longer in the world, but to take their farewell, and giue ouer all that they had by law of fatall necessitie not to be auoided.* Adding further, that "their elders did not onelie defend themselues, and their goods against the English, when they were of farre greater power than they now be; but did also manie times make further inuasion vpon them into their owne countrie. For which cause, they being not anie iot now so degenerat from their ancestors, that they wold not, when need required, bestow their substance and life in defense of their countrie.

Fr. Thim. Buchan. li. 16.

"And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scotland to men without substance, or without hope of aduancement, and to such as for monie will dare to doo anie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their deepe couetousnesse, and to minister occasion to them to attempt other matters. But to the end all other things may the better be looked vnto, let them more remember the deerenes of their countrie, than their owne estate or condition. For will anie man beleeue, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense the minds of the common people; than goods, children, wiues, and temples, will mooue the hearts of the nobilitie?

"Wherevnto may be ioined, that this matter perteineth to the highest good of the kingdome of Scotland, and that the same is of farre more importance than that it should be communed of at this time, and in the tender age of our yoong queene. Besides which the greater part of men doo suspect and feare, that the same new order for warre is vnprofitable, and such as cannot be performed without some commotion of the Scotish nation, especiallie sith so great sums of monie can hardlie be wroong out by tribute imposed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to be feared, least the end of persuasion grow to this point, that it doo not rather open a gap to let in the enimie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if the English, after this example, being a farre richer nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the comon people, susteine an armie twise as great as that of the

the Scots, & such as shall not onelie enter the borders, but rush euen into the verie bowels of the kingdome of Scotland?"

For the other part of the oration, I cannot tell whether it be better to suppresse it in silence, or to deliuer it (saith Buchanan) to common eies & eares. For I doo heare (writeth he) manie which doo murmur and aske "who shall gather this monie? How much thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired souldiors, and how much to be left in the hands of the treasuror? There be manie things which put vs in great hope, that no such thing shall be established for the especiall goodnesse and temperancie of that woorthie princesse (in whose hand the whole gouernment now resteth) dooth incourage vs, that we shall not bee so taxed. But yet when we remember the outward deeds of others, and our owne at home, which haue before time beene doone; we cannot so gouerne our selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to fall vpon vs, which we haue alreadie felt.

"But letting these things passe, which perchance we vainlie feare, let vs come to those things in which our ancestors did place their chiefe helpe (for maintenance of their libertie) against the weapons of their aduersaries. Robert the first of that name (in comparison of whome none of the Scotish kings were counted more wise, and without all doubt none more valiant, as we all confesse) did not onelie profit his subiects whilest he liued, but also after his death: for when he laid at point to surrender his life, he gaue this admonition, that we should neuer make continuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For that man (by nature and by vse of long time exercised in both fortunes) did well perceiue, that such as liued in idlenesse and slouth, had their stomachs and minds abated, and their bodies weakened with delights of pleasures, and that couetousnesse and lecherie did spring vp as it were in vntilled ground, when seuere discipline and sparing was quenched, which made them also to be vnpatient of labor, and to hate battell, whereby their strength being diminished, they should easilie giue place to their enimies."

After that these two noble men had said thus much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections if she perseuered in this exaction, left off anie further to pursue this tax, and is (in often acknowledging hir error) said to haue vsed this speech; That some of the best of the Scots, and not she, were authors and workers of the same. By which words manie supposed that she ment the earle Huntleie, a man of a sharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of prison, and rather readie to reuenge the iniurie receiued by restraint of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit shewed vnto him in his deliuerance. Wherfore when he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the Scots with taxes and paiments of monie: and fearing least hir power being ouermuch increased, that she would abate the strength of the nobilitie, diminish their authoritie, and call the whole gouernment of Scotland into the hands of hir people, it was supposed that he gaue hir counsell answerable to hir disposition for the gathering of monie which she had then in hand, being in deed the part of an enimie to hir, bicause he knew that the Scots would not paie anie tribut, nor be so obedient vnto hir as they had beene before. There were also some that supposed this deuise to grow from Dauid Painter bishop of Rosse; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse learning, was with manie benefits tied to the Hamiltons, and was not anie waie estranged from their counsels and kinreds.

In this yeere, an ambassador of Muscouie going into England with a great ship, & another bote, was cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast of Buchquane, a prouince in the north part of Scotland; who hauing lost all his goods by shipwracke, was saued himselfe, and some of his companie, because they lighted on a rocke, where he & they might saue their liues. The inhabitants did liberallie interteine this strange man, and brought him to Edenburgh to the queene, who would not permit this new ghest to want anie thing so long as he remained with hir: and further commanded and procured, that his goods lost by sea, and come into the hands of the people, should be faithfullie restored to him againe, appointing moreouer the lord Hume for honors sake to accompanie him to Berwike. 1557. *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 528.*

This yeere also in the moneth of Iulie was Hoter Traberne sent ambassador (from Anna duke of Oldenberge, and Delmensore, and earle of Emden) out of east Frisia into Scotland, *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 529.*

to require that the ancient couenant of an hundred yéeres made betweene the Scots and the people of Emden (which by course of some yéeres past, was now of no force) might now againe be renewed. Which being granted & solemnelie established, both those nations from that day did liue togither in mutuall & perfect friendship. After this. warres arising betweene England and France, quéene Marie of England, fearing least the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the French to attempt something against England, sent ambassadors to the regent, to require that some of the Scots might with hir people méet on the borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them both.

Leslaus, lib. 10. pag. 520.

Wherevpon in the moneth of Iulie, the procurators for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whither for the Scots came Robert Reid bishop of Orkneie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glascow, Robert Carnegie knight, senators; and the lord Harries, at that time president of the west borders. For the English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whome there was talke for peace, and recompense of such iniuries as were committed by both the nations. In the meane time a certeine Frenchman landed at the west part on Scotland, and declared to the quéene the warres betwéene England and France, desiring hir to make warre vpon the English. Wherevpon the quéene sent for the lords to commune with them at Newbottell, where she opened to them diuerse wrongs doone on the borders by Englishmen, and how no redresse could be got: wherfore she required that warres might be mooued against England in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of Orkeneie was the same time at Caerleill in talke with Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham and others, commissioners for England. The principall cause that mooued the queene regent to seeke to make war against England, was for that the Englishmen aided the Emperor in fauor of his sonne king Philip against the French king, bicause their quéene had taken to husband the same king Philip, and sent the earle of Penbroke ouer with an armie to ioine with king Philips power.

1557.

The quéene regent desired warres.

An assemblie at Caerleill.

The occasion why the quéen regent desired to haue war.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots inuaded the English borders, it might cause them to call backe their power foorth of France to defend their owne countrie. But the Scotish lords would not consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which their dealing when monsieur Doisell perceiued, hée spéedily went to Haimouth beside Berwike, and fortified the same with all diligence, making inuasions into England. Wherevpon the Scotishmen in their owne defense were constreined to make warre, and the erle of Huntleie was made lieutenant vpon the borders, who came thither; and remaining there by the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inuasions and rodes into England, burnt diuers townes and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses, piles and strengths.

The Scotish lords refuse to take warre in hand.

Haimouth is fortified.

Inuasions are made into England.

In this meane while were the Scotish commissioners at Caerleill; and the maister of Maxwell warden of the west borders, being there with them, with much adoo got away and came home into Scotland. The quéene assembled a great armie out of all parts of the realme, the which came forward to Kelso in the moneth of October, where the quéene & Frenchmen persuaded them to enter by inuasion into England. But they mening to take further aduise, passed ouer Twéed to Maxwell hugh, where they incamped, and afterward approched the castell of Warke, inuironing the same with a siege for the space of two or thrée dais. Capteine Read at that present had charge of that castell, with thrée or foure hundred footmen, and one hundred horssemen, séeming to care little for the Scotishmens forces.

An armie assembled.

The lords doo not consent thereto.

The castell of Warke besieged by the Scots.

Capteine Read.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieutenant of the north parts, gathered such power togither as he might make, and came to Lowike, accompanied with the lord Talbot, sir Iames Crofts, and others, to succor where most néed should appeare. The Scotish armie, perceiuing the Englishmen thus in a readinesse to resist their attempts, tooke aduise togither, and concluded that it was not for the weale of the realme, at that time to hazard battell foorth of the bounds of their owne land, their princesse being absent, and as yet in hir minoritie; considering also that the war was not taken in hand for their owne quarell, but

The earle of Westmerland gathereth an armie to resist the Scots.

for

for the pleasure of France. These and other the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of Arrane, Huntleie, Argile, Cassils, and others, to the queene and French capteins, they were nothing satisfied therewith; but the Scotish lords would attempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their armie. The Scots breake vp their armie.

In remouing from Warke, they were pursued by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which were repelled, and stood in danger to haue beene distressed, if capteine Read had not with noble corage issued foorth, and in time relieued them that were retiring: whereby they staied and gaue a new charge, insomuch as the Scots were beaten backe againe, and chased ouer the water to their maine armie that was alreadie passed ouer. The queene and monsieur Doisell, perceiuing that they could not get the Scotish lords to make anie further exploit at that present, she retired home; but Doisell with his Frenchmen were appointed to remaine still in Haimouth, to countergarrison the Englishmen within Berwike.

There were diuerse foot bands of Scots waged by the French king, which were appointed to lie in places about the borders, as at Kelso, Rockesburgh, and such like for defense of the countrie, and the annoiance of the Englishmen, as occasions might serue. After this, sir Andrew Kar, and diuerse other entered England with a power of men about Martinmasse. Neuerthelesse, the earle of Northumberland, being then lieutenant of the north parts of England, and lieng on the borders, assembled his forces togither, & comming to incounter the Scots on the very borders side neere to Cheuiot, at the first the Englishmen were put to the woorse, but yet at length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chased: sir Andrew Kar, and manie other being taken prisoners. The Scots ouercomfited by the earle of Northumberland. Sir Iohn Forster.

Sir Iohn Forster bare himselfe verie valiantlie at this incounter, so that his seruice might not well haue beene spared. He was thrust through the mouth into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreouer, his horsse was slaine vnder him. The conflict was sharpe, for both the horssemen and footmen came to make proofe of their forces. The warre thus being begun and followed, the Scots kept their quarterrage, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed) laie on the borders with a thousand horssemen, during his ordinarie tearme. And on the other side, the English borders were furnished with new supplies of men of warre, so that there were dailie rodes and incursions made by the parties, to the great damage and spoile of the townes and villages situate neere to the confines of both the realmes. Quarterage kept by the Scots for defense of their borders.

In December the queene assembled a parlement at Edenburgh, where shee (highlie fauouring the French) shewed foorth the letters of Henrie king of France, to be read by the whole assemblie, touching the solemnization of the mariage betwene the yoong queene of Scots, and the French kings sonne, which I haue here set downe. 1558. A parlement.

THE SUBSTANCE OF THE LETTER OF THE FRENCH KING, CONCERNING THE MARIAGE OF HIS SONNE TO THE QUEENE OF SCOTS.

"Henrie by the grace of God, king of the French, to his woorthie coosines & princes of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders, being our deere friends, greeting. It is most plainlie knowen to all nations, how fast a bond hath alwaies hitherto remained betweene Scotland & France. Neither can it be hidden what these signs of amitie were, being for number manie, for greatnesse large, and for durie of friendship mutuall ech to other; by which the kings our ancestors haue seemed to confirme, and as it were to increase this amitie, to the end it might remaine whole and sound for euer: yea and so farre the shew thereof hath appeered, that all the benefits of either realme haue seemed to be common to ech other. Which bond of friendship we also haue (for the time in which we first receiued the ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to reteine, to the end the same should not anie waie be decaied or broken. The which in like sort we well vnderstand, that you haue likewise abundantlie performed vnto vs. *Leslæus lib. 10. pag. 588.*

"Wherefore (more stronglie to knit the same) we will not suffer this opportunitie (which the diuine goodnesse hath laid before vs, as we verelie suppose) of mariage to be solemnized

nized betwéene our son the Dolphin, and your queene our déere and swéet sister and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be intreated) was so vrged by all parts, as the voong quéene was vpon that condition left with vs, when she was carled into France, by the consent of our sister the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to the great reioising of all you that yéelded therevnto; where now she hath atteined such beautie and number of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature (which she receiued from the kinglie bloud of hir parents) and partlie by the instruction of my wife, that I can hardlie anie longer suffer (in respect of the age of my sonne) that this mariage (which we haue so much desired) should anie longer be deferred. And sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those yéeres, in which he may promise all things that shall be necessarie for the knitting vp of the mariage; and sith also we haue determined (if it so séeme good to the quéene hir mother, and to the rest of the parlement of Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands) that the mariage shall publikelie at Paris (on the day consecrated to the three kings) with such ceremonies as is requisite, be fullie consummate with the speech of my sonne and of your quéene:

"We doo by these letters request you, that by common consent you foorthwith send some of your chiefe nobilitie, that maie honor the mariage with their presence, and that (hauing publike authoritie therefore) may fréelie and according to law, dispose of those things which are accustomed to fall in such matters and affaires.

"The which if you shall doo, I promise that heereafter they shall liberallie vnderstand how acceptable they shall be to me: and how that you shall receiue all the fruit and benefit which shall arise of my sons mariage (for the performance whereof, by reason of his sufficient age, we will shortlie prouide) which said cōmoditie shall not onelie now remaine to you that be present, but also most abundantlie with great pleasure shall continue to your posteritie. For sith both our and your people of France and Scotland shall be so firmelie conioined (as we hope) by this mutuall knot of mariage, and our affaires with yours, and yours with ours, shall hang the one vpon the other, as it were by a certeine mutuall linke and knot, that both we (being out of the danger of such as would diminish and ouerthrow our states) maie for euer inioy such quiet as we did neuer hope to doo before this. From our castell of saint Germans, the fourth kalends of Nouember. 1557.

"Subscription, By the king, HENRIE:
"A little below: DE LAUBESPINE."

Vpon the reading of which letters in the parlement, by the consent of the whole estates, there were elected and chosen Iames Beton archbishop of Glascow, Robert Read bishop of Orkeneie, George Lesle earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kennedie earle of Cassiles, Iames Steward prior of saint Andrewes [the queenes bastard brother] George lord Seton [capteine of Edenburgh] Iames Fleming, and Iohn Erskine lard of Dun [gouernor of Montrosse] ambassadors and commissioners to go into France, and there to contract mariage betwixt Marie quéene of Scotland, and Francis Dolphin of France, and to solemnize the same mariage. Wherevpon, sufficient commissions and instruments were made to them by the estates of the parlement, and they accepting the same, made preparation for that iournie, and departed in the moneth of Februarie foorth of the rode of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes came into France, loosing in their iournie one of their ships, with men and horsses before saint Ebbes head, in the Forth of Scotland, and an other with great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capteine called Waterton in the rode of Bullongne.

Leslens lib. 10. pag. 583. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors sent into France to consummate the mariage betwixt the quéene of Scotland and the Dolphin of France.

1558.

Two ships lost.

The ambassadors themselues neuerthelesse escaped, and comming safe vnto the French court in the moneth of March, were honorablie receiued of the king at Paris, where the contract of mariage was made, and three score thousand franks assigned in dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand franks of yéerelie pension, with manie rich iewels. There was also a perpetuall bond of league concluded betwixt France and Scotland, and great

The assignement of the Scots quéens dowrie.

great preparation made for the mariage, which was solemnized in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of the realme, in the church of Nostre dame, the 24 of Aprill in that present yeere, 1558.

After the solemnitie of this mariage, the legats of Scotland were called into the councell-house of the French king; at what time the chancellor of France delt with them, that they should represent the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the kingdome, to th' end the husband of the yong queene might be crowned king also of Scotland. Whereunto the ambassadors did shortlie make answer, that they had no such thing giuen in charge to them. After which, the cardinall said; "We desire nothing more at your hands at this time, but that which lieth in your power to performe; which is, here now to confirme by writing that you will hereafter, forward, approoue & worke that this honor (which now we iustlie demand) maie be granted to the Dolphin, when the same shall be talked of in the parlement of Scotland." Which request (when it seemed full of impudencie) they supposed best maner constantlie and sharpelie to reiect. *Fr. Thuan. Buchan. lib. 18.*

Wherefore they answered, that "their ambassage was restreined within certeine bounds, which they neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had beene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that yet it were not the part of faithfull friends (as the French professed to be) to require that which could not be granted without certeine and assured danger and infamie of treason, though danger of life were absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all honest things which might well be granted they would yeeld vnto the French, ioined vnto them by so manie necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the French that they would not in their demands exceed the limits of modestie."

Whervpon the ambassadors being dismissed from the court, foure of the chiefe of them (before they departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kennedie, George Lesle, Robert Read, and also Iames Fleming, all men of singular vertue and loue to their countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also beleeued, that Iames the queenes brother had receiued the same draught: for (although he were of a better composition of bodie, stronger constitution of complexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and dangerous infirmitie of his bellie whilest he liued, of the death of all which shall be somewhat more said heereafter. Thus leauing the Scotish lords ambassadors there in France for a time, we will returne to shew what happened betwixt the Scots and Englishmen at home, where the warres were pursued, to the losse or little gaine of both parts.]

About Whitsuntide, sir Henrie Persie with diuerse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George Bowes then marshall of Berwike, with sundrie bands of the garrison of that towne, passed foorth into Scotland, they being in all about seuen or eight hundred horssemen, and two thousand footmen. They burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and hauing got together a great number of cattell, returned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and other places, keeping their quarterage on their borders (for the realme, as ye haue heard, was quartered, euerie part keeping their turne, as the manner is) assembled togither to the number of two thousand horssemen (or few lesse) and three bands of footmen, hasting foorth to defend the countrie. And perceiuing where the Englishmen were, followed and coasted them as they returned with their booties, till they came to Swinton, where they ouertooke them, and skirmished with them sharpelie as they were passing through the towne. *A rode into Scotland. Duns and Langton burnt.*

The Scotish footmen beat backe part of the Englishmens shot into their battell, and preassed verie forward in hope to be assisted by their horssemen, the which (as ye haue heard) ouermatched greatlie the English horssemen in number: but the fight grew somewhat hot, and the more vnto the disaduantage of the Englishmen, forsomuch as their shot & powder began to faile them, by reason the mistie morning had made much of their powder daukish, so that they could haue no vse thereof. But heerewith sir Henrie Lee, capteine Read, and others, being in the battell, behaued themselues verie stoutlie, causing the footmen to staie, and boldlie to abide the enimie: & heerewith procured the horssemen to giue a charge in *The Scots assaile the Englishmen at Swinton.*

such

such conuenient time, as if the same had beene protracted, it might haue turned verie euill to the English side.

The Scots horssemen flie.

But now as well the horssemen as footmen plaieng their parts, the Scotish horssemen abiding without the towne in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaning their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfullie: so that if the Scots horssemen had doone their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to haue gone harder on the English side than it did. But now the Scotish horssemen not entring the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen: for those that were in the fore-ward, and were passed by, returned, and comming behind their enimies, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongest them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

The Scots footmen slaine.

The lord of Keith with others taken prisoners.

M. Edrington taken.

Amongest others, capteine Cullane, and capteine Kenedie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken: diuerse of their horssemen also in the retire were taken, amongest whome William lord Keith, sonne to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefest. But this victorie was not atchiued without losse of diuerse Englishmen. Amongest other one Fell, ensigne-bearer to sir Iohn Markhams band of footmen was slaine. Also master Edrington a capteine of light horssemen was taken prisoner by the lard of Edmonston, at the first charge giuen vpon the Scotish horssemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English capteins before mentioned, the forward valiancie shewed that day of sir William Brereton, and Thomas Markham, that led his father sir Iohn Markehams band of footmen, also of Rafe Ellerkar a capteine of horssemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other capteins & souldiers behaued themselues in such wise at that present seruice, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Sir William Brereton.

Moreouer, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scotish horssemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed foorth to burne and forrie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled togither a power of horssemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set vpon the Scots and chased them ouer the water of Twisell, vnto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the riuer of Tweed, passed ouer the same at Chapell Fourd, where they were assailed both by certeine foot bands of the garrison of Berwike, that were come foorth to aid the earle, and also by the horssemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the riuer before they could get ouer.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselues in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, susteining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the erle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the capteins and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them ouer the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doo them no harme, because they kept themselues in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Wherevpon the English horssemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouerthrow and chase of their horssemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Ednam burnt.

The lord Greie of Scotland taken prisoner.

Cawmils wonne by the Englishmen.

And after this, the Englishmen wan the strong pile of Cawmils, wherein were sixteene Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the liues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortlie after, there was a sore skirmish at Halidon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certeine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill, to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwike, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without anie trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enimies, vsed out of their armor to shoot, bowle, quait, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Aimouth in so secret wise, that they were drawen verie neere to the Englishmen, yer they had anie warning of their approch.

This

This approch as it was priuie, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbowes; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughlie: although sir William Brereton, sir Iohn Markeham, maister William Drewrie, Cutbert Vaughan, and other the capteins of the Englishmen did behaue themselues right manfullie, bringing their men in order, incouraging them, and dooing what apperteined vnto hardie and skilfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the higth of the hill, till at length sir Iames Croft comming from Berwike, vsed such diligence and policie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constreined to retire, withdrawing backe into Aimouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

A sore skirmish vpon Halidon hill.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, lieng on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into England, and sent his forraie to burne Fenton towne, kéeping himselfe in ambush at Haltwell Sweire. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got togither a thousand horsse, and making foorth to defend the countrie, set vpon the earle at the aforesaid place of Haltwell Sweire; but some feare entring into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certeine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken aboue six score Englishmen, amongst whom capteine Erington, and capteine Kar, that had the leading of light horssemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in seruice, as one Vaughan a gentleman and such like.

The earle of Bothwell.

Haltwell Sweire.

The Englishmen put to flight.

About this time, whilest the lord Eure commonlie called Euers, remained capteine of Berwike, one Kirkaudie cousine to sir William Kirkaudie lard of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwike; and afterwerds being ransomed, at his comming home to Aimouth, he made report that he had beene too streictlie vsed, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Eure. By reason wherof, vpon chalenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Eure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrées were not equall, Rafe Eure brother to the lord Eure vndertooke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lard of Grange vpon the side of Halidon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to sée the triall of this chalenge performed.

The lard of Grange chalẽgeth the lord Eure.

But when they came to haue their armor & weapons viewed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft vpon it: wherewith some fault was found, because maister Eure was clad onelie in a single cote of plate, without anie other péeces of armor for defense of his bodie. But yet such was the great courage of the said maister Eure, that he would not refuse the chalenge, notwithstanding his aduersaries aduantage of armor. Wherevpon they ran togither, and brake both their staues; and as it fortuned maister Eure was hurt in the flanke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland, beside the incounters and roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Westmerland, and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & hauing the leading of certeine demilances.

The lard of Grange and maister Rafe Eure ran one against another.

Moreouer, it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onelie to annoie the Scots by land, but also by sea. Wherevpon sir Iohn Clere with certeine ships of warre sailed foorth alongest the coast, till at length he arriued at the Iles of Orkeneie; where going on land about an enterprise, & staieng longer than was requisit, he was incountred by his aduersaries, and slaine with manie of his people, which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part, they susteined great damage on the west side of the realme, by a iournie which the erle of Sussex then lord deputie of Ireland attempted against them. For the better vnderstanding whereof ye shall note, that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Conquest in Britaine, there were seuen ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the New barke, the Sacret,

Sir Iohn Clere slaine in the Ile of Orkeneie.

Sacret, the Gerfalcon, and thrée other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serue the quéene of England in hir warres.

There were also beside those seuen ships of war, two vittellers appointed to attend vpon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordeined their admerall, and one Southweke of Douer was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Now vpon their arriuall in Ireland, the earle of Sussex hauing also prepared thrée other ships, with sufficient and necessarie prouision for his iourneie, imbarked with so manie souldiers as conuenientlie might be bestowed aboord in that fléet, conteining twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countrie called Kentire, with as manie souldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leauing them furnishd with competent numbers for their safegard; and being got to land, he passed foorth into the countrie, & burnt two houses that belonged to Iames Maconell chiefe gouernor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

The iournie of the earle of Sussex into the west parts of Scotland.

Kentire.

Iames Maconell.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging vnto the said Maconell, with great store of corne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not aduenture to ioine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Sussex his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to haue fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finallie, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countrie for the space of thrée daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboord againe with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the hauen called Amalasche, and landing at that place, burnt the countrie, and after went to Cumber, where he likewise burnt and harried that Ile.

The earle of Sussex burnt the Ile of Arrane.

This doone, he meant to haue gone into two other Ilands, Ila and Iureie: but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they escaped in great hazard of being cast awaie also. There were six and twentie mariners drowned, the which perceiuing the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saued, as maister Francis Randoll, and others. By reason therefore of such foule weather, the earle of Sussex was constreined to returne into Ireland, arriuing in Cragfergus, where he landed with his souldiers: and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land vnto Dublin, spoiling the enimies countries by the waie, and taking from them a great preie and bootie of cattell; notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make through the cumbersome waies, bogs, and woods, without reliefe of all necessarie things in that so troublesome a iournie.

Foule weather.

The earle of Sussex returneth into Ireland.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quéene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: whereof sith I haue found none that hath written anie thing at all, I haue yet set downe these od notes, as I haue learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eie-witnesses themselues of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namelie capteine Read, capteine Wood, capteine Erington, capteine Gurleie, and capteine Markham; with others, which of their courtesie haue willinglie imparted to me the report of diuerse such things, as I wisht to be resolued in. Which accordinglie (so far as my remembrance hath serued) I haue here deliuered, to the end the same maie giue occasion to others (that maie happilie light vpon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peraduenture wholie passe in forgetfulnesse.

And now to returne vnto the Scotish ambassadors that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the mariage betwixt their quéene & the Dolphin. After that the same mariage was consummat, and euerie thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they tooke their leaue of the French king, the quéene, and nobilitie there, to returne homewards into Scotland: albeit few of them came

The ambassadors died almost all.

came home, for the bishop of Orkeneie departed this transitorie life in Diepe, the fiftéenth of September; the earle of Roths deceassed there the ninth of Nouember; the earle of Cassils lord treasuror departed in the same place the fourteenth of Nouember; and the lord Fleming deceassed in Paris the eightéenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glascow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lard of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose comming, there was a parlement summoned by the quéene, to be holden in December next. *Lesleus. lib.* 10. *pag.* 538, 539. Thrée came home againe. Lard of Dun. A parlement.

[In August, Archembald Campbell erle of Argile, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires aswell of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland: and in France was aduanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michaell. Few daies betweene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whitechurch. To the one did succéed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other cáne Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the quéenes benefit. Dauid Painter or Paniter bishop of Ros, & Iames Steward, whome Iames the fift (being illegitimat father vnto him) had made abbat of Melrosse and Kelso died also this yeare. Whose monasteries the quéene did foorthwith giue vnto the cardinall Guise: long after which followed also the death of the abbat of Bamtorinoch. At this verie time manie prodigious sights (which I will not here recite, being touched by Lesleus) did appeare by a marker of such ominous things, whereof these verses were made: *Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib.* 10. *pag.* 539. *Candida Casa.*

Portentum est miseræ gentis, quæ numine læso
Diuisis sacris diuidet imperium.

In September there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in France (about the mariage of the queene of Scots to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the Dolphin of France by his ambassadors did vehementlie request, that the crowne (which they terme matrimoniall) should be giuen vnto him by the decrée of the states, whereby he might be called king of Scotland as long as the quéene liued. The quéene also iudging it a point of honor, to heape all title of glorie which she could vpon hir husband, as one that by a certeine inclination of mind did vertuouslie fauor him; gaue in charge also to the ambasadors, that they should earnestlie follow the same cause amongest the Scots. And to the end to draw them the more easilie into hir opinion; she drew the matter into certeine articles, deliuered to the ambassadors with more ample instructions touching the same: the summe of all which was this. *Lesleus lib.* 10. *pag.* 542.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in that account as he did his owne people, and so alwaies would haue them: which good mind of the French towards the Scots to be plaine without anie dissimulation, it maie well appeere as well by the couenants established for the mariage, as also by the benefits which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in particularitie vpon certeine especiall Scots, of his owne frée will, almost without the request of anie bodie. And that they should further laie abroad, what helpe the quéene and Scots haue had of the woorthie cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guise the quéenes vncle. All which the ambassadors themselues (as they haue fullie proued) did well vnderstand.

Secondlie, where the quéene dooth thinke that she is greatlie benefited with manie honors by so great a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a prince hath taken hir into the fellowship of the holie bed, by which there can not anie other commoditie grow to the king than the reuenues of the kingdome which he hath purchased with his great charge and labor: and that the quéene considering all this (with great griefe of mind) dooth séeke by what meanes she might at least expresse some small token of a thankefull mind for so manie benefits (because if she should not doo some thing, no small blot would séeme to be imputed to the queene and the Scots) it came into hir mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite some part therof, which she could doo (as she thought) if at the least she did but

honor hir husband with the kinglie title, & giue vnto him the mariage crowne of Scotland.

This thing therefore the quéene hir selfe dooth earnestlie desire, and dooth courteouslie request all the estates of Scotland, that the same maie be established by the voices of the full parlement, and that they will command some thrée or foure of the chiefest nobilitie honorablie to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king & the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what reuerence and with what dutie they fauour the king hir husband.

And to the end that this request of the quéene, for the rarenesse of the example, should not bréed anie doubt in the mind of the nobilitie, and to hold them as it were in suspense, it was giuen in charge also to the ambassadors, that they should in manner point with their finger, that manie ages past, the quéene of Naples did not onelie for loue she did beare vnto him, adorne the duke of Aniou hir husband, with the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent of the nobilitie, giue him rule and gouernement ouer the same kingdome. The like whereof was also doone in our memorie by the queene of Spaine to hir husband the archduke of Austrich, & by the queene of Nauarre to the duke of Vandosme.

But if that the Scots be mooued by the example of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of Spaine, that then the ambassadors should easilie wipe awaie that doubt, if they admonish the Scots that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with that firme and néedfull band as the Scots are to the French, both which nations haue one priuilege, magistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and participation of the administration of all the things in either kingdome. Wherevnto they must further adde that it was so far off, that the English should reape anie fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) wring from the English all the commoditie he could, to performe his affaires out of the realme. And further, that the English being out of all hope for their queene to haue anie issue by the same mariage, they would not grant vnto it, when there is a certeine and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots, what great benefit maie redound vnto them by this signe of a thankefull mind. For it maie so happen, that if the king Dolphin shall féele himselfe increased with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of their good fauour to him, that he maie raise vp his father the king of France, that he will not by anie meanes permit the quéene of Scots his wife to be excluded from the kingdome of England, after the death of quéene Marie, who was not like to liue long being sore troubled with the dropsie.

Well fished to catch a frog.

Not so likelie as that lies drop out of your pen.

These things and manie others were giuen in charge to the ambassadors (comen out of France) to declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being thus declared to the states and the quéene regent, with might and maine séeking the furthering thereof; at length it was granted that he should be king during the life of the quéene. For which cause Gillesper Campbell earle of Argile, and Iames Steward, bastard brother to the yoong quéene, being prior of S. Andrews, were named to execute their consent vnto the Dolphin to declare him king, and to inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging, and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things: by which anie honor or profit might anie waie rise vnto him.

But whilest these men doo prepare all things for such a iourneie, certeine factious persons did beat into their eares, how heauie a iournie that would bee vnto them. For it would happen, that whilest they were busie in prouiding for small things abrode, they should by delaie corrupt, or by absence cleane ouerturne matters of greater importance at home. For they did know how the subtill wit of Iames, and the great power and strength of the earle of Argile would be missing in those new things which were in hand amongst these of the religion: for which they neuer left off intreating and persuading, vntill they had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During

During these affaires, Marie quéene of England died, and that woorthie ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie wherevpon, the yoong quéene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other houshold stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserablie afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Millane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needes heape euill vpon euill, and adde therevnto the title of England, as being vnto them a verie scorne and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wiser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did consent to this error of the Scotish quéene, bicause they would thereby séeme to haue gotten to themselues a singular honor in adding the title of England to the French name. *Buch. lib. 10.*

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yoong quéene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtesie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was woont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not doo by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, bicause she had not then obteind the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other spéeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the sixt Ides of Maie.

And bicause she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but wold restore it to the former place. By which saiengs manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Wherevpon diuerse came to intreat hir for the protestants, amongest which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obteined, there were sent Alexander Cunigame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aine, a woorthie knight, before whom the regent could not refraine hirselfe, but burst foorth into these woords.

"These men (saith shee) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it." And when they replied, beséeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to bée chalenged of princes, so farre as it séemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forewarne hir of the great mischiefes that would flow out of this founteine: with which answer shée being stroken more than shée looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelats and cleargie holden at Edenburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edenburgh were accused of heresie, and abiured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backes: [wherevpon (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edenburgh, for the appeasing whereof, the lord Seiton was made gouernor there.] In this assemblie it was required, that the common praiers might be read in the Scotish toong in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall councell was appointed to be holden at Edenburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall councell of all the prelats and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proponed by the temporaltie; as to haue the praiers and administration of the sacraments in the Scotish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other reformations: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortlie after great trouble in Scotland.

An assemblie of the cleargie. *Fr. Thin.*

Cõmon praiers to be had in the vulgar toong.

A prouinciall councell.

Requests made by the laitie.

The queene regent caused summons to be giuen to Iohn Knox, Iohn Wullocke, Iohn Dowglas, and Paule Meffane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whervpon the said Iohn Knox

1559.

Iohn Knox with other are summoned.

Knox being in Perth, persuaded the maister of Lindseie, the lards of Tulibardin, Dun, Pettarow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgesses of the townes of saint Iohns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppresse the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Iohns towne, and cast downe the abbeie of the Charterhouse, the Blacke and Carmelite friers, called the Tullelum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be séene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Mernis, and other parts there next adioining.

Images and frierhouses pulled downe.

Fr. Thin.

The queene regent came to Perth. *Fr. Thin.*

The queene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Iohns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whome also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glascow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, Iames prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Cowper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne vpon appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteine Iames Steward, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre.

S. Andrews.

In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quéene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, ioining themselues with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeies in that towne,

Cowper.

and in Cowper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Cowper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen

Fr. Thin.

that were in Falkeland with the quéene [come thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth six hundred men vnder the charge of Iames Steward cardinall, & Iames Cullane.] But

Two armies were pacified.

when they should haue met on Cowper moore in battell, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle Marshall, and others, laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the queene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edenburgh.

Saint Iohns towne besieged.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assisters came to saint Iohns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntleie was sent to them from the queene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same

Scone abbeie burnt.

time a certeine number of persons of the townes of Dundée & Perth, came to the abbeie of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most part of the house, the earle of Argile, and

The friers in Striueling destroied.

the prior of saint Andrews being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Lithquo, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and graie friers to be

The quéene departed from Edenburgh.

throwne downe. From thence they passed to Edenburgh, where the quéene hearing of their comming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntleie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argile and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued

The frierhouses ouerthrowne.

into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and graie friers were suddenlie ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Eden-

Fr. Thin.

burgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publike treasurie, tooke the keis by force from him, entered the abbeie] the coining house, tooke the

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 551.

coining irons, seized vpon the quéenes mooueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilest these things were thus doone at Edenburgh, Maxwell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was deteined prisoner in Edenburgh castell, did priuilie get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing spéedie horsses, departed to his owne companie, shortlie after ioining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doisell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Bothwell, Mourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came foorth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them.

But

But the erle of Huntleie trauelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met twelue on euerie side, who agréed vpon certeine articles, and so the quéene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and foorthwith began to fortifie it. Two armies pacified. Leith fortified.

THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEENE THE REGENT AND THE LORDS OF THE REFORMED RELIGION.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 553. Buchanan. lib. 16.

"1 First, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the queene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

"2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuatlie taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

"3 Thirdlie, that the quéenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered vp againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

"4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Ruthwen and Pettarrow (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quéenes part.

"5 Fiftlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quéene to be lawfull, which before they had gainesaid by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfullie obeie the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as perteined not to religion.

"6 Sixtlie, that they should not by anie meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall persons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioieng their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

"7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from hencefoorth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or anie other holie places.

"8 Eightlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

"9 Ninthlie, that the quéene regent should faithfullie prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by anie of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith."]

Shortlie after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partlie through persuasion of the earle of Argile his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partlie because he vnderstood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled foorth of France to Geneua for the religion, he tooke part with the lords from that time foorth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrews, and diuerse other his friends. This yeere in Iune, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the mariages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sauoie and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next insuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had maried the quéene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reimes in September following.

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succéeded his father.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 554.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name; declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufe or Elbufe (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all spéed some troopes of men should shortlie be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortlie send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which he brought letters out of France from the king and the quéene, to the prior of saint Andrewes, in which they rather sought to incline his

mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would inforce him therevnto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

FRANCIS KING OF FRANCE TO IAMES PRIOR OF THE MONASTERIE OF SAINT ANDREWES.

Lesleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

AFTER that I vnderstood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my coosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to sée how greatlie I was astonied thereat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dead father, my déere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefits) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bralles; I could not be persuaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quéene.

But if the thing were so, as the common fame dooth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering woords of others had intised you to this deceipt, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for whose cause (when they had discharged themselues thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as ioifull to me, as that which should be most ioifull: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more déere or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeased) all things without anie tumult maie be knit togither by the law of good order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be doone by your trauell, I doo admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doo earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foolish dooings, the which shall then fullie appéere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the common-wealths ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be persuaded that I will shortlie subdue you, and all those which shall cleaue or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration whereof, and the further large expressing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praie God (coosine) to kéepe you in health. Paris the sixtéenth kalends of August.

Subscription, *Francis*

A little beneath that: *De Laubespine.*

With which letters also the quéene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

MARIE QUEENE OF SCOTS, AND DOWAGER OF FRANCE, TO IAMES THE PRIOR OF THE MONASTERIE OF SAINT ANDREWES.

I can not sée why *Lesleus* should call hir Dowager, sith by hir letter it appéereth hir husband was yet liuing, in that she talketh of hirs and hir husbands displeasure.

"I CAN not (coosine) but greatlie woonder, that you which are not onelie néerest to vs by bloud, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelerault, and of manie others, which seemed to

you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honor of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beléeued of anie other my subiects, than of you.

Trulie most grieuouslie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarse be persuaded to thinke you to be so farre from truth and reason, that you would be caried awaie into such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie shew your selfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by dooing contrarie things to that which you haue alreadie performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your déedes to performe, it shall be to you a most gréeuous thing. I praie God kéepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Your good coosine *Marie*."

Iames Steward the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successes had before aduanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quéene so frie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbeare but must needes returne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his deedes) though now somewhat smoothed with good woords. The effect of which letters were in this sort: "That he was grieued in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the mislike and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and defiled with heresie.

"Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire spéeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enimies in accusing him, than to his vprightnes in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enimies, but that which fauoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongest the princes, but also at home did openlie laie wait for his life and liuing.

"But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & queene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enimies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleeue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankefull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the detestable spot whereof (being of all the verie woorst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would kéepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quéene, whereof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

"And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he would (during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his striuing aduersaries, neither the bitter woords of the sharpe threats of the king or quéene, should make him leaue off, or represse their woorthie force in taking vpon him the defense of those things.

"Wherefore he would not haue the king or quéene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull awaie the deuises of the papists. From which onelie thing (sith he supposeth the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quéene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be conteined therein) he will not be withdrawne by the force of anie man, nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quéene, vntill he haue wholie cut awaie the branches of superstition, and vtterlie pulled vp the roots thereof."

Crookes had scarse performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but foorthwith alanded at Leith Octauian a Frenchman, with foure troops of souldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent backe againe into France, to require of the king, that foure other companies of souldiers might be sent ouer, which might with those (alreadie now in Scotland) supplie the number of twentie ensignes: to whome also it were expedient to ioine a hundred horsmen, which number she affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the hauen of Leith, to watch the port. Of all which if the Scots were prouided (by the benefit of the king) and that the comming of hir brother the marquesse of Albufe were hastened, she promised then to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, she did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did dailie send letters and messengers to the Scots, to incourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreouer, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religions cause, to require aid from thence, but their chiefest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lesleus) in England.]

1559. During these things, the duke of Chatelerault and the lords of the congregation sent to the quéene (whereof we will speake more héereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the realme. But she would not grant so to doo: wherfore they assembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quéene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glascow, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scotishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued foorth of Leith, and met néere to the abbeie of Holie rood house, with the Scotish lords and their companie, where manie Scotishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artillerie at them, to staie the slaughter and pursute.

Leith besieged.

The Scotishmen are vanquished.

In the time of this siege, the yoong lard of Lethington, secretarie to the quéene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obteine aid out of England. After this, the quéene and Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Martigues coronell of the footmen. And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quéene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie fiue hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scotish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and Iames Steward of Cardonald.

The quéene came to Edenburgh.

New men sent into Scotland.

* The Frenchmen being thus entered France, twelue of the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that "they did not séeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for otherwise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not so ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that de-

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

ciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongest weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather séeme to be drawne therevnto by compulsion, than quietlie led by reason. For if they did trulie & from their heart require that déed which they séeme in woords, they would discharge those strange souldiers, and méet (as they haue often doone in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by woords and reason is to be decided, and not by swoords the strength to be compassed." And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, because it is omitted before in the reciting of the things doone in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the spéeches vsed to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edenburgh) did write to the queene much after this maner, "That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent prouoked with no iniuries, did so soone depart from the former couenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the laws and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to praie in aid of the whole people. *Buchan. lib. 16.*

"Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edenburgh, did write to the same effect, about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be frée for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buieng & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to doo, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all whatsoeuer remedie that they could. Within thrée daies after, the quéene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

"First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie dooth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie, and this present request, or rather commandement dooth well declare, that they acknowledge no other superioritie; and that their demands (or rather threatnings) with what shew of words soeuer they be cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen vnto vs, as no new things. Againe, you shall require of the duke of Chastelerault, that he call to mind what he hath promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hearken to the kings commandement; but also woorke, that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether the things which he now dooth, are the performance of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we haue openlie shewed our indeuor to bring things to quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie not resist the pietie due to God, and dooth not fight with their duetie towards their king and quéene, and that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the ouerthrow of their lawes and liberties; and much lesse, somuch as dreame of conquering the kingdome by violence. For to whome, or for whome should I séeke the kingdome, when my daughter dooth alreadie possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifieng of Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, before that they with manie assemblies, and at length with conspiracie among themselues, did openlie shew that they would shake off the

lawfull gouernement, and before that they at their pleasure troubled the whole publike state (vnknowledge to vs, who held the place and authoritie of the chiefest gouernor) strengthened their factions with strong cities, and made league and couenants with our ancient enimies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in the end) bring foorth, whie it was lawfull for them to reteine an armie at Edenburgh, to inuade the gouernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to haue anie other gard about vs? Truelie they séeke this therin, that we should labor to shun their furie (as hitherto we haue doone) by continuall and dailie change of places. Is there anie thing in their letters that mentioned their dutie to the right magistrate? Dooth there lie open anie waie for the restoring of concord? Or doo they shew anie token that they would haue these seditions pacified, and that they would all things should be reduced to their former state?

"Let them cloke this with what colour they will of publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had onelie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed them a waie therevnto. Neither are they ignorant that these French had (by the commandement of their king) béene long before dispatched out of Scotland, vnlesse their dooings had béene the cause of their staie. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope; and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie and obedientlie obeie their superiors: we will refuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongest them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them, but also their king and quéene; who hath sent vnto them a woorthie knight of the order of the scallop shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order, with letters and commandements touching the same: whome they did so contemne, as that they would not vouchsafe them answer, no not so much as hearing. Wherefore, ye shall demand, and command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of what condition soeuer, that they depart in sunder; or otherwise, that they shall not be kept togither, vnlesse it be by strength of armes." To all this the next day, which was the thrée and twentith of October, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and commandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie you be euillie minded against pietie towards God, the publike commoditie of the realme, and the common libertie of vs all: all which things we must & doo defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from hencefoorth we doo suspend and forbid your gouernement, in the name of the king and quéene, or by what other name or title you doo vsurpe the publike administration of the kingdome; as persons certeinlie knowing, that those things which are now doone by you, doo with the mind of those princes fight against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you doo not estéeme vs lawfull subiects of those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike senate or councell: so we doo not acknowledge you for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie sith the gouernement (if you haue anie such committed vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weightie causes forbidden you: and that in the name of the same princes, whose councellors we are borne to be, chiefelie in matters which perteine to the safetie of all the people. And although we haue determined not to flee anie danger, in deliuering of that towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we beare vnto you, as vnto our quéene mother; we earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beséech you, that you depart from thence; whilest the cause of publike commoditie dooth inforce vs to recouer that towne by weapons.

"Besides which, we further request, that you will leade them out of the towne with you, within foure and twentie houres; if there be anie which doo challenge vnto themselues the names of ambassadors, either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the affaires. For it is

but

but equitie that we prouide for the safetie, and willinglie spare the bloud of all those hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which hath béene betwéene the French and the Scots, as for the mariage of our quéene with their king: which friendship we would rather should be increased than diminished. The same day also, the said herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the day before it was persuaded in an assembled councell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the déeds and saiengs of the regent did onelie tend to verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decree made to take the gouernement from hir: so that the whole companie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter: further, commanding hir to execute no gouernement, vntill the generall assemblie of a parlement to be appointed by them in such place as they should thinke conuenient. The fiue and twentith daie, the lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and twentie houres, and to separat themselues from the subuerters of publike libertie. Thus much Buchanan of this doone about the state of Leith, before the nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.) And so againe to the order of the historie.]

The lords of Scotland, perceiuing the Frenchmen increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie were not able to resist them, sent William Metellan to Elizabeth the quéene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Which the queene of England granted, not onelie for to serue the Scotishmens turne; but speciallie for the suertie of hir owne realme and state, which as then was thought to stand in danger of trouble, in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his councell in some points alreadie shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Norffolke to Berwike, whither came to him the earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, Harris the maister of Maxwell, Robert Carnegie, and the yoong lord of Lethington, secretarie, & made agréement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

The lords séd for aid vnto the quéene of England.

They had their request granted them. 1560. *Buch.* 1559. *Lesle.*

And for sure kéeping hereof, the Scotish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yéere after his deceasse. The pledges were these: Dauid Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chatelerault; an other called Colme Campbell, cousine to the earle of Argile; Robert Dowglas, brother to the prior of S. Andrews; and the lard of Lochleuin, and a sonne of the lord Ruthwen. About the same time, Iames Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, and capteine of the Scotish companie of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneua, from thence came by the conuoie of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his comming into Scotland he performed, and ioined himselfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

Pledges sent into England.

Lord Hamilton taketh part with the erle of Argile.

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glascow, and caused the images & altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops liuing into their hands, and tooke the castell of Glascow perteining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to kéepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glascow, to the number of fiue thousand men: the bishop of Glascow, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Ros, and diuerse others with them, tooke the castell againe, and staieng one night of the towne, returned on the next morrow to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lithquo and Edenburgh.

The towne of Glascow is taken.

After their returne from Glascow, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge ouer the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorne, there assembled togither in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Rothes, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthwen, the master of Lindsie, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they dailie skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiors, and few Scotishmen, or in maner none: except that the earle of

Certeine Frenchmen slaine.

of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the pricking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the dredge of a caléeuer shot.

1560. *Lesle.*

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arriued in their sight a nauie of ships: which at the first kenning they tooke to be French ships, but shortlie after perceiuing them to be the English nauie, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Iland, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcorne in botes and craiers to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouses for their defense, as preuenting such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and vsing remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present deuise, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rode of Leith, where they cast anchors, the fourth Ides of Ianuarie.

The towne Burnt Iland is fortified.

An English nauie.

Lesleus lib. 10. *pag.* 563. 1560. *Fr. Thin.*

* In the meane time, whilest those of the religion had almost destroied all monasteries, certeine barons of Merne, partlie for hatred to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleargie tearmeth it) and partlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers in Aberden. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers Minors, were hindered thereof by the lord Lesle, and the baron of Buchquhane, at the commandement of the earle of Huntleie. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberden (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the canonrie, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to kéepe them from the same, the bishop, & Iohn Lesle (the officiall of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching, and both by the aid of the earle of Huntleie) did their indeuor, at what time the Leslées put them besides their purpose.]

This Lesle is now called bishop of Ros and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

The queene regent hearing of the arriuall of the English, sent vnto the viceadmerall of that fléet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said viceadmerall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put foorth his demand as he was inioined. The viceadmerall answered, that he had beene abroad on the seas seeking after pirats, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arriued there in the Forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in déed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came foorth of France, and also to kéepe them that laie in Inskith from vittels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

Lesleus lib. 10. *pag.* 564. *Fr. Thin.*

* Wherevpon the quéene regent did send Noualle the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Lesleus neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sectaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But bicause that she certeinlie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did dailie land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could doo no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Neither would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vnlesse that they were prouoked therevnto by iniuries offered them.]

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Norffolke.

About the same time, the quéene regent, hearing that the duke of Norffolke was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was conteined in the same letter. But when hée was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherfore William Flower, then Chester herald, and now Norreie king of

of armes, was sent vnto the queene, who comming to Holie rood house néere to Edenburgh, was receiued by sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses, and there kept for that night. The next day after hee had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his entering within the gates, there were a number of harquebussiers readie with their péeces that discharged and shot off the same. An English herald sent to the quéene of Scots.

At his comming to the presence of the quéene, he with dutifull obeisance deliuered his letters, and after the same had béene read, he was demanded what credit he had to vtter. Wherevpon he declared, that the duke of Norffolke, being the quéenes maiesties lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled greatlie that she would send an herald with letters, and write therein how she had giuen credit to him; and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit, he should confesse that he had none. The quéene herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all. Wherwith the queene séemed to be somwhat abashed, but neuerthelesse she brake foorth and said, that she maruelled greatlie that the queene of England should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing hir knowledge aforehand.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was certeinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared to send a power of men of warre into Scotland, without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had in verie déed sent certeine of hir ships, with vittels for prouision to be laid within hir townes and castels on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dispersed, might happilie be driuen into the riuer there, albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others) they had béene verie vncourteouslie vsed: for comming in after that maner for succor, the canon had béene bent against them. Herewithall the count Martigues standing by, began to speake verie stout words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was perceiued well inough, that the queene of England ment to make war against his maister the French king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as his sister had doone in breaking with hir father Henrie the late French king. Chester herevnto answered, that he thought to haue found but one regent in Scotland, to whome he should need to make answer: wherevpon Martigues was commanded to silence. Martigues a forward captéine, but an vntrue prophet.

All this while the quéene had talked with Chester in the Scotish toong. And bicause he did not so well vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French language: whereat the quéene séemed greatlie to reioise, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was demanded what further credit he had; he declared, that where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur le Brosse to passe through England into France, if she would sée him safelie conueied to Berwike, he durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his safe passage through the quéene his mistresse realme: but at length, there was another gentleman commended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his cousine. And now when Chester shuld take his leaue, he declared that he had not beene courteouslie dealt with: for since his comming thither, he could not be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie of hir messengers should come into the quéene his mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might) that they should tast of the like interteinment. But the queene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin in anie wise so hardlie dealt with, shewing that shée was not well contented therewith; and so Chester tooke his leaue, and returned backe into England, without anie reward for his paines taken in that iournie, at the hands of the Scotish quéene: how so euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepared in England, of seuen or eight thousand men, who were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England being appointed generall, who came to the linkes, beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the sixt of Aprill. Before they pitcht downe their field on the said linkes, monsieur Martigues, coronell of the French armie, issued foorth of Leith with nine hundred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll called 1560.

An English armie. *Leslæus lib. 10. pag. 565.*

They were backed with 500 pikes which kept aloofe.

called the Halke hill, where a sore, continuall, and hot skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and Frenchmen, with hagbuts, caléeuers, and pistolets, which skirmish continued fiue or six houres, in the which there were manie slaine on both parties, and diuerse hurt. At length Martigues was forced with his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith, and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie sent vnto the quéene.

The lord Greie being in Muskelburgh, sent to the quéene regent, that laie as then in the castell at Edenburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure and twentie hours, that in the meane time he might send some of his councell to declare to hir the cause of his comming with that armie, and to commune of such things as might stanch the shedding of bloud. The queene granted herevnto, and sent an herald to Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but yer he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid was begun with forwardnesse inough on both sides.

Men are sent to speake with the queene mother.

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George Howard, and sir Iames Crofts to the castell of Edenburgh, to speake with the quéene to that effect: who had long conference with hir vpon the blockehouse at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasion of the comming of the armie, was for the cause aboue mentioned, desiring the queene to procure the Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and they promised in that case to returne againe into their owne realme, and neither to disquiet Frenchmen nor Scots. Whervpon the quéene tooke time to be aduised till the next day, that she might consult with the principall personages within the towne of Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The Frenchmen to depart the realme.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trumpetter, or herald (as saith Lesleus) with a letter to monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, directing him to passe to the English campe, and to get a guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him. But immediatly after his departing from the English campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe, and his letters taken from him, was commanded to repaire to the castell of Edenburgh to the queene, and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus the parlée ceassing, the siege was inforced with right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either part.

The English are desirous to reuenge the iniuries doone vnto them.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the southeast side of the towne, and raised a litle mount which they called mount Pellam after the capteins name, and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but bicause it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much scath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieutenant of the English armie, lodged (during this siege) within the towne of Lestalrike, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demilances and other horssemen laie in the same towne. The footmen with their capteins lodged in hales, tents and pauilions, vpon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scotish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argile, Arrane, Morton, and Glencarne; the lords Boid, Ogiltree, the prior of saint Andrews, the maister of Maxwell, and others. The duke of Chatelerault, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rood house: and with the queene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Marshall, the lord Erskin capteine of the castell, maister Iames Macgill clearke of the register, the prouost of Dunglas, called maister Abraham Chreichton, and diuerse others.

A trench cast to little purpose.

On Easter éeuen, capteine Wood, and capteine Dethicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe vp the riuer to Blackenesse, who with their bands going aboord into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselues before the castell, it was yéelded to them by certeine Frenchmen that were within, and therevpon it was deliuered to the kéeping of Iames Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capteine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen,

The castell of Blackenesse woone.

issuing

issuing foorth of Leith, set vpon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afore Leith, the quéene regent was sore vexed with sickenesse, but neuerthelesse, she continued to labor for agréement, not ceassing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntleie to come foorth of the north, who tooke vp his lodging in Edenburgh, and tooke great paines to treat betwixt the quéene and lords for some agréement: but when he perceiued his trauell to be in vaine, hée returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as hee found it.

See more here of in England. Lesleus lib. 10.

The quéene laboured for an agréement.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Pellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies steeple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certeine péeces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not doo anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches vpon the south and southwest side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerset, & placed thereon certeine péeces in batterie, and so beat the wals, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselues to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable; so that although they egerlie preased forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercelie beaten backe with great slaughter and bloudshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

Saint Anthonies stéeple beaten downe.

Mount Summerset.

They are beaten backe.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other shifts to obteine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great heigth, they planted their great artillerie, which continuallie beat into the towne, sore annoieng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the shore side, so that none might go vp nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued foorth towards the sands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie sore skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scotish men of name, to wit, capteine Kenedie, and yoong Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scotish gentleman, called the lard of Cleisch.

Mount Falcon.

The English armie was throughlie furnished with vittels foorth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had prouided before the comming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constreined to eat their owne horsses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie maner of venison. Those within Inskeith also were in great necessitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid foorth of France. * Whilest these things were doone in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadors Iohn Babone a Burdseie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Muret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yéeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

The towne of Leith vnprouided of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 568.

In the meane time, the quéene regent, perceiuing hir sicknesse so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chatelerault, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edenburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogither into the castell of Edenburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithie exhortation, persuading them "to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more stedfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the mariage of the quéene their good souereigne, with the king of France. And héerewith she brake out into certeine woords, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen aided them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie.

The quéenes sent for the lords.

The quéenes oration vnto the nobles.

Moreouer, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honor to be queene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quéene of the same.

"Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that séemed or appéered to the noble men contrarie therevnto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisedome and iudgement, than for want of anie good will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had beene doone amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praied them most hartilie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the queene their souereigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some good accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladlie accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatlie (as she said) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all good Scotishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie."

A mistrustfull mind.

After she had talked thus a good while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgiue hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladlie séemed to doo: and on the other part, she forgaue them with all hir hart (as it appéered) all offenses which they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of them wéeping, she tooke euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilest the siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme, and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners and ouerthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made, and armies put in a readinesse to inuade either others countries.

The quéene taketh hir leaue.

The earle of Huntleie and Atholl are at variance.

The matter is pacified.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Gallowaie, maister Iohn Lesle officiall of Aberden, and William Lesle the yoong lard of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house. [During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Sarlalouse, then capteine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with manie light excursions intercept manie of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 571.

The castell of Rosse taken.

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasher, archdeacon of Rosse, tooke the bishops castell of the canonrie of Rosse, and kept the same against maister Henrie Sincler, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Machenzée, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the shiriffe Tramercie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was vsed, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Cromercie castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sending for maister Iohn Lesle, officiall of Aberden, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Murreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recouered his castell of them that held it against him.

The castell is besieged.

The castell was restored againe.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that their necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp: and to that effect sent two ambassadors, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Monluc bishop of Valence, who declared to the quéenes maiestie of England, the cause of their comming; which was, to desire hir to retire hir armie foorth of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agréed vpon. And heerewith they declared that they were sent to the quéene, and not vnto the subiects of Scotland: for it was not meet that the king should send to his owne subiects (as they were by the mariage of their quéene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

Ambassadors sent. Monsieur Monluc bishop of Valence.

The quéenes maiestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecill knight, hir principall secretarie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and of Yorke, one of the priuie councell, with the French ambassadors into Scotland. Whilest they were yet vpon their iourneie, the quéene regent (whome they thought to haue found aliue, and to haue vsed hir helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grieuous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of Iune, in the yéere of our Lord 1560. * Hir bodie was first conueied into France, to the monasterie of Feschampe, which is in Normandie, from whence it was caried to the abbeie of S. Peter at Rhemes in Champaignie (whereof hir sister was then abbesse) in which it was after most honorablie buried.] She was a wise and verie prudent princesse, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

An ambassage sent by the quéene of England.

The Scotish quéene mother departed. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 569.* 1560.

During the time that she was regent, she kept good iustice, and was well obeied in all parts of the realme in Orkeneie, and the westerne Iles. And if she had to hir owne experience ioined the councell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had béene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Doisell, and Rubée, were adioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who dailie pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, impositions, taxations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie misliking they had of hir, who suerlie deceassed, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The praise of the queene Dowager.

The death of that noble princesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadors more discouraged than otherwise they would haue béene. But neuerthelesse these foure ambassadors of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themselues, vpon articles proponed as well for reliefe of the Scotishmen, as for the weale and suertie of the quéene of England and hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulie, in the yéere of God 1560, with certeine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof heere insueth.

The ambassadors came to Edenburgh.

They haue conference. Peace is concluded. 1559. *Buch.*

ARTICLES OF THE PEACE.

"First, it was agréed, that all the Frenchmen should depart foorth of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England till the same ships were returned.

Articles of the peace.

French souldiers depart the realme.

"2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should be throwne downe and demolished.

Leith they should render it.

"3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and race the fort which they had built before the castell there.

The fort before Dunbar to be raced.

"4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart foorth of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

The English men should depart also.

"5 Item, that there should be made an act of obliuion, in which the queene of Scotland, with consent of the French king hir husband, should forget and burie in obliuion, all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yéere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of August next insuing, in

An act of obliuion to be made.

which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

A parlement to be kept.

"6 Also it was agréed, that there should be a commission sent from the French king and the quéene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

To put awaie the armes and claime of England. Possession to be kept with souldiers.

"7 Item, that the quéene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutchens.

"8 Item, it was agréed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inskith, thrée score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to kéepe (as it were) possession to the queenes vse."

The Frenchmē depart out of Scotland.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboord the English ships in Iulie, and sailed into France, and in compaine with them went the bishop of Glascow and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be raced, as by the agréement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of obliuion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was doone. And shortlie after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme foorth of the vniuersities of saint Andrews, Aberden, Glascow, and other parts, to giue a reason of their faith.

A parlement. A confession of faith published. Learned men called.

A disputation. *Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib.* 10. *pag.* 574.

And amongest other of Aberden that tooke vpon them to dispute with Iohn Knox, Iohn Wullocke, and maister Goodman [were Iohn Lesle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberden called officiall; who shortlie after was senator of the high court, and of councell to the quéene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Rosse) Patrike Mirton the treasuror, Iames Straquhine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue diuine. At what time these Roman prelats behaued themselues so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

Liuings bestowed.

In the winter, the lords of the councell gaue faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put foorth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argile disposed Dunkeild and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishoprikes of saint Andrews, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Melrosse, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortlie after, Francis the French king, husband to the quéene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quéene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Orleance (where the court lay when hir husband deceassed) and went to the towne of Reimes in Champaigne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

The Scotish quéene went into Lorraine.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she tooke hir iournie towards Ianuille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glascow, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scotishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourneie. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquesse Dalbeuf hir vncles. *Amongst whom there had béene great disputation touching the quéene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, wherevnto hir vncles were verie willing; although some did séeme to staie the iournie, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 17.

"That the iourneie was dangerous, especiallie because the quéene of England did not greatlie fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obeie the gouernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eies, of hir father, and of hir mother, whome (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, sith they dailie liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

"On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall

naturall countrie, and were skilfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditions were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they striued to reduce that kingdome (which from the beginning had alwaies béene free) to infinit bondage, and to the frée power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enimie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enimies, and famous amongest strange nations.

"And that the chiefest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein euen now it standeth. Wherevpon she resolued to come spéedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be said hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters doone in Scotland. The quéene of Scots hauing hir mind still setled vpon hir returne into Scotland; Noalius a senator of Burdeaux landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publike parlement, for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelfe kalends of Iune.

"But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in councell, because they were yet vncerteine of the quéenes mind; in the meane time Iames Steward returned out of France, and brought with him a commission, which gaue them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common-wealth. Wherevpon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was, to renew the old league with France, to vndoo the league with England, and that priests should be restored to their liuings, out of which they had beene thrust by violence.

"To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late, in seeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gildes of anie euill) vnto miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes dissolue that, except they should be counted most vnthankefull, recompense so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defendors of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called priests, they did acknowlege that they had not anie office, vse, or authoritie in the church."

In this councell also it was decréed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of moonks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion whereof, the quéene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same: although Dureus abbat of Ferline, and Iohn Sinclere latelie appointed bishop of Brechine, did vehementlie persuade and labor hir to the contrarie.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edenburgh, which had published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (Iohn Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondlie the crimes & vices that might vnable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same. *Fr. Thin. 1560.* Abridged out of the printed booke thereof.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister Iohn Knox (the maker of that speech or sermon) that the lords of the secret councell had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to choose maister Iohn Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edenburgh, Luithithgue, Striueling, Treuent*, Hadington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others,

[* *Sic.*]

others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

Euerie nation is to haue his peculiar gouernement in religion, as is best liking to the godlie disposers of the religion of that countrie, sith "*vulgus monstru multorum capitum.*"

After this was called the said maister Iohn Spotswood, who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thrise demanded, there was after question mooued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. Then the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeie him as Christes minister in euerie thing perteining to his charge.

Wherevnto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Wherevnto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obteine the spirit of God to be powred into this new elect vessell) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is here set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politicall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Ambassadors sent into England.

1561.

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glencarne, and the yoong lard of Ledington secretarie, ambassadors into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murreie passed through England into France. He departed from Edenburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the quéene, meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister Iohn Lesle officiall of Aberden was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Huntleie, and other the lords spirituall and temporall of the north parts; he tooke ship in the rode of Aberden, and landing at Brule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the quéene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

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"* After which (being most courteouslie receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceiued with the flattering words of Iames the prior of saint Andrews (hir bastard brother) for his onelie drift was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obteine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdome, vnder the colour whereof he might more easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

This is he which before is called the earle of Murreie that went into France but not rightlie, for he was not earle vntill long after this time.

"Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might vrge the queene not to yéeld to his cloked words. For the obteining of which demand from the quéene, he did fitlie ad to his persuasions, that Iames did rather aspire to the kingdome, than that he fixed his mind and eie vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this Iames should remaine in France, vntill she were arriued in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

"But if she would not doo so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir nauie should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberden: for by that meanes she might

might prouide, that the setled lords of the religion might soone be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might more frēelie and willinglie be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilest they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedlie the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

"But now, sith that the Scots doo vnderstand, that their quēene (contrarie to their hope) will returne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the quēene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decree, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeie their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

"Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuade the queene in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enimies, and especiallie of Iames Steward hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For Iames Cullen (kinsman to the erle of Huntleie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent foorth with Lesle (as capteine of that iournie) to bring hir safe to Aberden. For all the nobles of the north prouinces will soone be readie with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edenburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men."

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, vntill she returned into Scotland; and further gaue in charge, that letters should be written to the pēeres and nobilitie of Scotland, to let them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, & to be a witnesse of hir good will vnto them. The next day after came to the quēene at Vitrie, in Champaigne, Iames Steward (which is touched a little before) the prior of S. Andrews. Who after he had in reuerence doone his dutie, bound himselfe with all fidelitie, trauell, and diligence, most religiouslie vnto hir; faithfullie further promising, that he would prouide that the Scots should willinglie obeie hir, without anie forren powers to be brought by hir into Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for that purpose, to dissuade the quēene that she should not bring any power of the French with hir. But in the end, vttering his mind more fullie, and putting awaie all suspicion of deceit, he did with more familiaritie request the quēene to honor him with the erldome of Murreie. Wherevnto the queene did courteouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this Iames perceiued that the queene was somewhat well bent towards him, and that she credited his words, he attended on hir vnto Ianeuille, and there remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go into Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds of the people, that they might receiue the quēene comming into the realme, with good consent and dutifull honor; who passing through England, came into Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Marshall, and all other the noble men of the realme, aduertised of the quēens comming, assembled at Edenburgh with all possible diligence. In the meane time, whilst the quēene was preparing to take hir iournie, and to come into Scotland, the queene of England set foorth some of hir great ships to the seas, to watch & gard the coasts of hir realme. Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quēene of England, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind or tempest she chanced to land in England. But before he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was appointed; the quēene and hir retinue were safelie landed in Scotland; neuerthelesse, the English ships tooke some of the Scotish lords, as the earle of Eglenton his ship, and others, which were brought into England, and staied for a time; but were after releas d, and sent home into Scotland.

The nobles assemble at Edenburgh.

Ships wait in the narrow seas.

A safe conduct required.

Certeine ships taken.

The quēene also, by the aduise of the K. of France, sent monsieur Doisell into England, to

Monsieur Doisell.

to passe through the same into Scotland before hir cõming, there to haue receiued the forts of Dunbar and Inskeith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the same till hir comming. But he was staied, and passed no further than to London: for it was thought that his going into Scotland would turne to no great benefit of that realme: because that he & monsieur Rubeie were the principall authors of all the troubles in Scotland, betwixt the queene regent, and the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Paris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir six vncles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Nemeurs, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

The quéene was conueied into Calis.

She taketh hir iournie into Scotland.

There were two gallies prepared, and certeine other ships to go with hir into Scotland, and there went with hir three of hir said vncles, the duke Daumall, the grand prior, and the marquesse Dalbeuf: also monsieur Danuille the constables sonne, and diuerse other.

The quéene arriued at Leith.

She arriued at Leith the twentith day of August, in the yeare of our Lord *1561*, where she was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argile, the lord Erskin, the prior of saint Andrews, and of the burgesses of Edenburgh, and conueied to the abbeie of Holie rood house. For (as saith Buchanan) when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scotland, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all parts of the realme, as it were to a common spectacle.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne, & partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enimies; whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne did gesse what would follow; although in those so variable motions of the minds of the people, euerie one was verie desirous to sée their queene offred vnto them (vnlooked for) after so manie haps of both fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell tempests of battell, and was by great diligence brought vp by hir mother (being a chosen and woorthie person) but yet left as a preie to others, by reason of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward warres with other nations, being further laid abroad to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nourished as a banished person, and hardlie preserued in life from the weapons of hir enimies, & violence of the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in that she honored hir with a woorthie mariage, which in truth was to this quéene rather a shadow of ioie, than anie comfort at all. For shortlie after the same, all things were turned to sorrow, by the death of hir new yoong husband, and of hir old and gréeued mother; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubtfull possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as for these things she was both pitied and praised; so was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and fauored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthered by courtlie education and affable demeanor. Whereby at the first sight, she wan vnto hir the hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir faithfull subiects.]

Costlie iewels.

Being thus come out of France, she brought into Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold worke, pretious stones, orient pearls, & such like, as excellent and faire as were to be found within Europe, with rich furniture of houshold, as hangings, carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest part of the hangings and other furniture of household, was shipped at Rone, and arriued at Leith in the moneth of October next following. After the quéene of Scots had remained the space of foure or fiue daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Argile, and diuerse other of the nobilitie being present, there was an act made by the lords of the councell [in which none of the cleargie (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present] with consent of the queene, that to remooue all causes of trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of religion publikelie standing within the realme, at hir arriuall in the same, should be made; & that no-

Hir houshold stuffe.

An act made concerning religion.

Fr. Thin.

thing should be attempted, either publikelie or priuatlie to the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put foorth and published through all parts of the realme with great diligence.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and one bishop chosen to be of the queenes secret councell, by whose aduise she should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in roome of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the priuie councell were these, the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Huntleie chancellor, the earle of Argile, the earle of Atholl, the earle Marshall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrosse, the earle of Erroll, maister Henrie Sinclar bishop of Rosse, and the lord Erskin, with the prior of S. Andrew. * But among these reioisings of the queenes interteinment into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepelie enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

Some appointed to be of the quéenes councell.
Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the priuie councell.
Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 16.

For where it was agréed by the quéene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie priuilie to be vsed. For the preparation wherof whilest the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the wax candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the houshold had not come betwéene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had béene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie doone to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was woorthie to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by Iames the quéenes bastard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Murreie. For which cause he would not offend the quéene, as I suppose, though afterward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as more plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieued, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quéenes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Calidon vnto the old religion. The which being indéed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quéenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quéene: yet the whole déed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir bastard brother Iames, by reason of the fauor that the queene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this Iames, vsing the queenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellowes. Which the nobles so much misliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be more touched.]

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587.

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quéene a certeine time, tooke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prior and monsieur Danuille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daulbeuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yéere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edenburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quéenes entering, which shée made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this, she passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes she was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edenburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quéene, towards the bearing of hir charges for

Daumal went with the two gallies into France.
The rest went through England into France.
A preparation of triumphs.
The queene visited the townes.
An assemblie of the lords.
The third part of the spiritvall liuings demanded.

for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir houshold, and a gard to tend on hir, by the aduise of the estates.

The prelats agréed for the quéenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yéeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelates to paie the third part, the lords of the priuie councell made an act, and set foorth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yéerelie to the quéenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices: and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to doo with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath béene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

An act for the cleargie.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.

* Whilest these things were in dooing, William Mettellan the yoonger was sent ambassador into England, to salute the queene of that realme (as the maner is) & to declare the good mind that the quéene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserued betwéene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppresse for manie reasons, bicause (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis inscrutabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eies and eares) this ambassador deliuered letters to the queene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quéene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quéene, to the end that the quéene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie alreadie begun: but might also (if it were possible) be dailie more and more fast bound vnto hir: and they for their parts would not omit anie occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassador the quéene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie alreadie set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latine toong, I thinke it not necessarie héere to repeat: and therefore I doo purposelie omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent spéech of hir maiestie: and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spake it, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir, & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Phaeton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiencie therefore consumed with the heat and glorie therof; so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the tale of such a woorthie prince, consume my credit, in misordering or defacing the maiestie, grauitie, wisedome, and life of hir singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leauing the same, we doo in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

Buchan. lib. 17.

The quéene of Scots had a brother called Iohn, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so seuere in mind as was Iames the other brother. This Iohn easilie persuading himselfe to obeie the quéene in all things, was the more déere vnto hir, and most fit for hir, desirous (as saith Buchanan; but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this Iohn (in absence of the other brother Iames) she did consult to hier a companie of souldiers to be about hir, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stur, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretlie set vpon the queene, and by strength haue labored to cárie hir to his castell, which was fouretéene miles from thence. All which séemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the queenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat loue which he bare vnto hir: both which were sufficientlie knowen to the common people. Which tumult being spred abroad, these souldiers after they

they had all night scowred the fields, riding vp and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselues the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iest of others.]

1562.

The sunday before Shrouetuesdaie, being the eight day of Februarie (as some write) Iames Steward then prior of saint Andrewes, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quéene, was made earle of Murreie, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earledome of Mar, which belonged to Iohn Areskin] by the quéens speciall gift, and was maried the same day vnto Agnis Keith, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting thrée daies. * In which mariage he did so much exceed, that he greatlie offended the minds of his friends, and ministred matter to his enimies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaued himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

Iames Steward made earle of Murreie. *Fr. Thin.*

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

The quéene of England desirous to haue a méeting betwixt hir and the quéene of Scots hir coosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring hir most instantlie to come to Yorke, where she would méet hir, to talke with hir of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwéene them, by coniunction and affinitie of bloud. And after consultation had with hir councell, the quéene of Scots agréed thereto: and so they were appointed to méet at Yorke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iournie, the quéene of England sent woord to the quéene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting, desiring hir to haue hir excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iournie staied.

The quéene of England desirous to speake with the quéene of Scotland.

The méeting time was disappointed.

* Much about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, Iames Hamilton being duke of Chatelerault, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quéene, then after went he vnto hir to saint Andrewes, and with manie praiers requested hir that she would vpon sufficient pledges deliuer to him the earle Bothwell, and Gawen Hamilton, but he could not obteine anie thing therein at hir hands. At what time also the quéene went to Dunbreton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into hir hands, which was accordinglie deliuered vnto hir.] Shortlie after, the quéene of Scots tooke hir iournie towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striueling in the moneth of August.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

The quéene made hir progresse into the north parts of Scotland.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogiluie, and Iohn Gordon of Finnater, sonne to the earle of Huntleie, met on the calseie of Edenburgh & fought, where (after manie blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogiluie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore Iohn Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbuith of Edenburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and tooke his waie northward: wherevpon followed great trouble shortlie after to the house of Huntleie. The quéene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Murreie, and Morton, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in hir iournie towards the north part, and caused Iohn Gordon of Finnater to be summoned to appéere and answer the law at Aberden, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogiluie. The quéene comming to the towne of Aberden, was honorablie receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

Lord Ogiluie and Iohn Gordon fight togither.

Iohn Gordon breaketh prison

Iohn Gordon is summoned by the quéene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

* These things thus doone at Aberden, as the quéene determined to go further, she was intreated by Iohn Lesle a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to vouchsafe his house in hir waie, being 12 miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie conuenient for the execution of the earle of Murreie, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Wherevpon Lesle, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the queene that she would not laie such a note of infamie vpon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betraied the chiefest brother of the quéene, no euill man, and one that was not his enimie, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Wherevpon it then ceassed,

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 17.

and the next night was also quietlie passed ouer at Rothimie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quéene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Wherevpon the earle of Huntleie, hauing before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberden, to helpe his son at the law day appointed for his appéerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quéene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said Iohn Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striueling castell, there to remaine during the quéenes pleasure. But he following the euill counsell of some yoong heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quéenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he tooke it) vpon the earle of Murreie, whome he put most in blame for the rigor shewed against him, but his enterprise tooke not effect. Now the quéene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for hir in that place, for the receiuing of hir and hir traine: but she went vnto Balwanie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Kinlos, to Tarnewaie, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

Gordon is commanded to Striueling castell. He disobeied.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntleie, purposing to attend on the queene at Inuernesse, caused prouision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quéene suspecting his dealing, least this should be doone vpon some policie, commanded the kéepers of the castell to render the same to one of hir heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the capteine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged vpon the towne bridge. The lord Gordon & his brother Iohn Gordon of Finnater came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inuernesse, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntleie being come to Kinlosse, and hearing that the castell of Inuernesse was commanded to be giuen vp into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the kéepers, that they should deliuer it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quéene suspected the earle of Huntleie.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

The quéene remained in Inuernesse the space of foure or fiue daies, where the principall capteine of the clanes of the countrie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraisers and Murreies, valiant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntleie had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaie. Héerevpon, they tooke with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntleie all this while came not foorth of Strabogie. The quéene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Finnater, and there in hir owne presence, caused the kéepers thereof to be charged to deliuer it, which they refused to doo. From Bamf the quéene rode to the lard of Geichtis place, called Geicht, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberden. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberden.

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberden.

After this, the lord Iohn prior of Coldingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntleie to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approched. The ladie Huntleie receiued them verie courteouslie, and gaue them good interteinement, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Stratherne, the Merns, and to the shire of Aberden, to come to Aberden quarterlie, euerie countrie to remaine there fiftéene daies; and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntleie sent his wife in message to the quéene and councell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time Iames Hepborne earle of Bothwell, who (vpon dis-

The earle of Huntleie is sent for.

The ladie Huntleie is sent vnto the quéene.

The Gerdés are imprisoned.

pleasure

pleasure conceiued against him about a quarell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had béene committed to prison in Easter wéeke last before past) escaped out of Dauids tower in Edenburgh at a window. The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

* The earle of Huntleie, vnderstanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flie to the mounteins: but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Wherevpon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Mar. By reason whereof the earle of Murreie, who at the first had scarse a hundred horssemen with him, began with Iames Dowglasse earle of Moorton, and Patrike Lindseie, to lead an armie against his enimies, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adioining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to kéepe all those places, that Huntleie should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a soft pase, to méet his enimie: whose comming Huntleie did abide, with thrée hundred men kéeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 17.

When the earle of Murreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might sée all the marishes about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armies met, at what time manie on the earle of Murreie his side did flée awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Murreie, which saw there was no succour in fléeing, stood to it valiantlie, called his men togither, set vpon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to flie as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleies, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was doone that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntleie a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntleie himselfe, and his two sons, Iohn and Adam. But the father being old and short breathed by reason of his grossenes, was slaine betweene the hands of such as tooke him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberden.] The quéene séemed sorie for the earles death. But in Nouember Iohn Gordon was beheaded in Aberden, and shortlie after the quéene returned southwards, leauing foure commissioners in Aberden, the treasuror, maister Iames Macgill, maister Iohn Spens of Cundie, and the lard of Pettarow, to compound for the eschets of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntleie. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespasse. * The earle Bothwell was commanded the fift kalends of December by an herald to yéeld himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publike enimie.] Iohn Gordon is beheaded. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib.* 178.

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntleie, was taken by the duke of Chatelerault his father in law, at Cumernoull, and brought to Edenburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie conuict, forfalted, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yéere of God, 1565. The lord Gordon is taken prisoner. 1563. *Buch.*

1562.

* At this time was a monie mulct set vpon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting foorth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publike commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, because (after an edict made therefore at the quéenes comming into Scotland) he did not absteine from hearing and saieng masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edenburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions were fined, with promise of a greater punishment to be laied vpon them, if they were found offending againe in that sort.] *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib.* 17.

The quéene held a parlement in Edenburgh, where the earle of Huntleis dead bodie was brought present before the estates in the tolbuith, and forfalted. The earle of Sutherland George Gordon was forfalted also, and diuerse other of their friends. And in this parlement the act of obliuion was ratified and approoued, and diuerse other new acts made. This yeere in August, the quéene went on progresse into Argile. This yéere deceassed diuerse councellors or senators of the college of Iustice, as maister Iohn Stephanson chancellor

1563.

A parlement.

The act of obliuion ratified.

The quéene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

lor of Glascow, and the prouost of Corstrophine. In place of the first, maister Iohn Lesle, officiall of Aberden, was promoted; and in the prouosts place maister Iames Baulfour succéeded. There come an ambassador from the king of Sweden, to treat of a mariage to be contracted with the quéene, but his message was not regarded. The second of Iulie, Henrie Sincler bishop of Rosse shipped at Leith to passe into France, to procure some helpe of his disease. He was cut of the stone in Paris, and died the second of Ianuarie next after. There succéeded to that bishoprike of Rosse, maister Iohn Lesle, parson of Ouen, being then one of the senators of the session and college of iustice.

1564.

Ambassadors from Sweden.

The bishop of Rosse went into France.

The quéenes progresse.

In the moneth of August, the quéene passed into Atholl in progresse, and from thence to Badzenocht, to Inuernesse, and to the canonrie of Rosse, and returned through Murreie to Gartleie, Aberden, Dunnoter, and so to Edenburgh, where she remained the next winter. In the moneth of October, the earle of Lennox came into Scotland, and for his cause there was a parlement holden in December, in which he was restored to all his lands, honors, and dignities, within that realme. In December also, the bishop of Dunblane deceassed, and after him succéeded maister William Chesiholme his brothers son. In Ianuarie, the quéene tooke hir iournie through Fife, and in manie gentlemens places was banketted. In which time, Henrie Steward, lord Darnleie, a goodlie man of personage, and sonne to the earle of Lennox, came into Scotland, where he came to the quéenes presence in the Weames, the ninth day of Februarie. The quéene so well liked him, that she assembled all the temporall lords togither at Striueling, in the moneth of Aprill, and there obteined of them their consents, that she might marrie the said lord Darneleie. After this, he was made earle of Rosse.

The earle of Lennox came into Scotland.

A progresse.

Lord Darneleie came into Scotland.

1563.

A parlement.

Lord Darneleie is made lord of Rósse.

In the meane time, the quéene of England sent sir Nicholas Throckmorton into Scotland, to vnderstand the proceedings in the quéenes mariage with the lord Darneleie, and for other affaires, who came to the assemblie at Striueling to that effect. The quéene of Scots sent maister Iohn Haie abbat of Balmerinoch into England to the quéene to mitigat hir displeasure towards the lord Darneleie, and to obteine hir consent to the mariage; who answered, that she ment to send an ambassador of hir owne into Scotland for that and other causes, and (according to hir promise) she sent one. Shortlie after, certeine capteins & men of warre in saint Andrewes, Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, receiued monie about the same time of the earle of Murreie, to take part with him, for the which they were after punished. After the assemblie at Striueling, the queene séemed not to like of the earle of Murreie so well as she had doone before: wherevpon he departed the court, and repaired to saint Andrewes, where (through the counsell of certeine persons) he sought waies to stop the mariage.

The quéene of England dissuaded that mariage.

Ambassage sent into Scotland.

The earle of Murreie a tutor vnto the quéene.

The quéene neuerthelesse sent the bishop of Dunblane to Rome for a dispensation to marrie with the lord Darneleie, being hir coosine in the second degrée of consanguinitie, which he obteined, & sent it home shortlie after. The quéene was then principallie counselled by the earles of Atholl, and Lennox, the lord Ruthwen, and their friends. In the meane time, the earle of Murreie persuaded the duke of Chatelerault, the earle of Argile, and sundrie other, to méet at Striueling, where they made a bond to stop the mariage, alledging the same to be made for maintenance of the religion. The queene aduertised thereof, released the lord Gordon foorth of prison, wherein he had béene kept within the castell of Dunbar, and restoring him to his fathers lands, created him earle of Huntleie. She also sent for the earle of Bothwell to returne home, who was banished, and was then in France [and the earle of Southerland to returne out of Flanders.]

Dispensation had from Rome for to marrie.

Consultation to stop the mariage.

Gordon is created earle of Huntleie.

Bothwell is sent for.

Fr. Thin.

In the moneth of Iulie, the lord Darneleie earle of Rosse was made duke of Albanie. And on saturdaie at euen, the eight and twentith daie of the same moneth, before the mariage, he was proclamed king by the quéenes commandement at the market crosse of Edenburgh. And on the nine and twentith daie of the same moneth, he was maried to the quéene in the chappell of Holie rood house, at fiue of the clocke in the morning. Shortlie after, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Argile, Murreie, and their complices, were summoned

Lord Darneleie is made duke of Albanie.

Lord Darneleie is proclamed king.

The quéene is maried.

to

to appeare before the queene and hir councell within six daies; & because they refused so to doo, they were put to the horne.

Certein lords refuse to appéere before the quéene. *Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 17.*

* The king and queene therevpon assemble their power, and by a herald demand the deliuerie of the castell of Hamilton. But (he returning without the effect of his message) they addresse themselues to warre. At what time the lords of the congregation were at some variance amongest themselues, as seuered into diuerse opinions: for the Hamiltons that were of greatest power in those places, did affirme, that "they should haue no firme conditions of peace, except the king and quéene were made awaie: for so long as they were in health, they could hope for nothing but new warres, new deceipts, and dissembled peace; a thing farre more dangerous than open war. For though manie times the iniuries of priuat persons maie be laied downe by trauell and persuasion, and maie be recompensed againe with great commodities: yet there is no waie to appease the displeasure of kings, but by taking them awaie."

Wicked counsell alwaies woorst to the giuer.

Vpon which bad speech, the earles of Murreie and of Glencarne (which well vnderstood that the Hamiltons did not séeke the publike commoditie, but their owne priuat riches as persons that were next to the crowne after the queens death) did abhor the slaughter and gouernement of the Hamiltons, whom of late they had felt to be both cruell and couetous: and did therefore giue more mild and sound counsell, saieng that "this dissention being ciuill, was not yet come to be bloudie: in which hitherto they had onelie contended with words & not with swords, being not yet so far, but that (if it were possible) the same might be ended with honest conditions.

"To the persuasion whereof, he said that there were manie in the camps of the two princes, which gréedilie desired to heare of peace, & would not faile to further their endeuor therein, nor to defend themselues & their cause with néedfull weapons: all which did perchance foresée that the king and quéene (by reason of their youth) had not yet faulted so greatlie, as that it turned to the vtter ouerthrow of the common-wealth; & if they haue faults (as who hath not) they were such as were rather to their owne priuat reproch than otherwise, and therefore they ought not to be punished with flat death: but rather to be cured with easier remedies. For he did remember it to haue alwaies beene obserued heretofore, that in the life of kings, we should alwaies couer their secret vices, we should mildlie interpret their doubtfull faults, and we should with patience beare their knowne euills: so that they did not by them bring vtter destruction to the common-wealth."

When this opinion was pleasing to most of the hearers, the other Hamiltons (except Iames, which was head of that familie) determined to rest in quiet; but he accompanied with sixtéene horsses remained with the lords. Who being now so weakened of their power, that they could neither wage battell, nor safelie passe to their owne; did giue place to the time, and went that night to Hamilton.] The quéene assembled an armie, and went to Glascow to pursue them [at what time (as saith Buchanan) the earle of Lennox was made warden of the east marches, and the duke and earles with other of their companie came to Edenburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

An armie gathered against them.

The lords went vnto Dunfreis.

The quéene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir councell assembled foorth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, she hearing that the towns of saint Andrews, Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and tooke inquisition thereof, giuing order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailzzeis of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundée, and saint Iohns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberden, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

Certeine townes are punished.

About this time, the quéene tooke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because

cause he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The kéeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quéene returning to Edenburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edenburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Roths, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lards of Grange, Cuningham, Herdie, Pettarrow, maister Iames Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quéens comming with an armie, fled into England & came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

A great armie.

The lords fled into England.

The lord Heris then maister of Maxwell conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quéene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lards of Lochinwar and Drunlanrig likewise. After the armie had taried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of good order in the countrie, the quéen returned to Edenburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The queene sent the maister Dauid Chalmer chancellor of Rosse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortlie after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluoiser into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters vnto the quéene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankefullie receiued, and the said Maluoiser honorablie at his departure rewarded.

Their conuoiers got their pardon.

The quéene returned againe into Edenburgh.

The quéene sent into France for aid.

The duke of Chatelerault, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastell vpon Tine, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quéene of England making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quéens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quéene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastell, where the duke of Chatelerault, perceiuing no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quéene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obteined pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of fiue yeares, and shortlie after he passed through England, and so ouer into France, according to his appointment.

The lords send to the quéene of England.

The quéene of England sent to the quéene of Scots.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingshire, & Louthian, spending his time in hawking. The queene remained at Edenburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. * About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quéens name in all their writings and patents. For where, vntill this time, the kings name was set before the queens: now quite contrarie, the name of the quéene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quéene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of hirs and his; and Dauid the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stampe of the kings name, to vse when need required.]

The king went a hawking.

Fr. Thin. Bucha. lib. 17.

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next insuing, and summons decréed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forfalted. The French king sent monsieur Rambeueullet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quéene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaell. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Rambeueullet returned into France, being highlie rewarded.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaell.

1566.

From that time that the parlement was proclamed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreis friends being in Scotland, neuer ceassed to seeke all the waies and means they could deuise to staie the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretlie persuaded the king to staie the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made & crowned king

They persuade with the king.

of

of Scotland absolutelie, and the quéene so to haue lesse to doo with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agréed to them. The king soone persuaded.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seuenth day of March, they perceiuing the forfalture like to procéed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entred into the quéens priuie chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being saturday, and the ninth of March; where being arriued in warlike manner, the lord Ruthen declared vnto the queene, that they would not suffer hir anie longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had doone: and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber Dauid Richeo an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crieng pitiouslie, '*Iustitia*, *Iustitia*:' and in hir vtter chamber they suddenlie slue him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie. The king is entred into the quéens priuie chamber. Dauid Richeo is slaine.

The quéene was shut vp within hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to kéepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntleie and Bothwell escaped by a backe window foorth in their chamber, wherof the king and his companie were right sorie. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quéenes ferrie, and went to S. Iohns towne. On the morow being sunday (the quéene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had voice in parlement, shuld depart out of the towne of Edenburgh: and after noone the same day, the earles of Murreie and Rothes, with other of their companies that came foorth from Newcastell the saturday before, came to the abbeie of Holie rood house about six of the clocke in the after noone, where they were thankfullie receiued by the king and his companie. They spake also with the quéene, who had no great comfort of their comming. The earle of Huntleie is fled and the residue also. The exiled lords come into Scotland.

The morrow following, being monday, the earle of Murreie, and the other that were summoned, passed to the tolbuith of Edenburgh, & made their protestation there, that they were readie to answer in parlement, and none appeared to accuse them. After this, it was concluded to kéepe the quéene in streict ward. But by hir politike demeanor, their purpose in that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference with the king, she persuaded him to thinke, that hée had ioined himselfe with those that would be his destruction, if it happened with hir otherwise than well; as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high displeasure that she had taken being quicke with child: through the which persuasion, and other misliking of things, he departed secretlie with hir in the night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and first came vnto Seiton, and afterward from thence to Dunbar. They make their protestation. The quéene had coference with the king. The king was soone persuaded.

Thither the earles of Huntleie and Bothwell hastilie repaired, by whose counsell and others then with hir, she caused proclamation to be made in diuerse parts of the realme, charging all manner of men in feats of warre, to come vnto hir to Dunbar, & to passe from thence vnto Edenburgh within six daies after. She also sent letters to the same effect vnto diuerse noble men of the realme, who prepared themselues with great diligence to méet hir. The earle of Murreie and the rest of the lords being with him, hearing the preparation that was made against them, and perceiuing themselues not able to resist, thought good euerie of them to seeke some particular meane to obteine remission at the quéens hands. Which they obteined all of them, except the earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, and such other as were with them at the murther of Dauid Richeo. Wherevpon they desparing of pardon, fled into England; where the lord Ruthwen died at Newcastell shortlie after; as in place ye shall heare. Huntleie and Bothwell. Proclamation made. Pardon is craued and obteined. The murtherers are excepted.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them, came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glencarne and the lard of Cunningham head came thither also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of Rothes purchased his pardon at the same time. The earles of Argile and Murreie, and the lord Boid, being at Lithquo, sent to the quéene for their pardon, and Manie pardoned.

obteined it, being commanded neuerthelesse to passe into Argile, and to remaine there during hir graces pleasure, which commandement they obeied. The eightéenth of March, the quéene well accompanied came to Hadington towards night: and on the ninetéenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and the Hamiltons met hir at Muskelburgh, and so likewise did the lords Leuingston, Fleming, Hume, Borthwike, and manie other noble men, and conueied hir vnto Edenburgh.

The quéene commeth to Edenburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunkelds lodging, and taried there a certeine space, hauing with hir the erls of Huntleie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Marshall, Southerland, Cathnes, the bishops of saint Andrews and Rosse; the lords Leuingston, Fleming, and diuerse other noble men, by whose counsell order was taken for redressing of the state of the realme, whereby the same was shortlie brought to great quietnesse. After this, the quéene perceiuing hirselfe to draw neere the time of hir deliuerance, went to the castell of Edenburgh, there to remaine till shée were deliuered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie, Thomas Scot shiriffe, deputie of Perth, & a priest called sir Henrie Yair, seruant to the lord Ruthwen, were apprehended for being dooers in the slaughter of Dauid, and were hanged and quartered. Their heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the abbeie, and the other on the nether bow.

Execution doone vpon the murtherers.

In the moneth of Aprill this yéere, the bishop of Brechin president of the session, deceassed, and in his roome succéeded to that bishoprike, a friend and cousine to the earle of Argile called Campbell. In the end of Aprill, the quéene, willing to haue the earles of Argile and Murreie ioined with the rest of the councell, sent for them to come to the castell of Edenburgh, where all griefs and controuersies that rested betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were referred to the quéene, who agreed them, and they all remained with hir the residue of the summer. The queene hearing that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the other their assistants were receiued in England, and remained at Newcastell; shée sent maister Iames Thornton chantor of Murreie, with letters to the queene of England, and also to the king of France, and other hir friends there; declaring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subiects against hir, desiring them not to receiue them within their realmes or dominions.

The quéene agréeth all the lords.

The quéene made sute to the quéene of England.

Shortlie after, the queene of England sent a gentleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland, with letters and message to the queene, promising to cause them to depart foorth of hir realme of England: and withall sent vnto them warning to depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer then next insuing. But in the meane time the lord Ruthwen departed this life at Newcastell, with great repentance of his former life: giuing God thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him for mercie and forgiuenesse, whereof he did assure himselfe. And from thencefoorth the earle of Morton, and the maister of Ruthwen, remained secretlie neere to Anwike, and other places of the borders, till they obteined pardon, and were restored. About this time there came from the king of France, a wise aged gentleman, named monsieur la Crocke, as his ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the winter following.

The quéene of England hir answer.

The lord Ruthwen repented.

An ambassage from the king of France.

In the moneth of Iune, the quéene perceiuing the time of hir deliuerance to approch, wrote vnto all the principall noble men of hir realme, to come and remaine within the towne of Edenburgh, during the time of hir deliuerance, where they assembled: and the king hir husband, with the earles of Argile, Murreie, Atholl, and Mar, remained with hir in the castell; and the earle of Huntleie, Bothwell, and the remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And vpon the nintéenth day of the same moneth of Iune, betwixt 10 and 11 of the clocke before noone, hir grace was deliuered of a goodlie man-child, to the great comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subiects, whereof the nobilitie did greatlie reioise. And incontinentlie all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all the lords and people came togither in the church of saint Giles, to giue thanks to almightie God for his great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in giuing to them a prince, and withall made their humble

A prince borne.

ble praiers vnto his diuine maiestie, to indue him with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge to gouerne the realme and subiects thereof, when soeuer the same should fall into his hands.

The same night at éeuen, there were great fires for ioy made in the towne of Edenburgh, and in all the countrie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified therof. The queene remained still in the castell of Edenburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till shée had recouered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August, she passed vp the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certeine daies, the earles of Murreie and Mar being of companie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluoisir came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the quéene, who was conueied by the bishop of Rosse to Allowaie, where he was ioifullie receiued, courteouslie interteined, and highly rewarded. The queene of England sent maister Henrie Killegrew to the quéene with the like message, reioising for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankefull maner, and well rewarded.

Here is to be noted, that shortlie after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimoich, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Sauoie: desiring them to send ambassadors, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreouer, she sent Iames Meluine to the quéene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother [who by hir ambassador Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the quéene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiouslie wrought & inamelled, weieng 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie.] These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadors to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the quéene accompanied with the king hir husband, the erles of Huntleie, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Meggat land, there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edenburgh, caused the prince to bee conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in kéeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the quéene went on progresse into Glen Arkeneie.

The princes godfathers & godmothers.

Fr. Thin.

I. Stow pa. 1131. in quart.

* The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the quéene determineth to go to Iedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a iournie into Liddisdale, where he was hurt with a caleeuer by a base théefe. Whervpon with vncerteine life he was caried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the quéene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Borthwike, and from thence hauing séene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Borthwike, whither shée caused Bothwell to bée brought: after whose comming thither, the quéene fell so grieuouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither unto hir.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 17.

In Ianuarie the king came to Glascow, where he fell sicke, and remooving from thence went to Edenburgh, and the quéene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but hée was lodged at a house within the towne, neere to the Kirke a field, within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of Februarie in the night he was shamefullie murthered, togither with one William Parat. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne vp with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the maner thereof, onelie saieng that he was shamefullie murthered in a morning (a heauie breakefast) by his owne (but vnnaturall and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he séeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agréeable to their merits.

1567.

The king murthered. 1566. *Stow.*

The earle of Bothwell is euen at the first vehementlie suspected to be the principall offendor in this most heinous and detestable murther. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an assise, as they call it; but also shortlie after maried the quéene. By reason wherof, the suspicion that men had alreadie conceiued, that she should be also priuie

The earle of Bothwell murthered the king.

priuie to the murther, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scotish nobilitie, sore repining and maligning at such the speedie aduancement of Bothwell, who (as euerie man persuaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murther) got them to armes on the sudden, before the quéene or Bothwell were aduertised of their meaning, they being then at Borthwike castell, eight miles distant from Edenburgh.

The lords get them to armes.

Fr. Thin. * Thus leauing the lords awhile at Edenburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things doone by Bothwell & the quéene, before that she was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whome she had caused to be buried not farre from Dauid Richeo hir secretarie, slaine (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots: the queene (I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murther of hir husband, was forceablie taken (as she was on hir iournie) by the earle Bothwell, and caried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorablie interteined. Which fact of his bred great mislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the queene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Buchan. li. 17.

This doone, there was a consultation had for a mariage to be solemnized betwéene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a diuorse had betwéene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemne bands asked betweene the said earle Iames Hepborne, and the quéene Marie Steward) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting therevnto) consummat at Edenburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Orkenie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassador then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edenburgers to mislike of the queene.

Which mariage bréeding some euill opinion of the said quéene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of forreine nations, shee wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish hir power, and prouide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and insurrections. Wherevpon, first she determineth to send an ambassador into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this mariage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

"First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our mariage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by anie messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) dooth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieflie to the offices and duties of the duke or capteine of the Orcades towards vs, euen vnto that day in which it séemed good to vs to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yéeres of discretion, as wée terme it) in this sort.

"That when he first began to manage his owne affaires (being from the death of his father one of the chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himselfe to the dutie and seruice of the princes and kings of Scotland, as one borne of a famous familie for his ancient nobilitie, & of great reuenues in this kingdome which he possesseth by right of inheritance. At that time also he did especiallie and altogither consecrate himselfe to our mother, whilest she had the gouernement of the realme.

"In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie perseuere, that although the greater part of the nobilitie, and almost all the townes were fallen from hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet hée would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a person that could not be woone by anie promises or benefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his liuings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but that he wuld rather suffer his principall house, which was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull and pretious store of furni-

ture thereof to be taken from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother. Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs and our people (when the English host was brought by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our kingdome, which directed their weapons to none other marke, than that our now husband at that time earle Bothwell, should by force be inforced to flie) he fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where he honored me with all dutie and seruice (that hée might) vntill my returne into Scotland.

" Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which were doone by him in the warres against the English before my returne into mine owne countrie, where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and graue wisedome, that he was iudged (being then verie yoong) méet to haue the gouernment of ancient persons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute deputie and chancellor: as in truth he was. In which office he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiantlie atchiued) he left a singular praise and fame of him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst the enimies.

" After our returne into Scotland, he emploied all his indeuor to the inlarging of our authoritie, and spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing those rebels which dwell about the borders of England. The dispatch wherof being shortlie performed, and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to doo the like in all the other parts of the kingdome. But as enuie dooth alwaies accompanie vertue, so the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innouation, did labor to diminish our fauour towards him (for his great labors imploied in our behalfe) in misconstruing his good deeds.

" By which in the end they wrought so much with me, that we committed him to prison; partlie to satisfie the minds of such as were emulous against him, and could not brooke the increase of his following honor and greatnesse; and partlie to appease such seditions as were likelie then to breake foorth to the destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to the power of his enimies, where he remained almost two yéeres next following. At what time the authors of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie towards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise warre, and tooke weapons against their quéene.

" From thence was he called backe into Scotland, & being restored to his former honors & possessions, he was againe made generall of all the armie: by whose helpe our authoritie began afresh so to florish, that all the rebels (suddenlie forsaking their countrie) were inforced to flie into England, vntill part of them vpon humble submission were receiued anew into our fauour. But how traitorouslie I was handled by the rest that were restored (and especiallie such, whose ancestors I had with benefits most promoted) our vncle is not ignorant, and therefore we will touch that no more.

" Neither is it to be ouerpassed in silènce, with what diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as deteined me prisoner, and with what speed (and singular prouidence of his) I did both escape from prison, and recouered my former authoritie: after that I had dispersed the factions of the coniurators and seditious persons. In which trulie I am inforced to confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me, that I could neuer after forget it. These things although they be great of themselues, yet he hath hitherto increased them with such diligence and carefulnesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or wish more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found in him; vntill these last times which followed the deceasse of our husband.

" But from that time, as his thoughts did séeme to tend higher, so his actions did after a sort séeme to be more insolent. And although the matter went so far, that we were to take all things in the best part: yet these things did then most greeuouslie offend me; but especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that there were not other sufficient abilities in vs, to recompense his deseruings, vnlesse we gaue our selfe to him in mariage. Touching which, at the first he vsed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when he saw them

them not to succeed after his mind, at length, shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled to the benefit of violence, and vsed force (to the end his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me vnder his gouernement.

"Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue their drifts (in attempting great things) vntill they haue obteined their purpose. For I did suppose, that all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spéedie obeieng of my commandements, had not issued from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire to shew his obedience and good will towards me: neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable countenance (which we are accustomed to vse to the more woorthie persons, to the end to win their minds to be more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised his stomach (more than anie others) that he would promise to himselfe anie larger good will to procéed from me towards him, than he had before.

"But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his purpose, and kéeping all his counsels secret from me, did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe with such spéedie diligence, that (vnknowen to me) he obteined of the péeres of the realme (in the assemblie of the parlement héere) a writing with all their hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same. In which writing was conteined, that they did not onlie assent vnto the mariage; but that they also further promised to spend their life and goods (offered to all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they would be vtter enimies to all such as should labor to hinder it. For the more easie obteining of whose consent in this sort, he had persuaded the said nobilitie, that the same was not doone against my mind and consent. At length, when he had purchased this writing from them, he began by litle and litle (with earnest intreaties & flatteries) to obteine our consent. But when at the first our answers did not content his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those things, which are accustomed to happen in the attempt of such matters.

"First, the outward tokens of our good fauour towards him, the reasons by which our friends or his enimies might hinder the same, & manie other things which being obiected or willinglie happening, might frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had before subscribed. At length (fortune fauouring him therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one instance to hazard his hope and life about the same. Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe, with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his determination, he foure daies after hauing conuenient time and place therefore in the high waie, set vpon me with a strong band, as I was comming from séeing of my déere sonne, and with great spéed caried me to Dunbar.

"Which euill déed how gréeuouslie we tooke (especiallie doone by him, from whome all our subiects neuer looked to haue such things to procéed) euerie bodie maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him, what honorable opinion I haue had of him and of his conditions in my spéech vsed to others, and of his vnthankefulnesse to me therefore; with all other things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These matters I laied against him with bitter words. But his answers therevnto were more mild, and tempered with gentler spéeches, in this, that he would still vse all honor and dutie towards vs, and labor by all means to haue our good will, whom he would not offend.

"As touching this, that he had against our will caried vs into one of our own castels, he humblie craued pardon therefore (in that he was inforced therevnto) although in the same he had forgotten that reuerence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs. Wherevnto he added, that he did the same for our safetie and defense. At which time also he began to repeat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so gréeuouslie offended with him, that their malice had not ouerpassed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him withall.

" But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had burdened him with the murther of the king, and that his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspiracies of his enimies, whome he could not know; because they did in shew and spéeches dissemble their friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie for him to foresée and auoid their deceipts. Whose extreme hatred was now growen to such height, that he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie time, except he might be assured of the quéenes vnchangeable fauour towards him. Which certeintie of hir fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane, to persuade hir selfe to receiue him into the mariage bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement, or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme rule thereby; but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that he might serue and obeie hir as long as he liued, in such sort as he did before. Whervnto he added the delights of such spéeches as that matter required.

" But in the end, when he saw that we could not be mooued therevnto, either with praiers or promises, he shewed vnto vs what he had doone with the whole nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which being suddenlie and vnhoped for laied against vs, whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we leaue to the consideration of the king, the quéene, our vncles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose counsell I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I saw them before my face, in whose former faith and wisedome I did repose my selfe; whose strength did defend our authoritie, and without which our power was but small or none: when (I say) I had seene all these to haue vowed themselues to serue his desire, and that I was alone left a preie for him, I did with my selfe in my mind consider manie things, but could bring none of them to effect.

" Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did still vrge the same vnto me. At length, when I saw no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawen to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a little pacified mine anger, & displeasure against him) to refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times past, and the hope which we had of the following continuance of the same towards vs.

" And further, how greeuouslie our people would suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnacquainted, and not invred with their lawes and customs, that they would not suffer me long to liue vnmaried, and that the people (being by nature factious) could not be kept in obedience, except our authoritie were supported and practised by a man which could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to bridle the insolencie of rebels in the administration of the common wealth: the weight of which charge, our power (being weakened and almost brought to nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since our comming into Scotland) was not able anie longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions, we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies in diuerse parts of our realmes, which afterward also did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne subiects to take armes against vs.

" For all which causes, when we well perceiued that if we labored to preserue the dignitie of kinglie maiestie, that they would inforce me to mariage, that our people could not abide a forren prince, and that amongest our owne subiects, there was not anie which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdome and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind, might be preferred before or equalled vnto him, I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole consent of the parlement, and assemblie of the nobilitie before mentioned. After that my former constant determination was thus somewhat mollified by these and other reasons, he did wring from me partlie by force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of mariage.

" Which

" Which doone, we could not yet by anie meanes and persuasion obteine of him (fearing an alteration in our mind) that the time wherein this mariage should be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we might participat the same with the king and quéene of France, and such other friends as we had remaining in those parts. For he beginning with a bold attempt (after that he had once thereby atteined the first step of his desire) did neuer after that ceasse to ioine importunat praiers to his persuasions and arguments of reason, vntill he did without violence inforce vs to set end to the woorke begun, and that at such time, and after such order, as seemed most conuenient vnto him for the execution of his determination. In which matter I cannot dissemble, but that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either I would or had deserued.

" For he was more carefull to satisfie them, by whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought himselfe to haue obteined his purpose (though he did both deceiue them and mée) than to gratifie me, or to weie how méet it were for me, being brought vp in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which, neither he nor anie man liuing, whilest I did liue, could draw me awaie (aliue) by anie action. In which thing trulie, though we doo acknowledge our error, yet we willinglie desire, that the king and quéene his mother, our vncle, or anie friend of ours, doo not expostulat with him, nor anie waie laie the fault vnto his charge.

" For sith things be now so ended, as that they cannot be againe vndoone, we take all things in the best part: & as he is in déed, so he is to be accounted our husband, whome from henceforwards we haue determined both to loue & reuerence. Wherefore all they which professe themselues to be our friends, must also shew the like to him which is ioined vnto vs with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath in manie things behaued himselfe lesse diligentlie, & almost ouer-rashlie, which we willinglie impute to his immoderat affection towards vs; yet we desire the king, the quéene, our vncle, and the rest of our friends, no lesse to loue and fauor him, than if all things had till this day béene doone after their aduise and determination; in the behalfe of which our husband, we promise that he shall in all things (which shal be required of him hereafter) alwaies gratifie them in what he maie."

These remedies being found to defend the quéens credit amongst forren princes, other remedies were to be sought for defense of hir owne person against hir owne subiects. Wherefore (after that the earle of Murreie was appointed to remaine as banished beyond the seas in France, whither he tooke his iournie through England) the quéene (deliuered of such a feare as he was to hir, & therfore better able to rule, or at least to make better shift, with such other as were coniured, to vse Buchanans word, against hir) vsed what diligence she might to gather forces, especiallie in the Mers and east of Louthian.]

The quéene gathereth forces.

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had beene broken and disappointed, they marched from Dunbar on saturdaie, the fourth of Iune, first to Hathington, & there resting till the euen, set forward to Gladismore, and taking there deliberation in the matter; they lodged that night at Seiton, and in the morning marched in order of battell towards Carbarrie hill, and there chose foorth a plot of ground of great aduantage, appointing to fight on foot, because the power of the lords in number of horssemen, was stronger than the quéens, and of greater experience. There were with the quéene and Bothwell, the lords Seiton, Yester, and Borthwike; also the lards of Wauchton, Bas, Ormiston, Weaderburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with them also two hundred harquebusiers waged, and of great artillerie some field péeces. Their whole number was estéemed to be about 2000: but the more part of them were commons & countriemen.

Carbarrie hill.

The number of the quéens power.

The earles of Morton, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne, the lords of Hume, Lindseie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Sanquhar; the lards of Drumlangrid, Tulibarden, Grange, and yoong Sesford, were assembled togither at Edenburgh with a power like in number to the quéens, but for the more part consisting of gentlemen, although not furnished with anie number of harquebusiers, except a few of the townsmen of Edenburgh, that willinglie ioined with them in that quarrell. Vpon the fifteenth of Iune, they came foorth of the towne, and approched their aduersaries.

The power of the lords.

aduersaries. But there was monsieur la Croque, the French kings ambassadour, who tooke great paine, in trauelling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some agréement. * Who by his interpretor laid before them how carefullie he had studied for the commoditie & tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before this; and that now also he caried the same mind with him. Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it were possible) that the matter might be so taken vp, for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be ended without force or bloudshed. For the compassing whereof, he would imploie all his trauell, sith the quéene also did not refuse to heare the counsell & persuasion of peace. For the more certeintie wherof, he did at that time promise them pardon and vtter forgetfulnesse of all things passed before time; & did with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no hurt should fall vnto anie man there, for taking weapon against the highest gouernor. *Fr. Thin.* *Bucha. lib. 18.*

After that the interpretor had deliuered these things, the earle of Morton answered, that he did not take armor against the quéene; but against him that had killed the king. Whome if the queene would deliuer to punishment, or separat him from hir; she should well vnderstand, that they & the rest of hir subiects held nothing more déere vnto them, than to continue in their dutifull obedience: without which granted to them, there could be no agréement made; because they came not thither to craue pardon for anie offense which they had committed (wherevnto the earle of Glencarne added) but rather to giue pardon to such as had offended.]

Wherfore the ambassador Croque returned backe to Edenburgh, and the quéens part began to decrease, diuerse shrinking awaie from hir; so that after it began to grow towards the euening, Bothwell fled to the castell of Dunbar. But the quéene desirous to talke with William Kircadie the lard of Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed to the lords, who tooke hir with them to Edenburgh, [she being in a short garment, base, & worne, comming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan) of which lords she requested that they would suffer hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that sort.] The Hamiltons were on the waie comming to assist the queene, with seuen or eight hundred horssemen; but before they could reach to the place, the queene was in the hands of the lords, and so they returned. The quéene commeth to the lords. *Fr. Thin.*

The lard of Cragmiller [then prouost of Edenburgh] and sir Iames Balfure also the capteine of the castell, were ioined in this confederacie with the lords, as shortlie after it appeared. The queene after this was conueied ouer the Forth, and brought to Lochleuin, where she was appointed to remaine in ward vnder the safe kéeping of William Dowglas lard of that place. The earle Bothwell, escaping to Dunbar, found meanes to flée into Denmarke, where he was staied and committed to prison, wherein at length he died. Diuerse persons afterwards were apprehended as parties to the murther of the king, and therevpon condemned, were executed, confessing the said earle to be the principall executor of the same murther. * Leauing the quéene therfore in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for the honor she once had) to set downe certeine verses made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commendation of hir ancestors, and of hir; who in the first yeares of hir gouernement vsed hir selfe to the good liking of all hir subiects. In which verses Seton dooth further meane, that Lesle should hereafter set foorth hir gouernement, as he hath doone that of the other king before hir. The verses be as followeth. *Fr. Thin.* The quéene is sent to Lochleuin. *Fr. Thin.*

" Clara atauis, genus antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiorum hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Diuisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decus, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gaza, fauórque virûm:
Sed pietatis honos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor; Lesleus before the preface of his eight booke.

Queis tua maiores superet quum viuida virtus :
Quæ tamen meritis laus fuit æqua tuis ?
Vnum hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilijs multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda :
A proauis ne sim degener ipse meis.''

IAMES THE SIXT.

THE ninetéenth of Iulie, Charles Iames the yoong prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by Iohn Knox, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commission and procuration, with the quéens priuie seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for hir resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the yoong prince hir sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murreie to be regent during the kings minoritie. The third, to giue authoritie and power to seuen other ioining with the said earle of Murreie, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Lennox, Argile, Atholl, Morton, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuration doo héere insue, as we find them imprinted at Edenburgh by Robert Lekpreuic printer to the king of Scots, the sixt of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edenburgh, the fiftéenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by Iames earle of Murreie lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

THE TENOR OF THE COMMISSION, WHEREBY MARIE THE QUEENE OF SCOTS RESIGNETH THE CROWNE TO HIR SONNE, APPOINTETH HIS GARDIANS, AND MAKETH THE EARLE OF MURREIE REGENT.

"MARIE be the grace of God quene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effeiris to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall come, greting. Forsamekle as by lang irkesome and tedious trauell takin by vs, in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, we are sa vexit and weriit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogeddir become vnhabill langer to trauell in that rowme: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thairof, in fauouris of our anelie maist deir sonne, natiue prince of this our realme. And because of his tender ȝouth and inhabilitie to vse the said gouernament in his awin persoun, during his minoritie, we haue constitute our derrest brother Iames earle of Murreie, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis foirsaidis.

"And in respect that our said derrest brother is actuallie furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exerce the samin during our saidis derrest sonis minoritie; we quhill his returning within our relme, or in cais of his deceis haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, & ordainit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalouris, Iames duke of Chatelerault, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Matho earle of Leuinax, lord Dernleie, &c: Archibald earle of Argile, lord Campbell and Lorne, &c: Iohn earle of Atholl, Iames earle of Mortoun, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and Iohn earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in cais our said brother Iames earle of Murreie cum within our realme, and refusis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordeine, our traist consingis and counsallouris foirsaidis, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

"Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie fiue of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositounis

of

of wairdis, nonentressis, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eschetis, officis, and vtheris casualiteis and priuilegeis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signatouris thair vpon to make, subscriue, and cause be past through the seillis. And to vse and exerce the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegeis, and commoditeis, siclike as fréelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessouris vsit the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our saidis traist cousingis dois in the premissis.

"Charging heirfore ȝow all and sindrie our iudgeis and ministeris of law, liegis and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obeie to our saidis traist cousingis, regentis foirsadis in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sonis minoritie, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuenteene ȝeiris compleit. As ȝe and ilke ane of ȝow will declair ȝow luifing subiectis to our said maist deir son, ȝour natiue prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ȝe and ilke ane of ȝow maie commit and inrin agains his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuen vnder our priuie seill, at Lochleuin; the foure and twentith day of Iulij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith ȝeir."

THE COMMISSION, AUTHORISING CERTÉINE NOBLE MEN IN THE QUEENS NAME TO RENOUNCE THE KINGDOME TO HIR SONNE, AND AUTHORISING OTHERS TO RECEIUE THE SAME IN HIR SONS NAME.

"MARIE be the grace of God quéene of Scotis, to all and sindrie our iudgeis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiects; quhome it effeiris, to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle as sen our arriuall, and returning within our realme, we willing the commoun commoditie, welth, profeit, and quietnes thairof, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue emploit our bodie, spirit, haill sensis, and forcis, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honorabill estate micht stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our luifing and kind liegis micht inioie the quietnisse of true subiectis. In trauelling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa vexit, brokin, and vnquietit, that langer we are not of habilitie be onie meane to indure sa greit and intollerabill panis and trauellis, quhairwith we ar altogidder weriit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be sindrie occasiounis in the meintime hes ensuit thairin, to our greit greif.

"And seing it hes béene the plesour of the eternall God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant vnto vs, of our awin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be veseit, will, and of richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succeid to vs and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that immutabill decreit of the eternall, ains to rander and gif vp this life temporall (the hour and time quhairof is maist vncertane) and in cais be deceis we be takin fra this life, during the time of his minoritie, it maie be dowtit greitlie, that resistance and troubill maie be maid to our said son, now natiue prince of this our realme, in his tender ȝeires (being swa destitute of vs) to succeid to that rowme and kingdome, quhilk maist iustlie of all lawis apperteneis to him. Quhilk inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud prouidence we mene to preuent, in sick maner, that it sall not lie in the power of onie vnnaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinance in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing eirdlie is mair ioious, and happie to vs, nor to sée our said derrest sonne, in our awin life time peciablie placit in that rowme, and honorabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and man succeid to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sonne, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris freelie, of our awin motiue will renuncis, & dimittis the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thairof, and all intromissioun and dispositioun of onie casualiteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis apperteining, or heirtofoir is knawin, or heirefter sall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said derrest sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possessit thairin, vse & exerce all

thingis belangand thairto, as natiue king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessouris, kingis of Scottis, hes doone in onie times bypast.

"Attour, that this our dimissioun maie tak the mair solempne effect, and that nane pretend ignorance thairof, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane power, generall, & speciall command, to our traist cousingis, Patrike lord Lindesaie of the Biris, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and seuerallie, to compeir before sa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vther pepill of our realme, as sall happin to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Striuiling, or anie vther place, or placis quhair it sall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie daie or daijs, and thair publikelie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimit, and renunce the gouernement, giding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thairof, all intromissioun with the propertie, casualtie, or vtheris things apperteining to vs thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne roiall deliuerit to him, and be obeyit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessouris hes béene in times bypast.

"And in likewise be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane power, to our richt traist cousingis, Iames earle of Mortoun, lord of Dalkeith, Iohn earle of Atholl, &c: Iohn earle of Mar, &c.: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Menteith, Iohn maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bischop of Orkneie, the prouestis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renuntiatioun, and dimissioun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressauing thairof, to plant, place, and inaugurat him in the kingdome, and with all ceremonies requisit to put the crowne roiall vpon his heid, in signe and takin of the establesing of him thairin, and in his name to make, and gif to the saidis nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and vtheris our liegis, his princelie and kinglie aith detfullie, & lauchfullie as effeiris: and to ressaue thair aithis, for due and lauchfull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times cuming, as becumis subiects to thair natiue king and prince. And generallie all and sundrie vther thingis to doo, exerce, and vse, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirof maie, or can be doone, firme and stable haldand, and for to hald all and quhatsumeuer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be doone, in the word and faithfull promis of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be is) to be publist at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our preuie seill, at Lochleuin the foure and twentith daie of Iulij, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith zeir, 1567."

THE COMMISSION, IN WHICH THE EARLE OF MURREIE IS ALONE APPOINTED TO BE REGENT OF THE YOONG KING, AND OF HIS KINGDOME.

"MARIE be the grace of God, quéene of Scots, to all & sindrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it efferis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris sall cum, greting. Forsamekle as efter lang, greit, and intollerable panis, & laubouris takin be vs sen our arriual within our realme, for gouernement thairof, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anelie beene vexit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at lenth ar altogidder sa vexit thairof, that our habilitie, and strenth of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because nathing eirdlie can be mair confortabill and happie to vs in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the natiue prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thairof, and the crowne roiall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, giding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thairof, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirafter, he maie peciablie, and quietlie enioie the samin, without troubill, an be obeit as natiue king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thairof.

"And

"And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender ȝouth) he is not of habilitie in his awin persoun to administrate in his kinglie rowme and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the ȝeires of discretioun; and als knawing the proximitie of blude standand betuixt vs, our said sone, and our derrest brother Iames erle of Murray, lord Abirnethie, &c; and hauand experience of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie beires towardis vs, the honour & estate of our said sone; of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, ioy, nor felicitie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, feirit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thairof. In respect quhairof, and of the certanetie, and notoritie, of the honestie, habilitie, qualificatioun, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during our said sonis minoritie: we haue maid, namid, appointit, constitute, and ordanit, and be thir our letteris namis, appointis, makis, constitutis, and ordanis our said derrest brother Iames erle of Murray, regent to our said derrest sone, realme, and liegis foirsaidis, during his minoritie and les age, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuintene ȝeiris compleit. And that our said brother be callit, during the said space, regent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

"Swa that our said sone efter the completing of the ȝeiris foirsaidis, in his awin persoun may tak vpon him the said gouernement, and vse, and exerce all and sindrie priuilegis, honouris, and vtheris immuniteis that appertenis to the office of ane king, als weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as wald inuaid, or iniustlie resist him or thame, or his authoritie roiall. With power to our said derrest brother Iames erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and behalfe of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resignatiounis of quhatsumeuer landis haldin of him, or ȝit of offices, castels, towris, fortalicis, milnis, fischingis woddis, beneficis, or pertinencis quhatsumeuer; the samin againe in our said sonis name to gif, and deliuer signaturis thairvpon: and vpon the giftis of wairdis, nonentressis, and releuis of landis, and mariageis of airis falland, or that sall happin to fall in our said sonis handis as superiour thairof.

"And als vpon presentatioun of landis, beneficis, eschetis of guids mouabill and vnmouabill, dettis and takkis, respittis, remissiounis, supersedereis, and vpon the dispositioun of officis, vacand, or quhen they sall happin to vaik, to subscriue, and cause be past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to vse and exerce in all thingis, priuilegis, and commoditeis, sicklike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony regent, or gouernour to vse, or our predecessouris vsit in ony times bigane, and sicklike as gif euerie heid, priuilege and article concerning the said office wer at lenth expressit and amplifiit in thir our letteris. Promisand to hald firme and stabill in the word and faith of ane prince, to quhatsumeuer thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis happinnis to do. Chargeing heirfoir ȝow all, and sindrie our iudgeis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subiectis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest brother, in all and sindrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, as ȝe and ilke ane of ȝow will declair ȝow luifing subiectis, to our said maist deir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that ȝe and ilke ane of ȝow may commit, and inrin againis his maiestie in that pairt. Subscriuit with our hand, and geuin vnder our preuie seill, at Lochleuin the 14 day of Iulij. And of our reigne, the twentie fiue ȝeir."

These commissions being read, the bishop of Argile, with two superintendents, proceeded to the coronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume tooke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the religion then preached and exercised in Scotland, and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The whole ceremonie was doone in the Scots English toong, the quéene mother to the king remaining at that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we enter into the augmentation of the historie of this kings time, I thinke it notvnmeet to deliuer one thing, which I haue with some woonder obserued in all the kings of Scotland descended of the Stewards: that neuer anie one of them

The kings oth.

Fr. Thin.

them except the first & second king of that name was of the age of man, or of one and twentie yéeres when they put on the kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnméet to be considered of, although we can not enter into the secret iudgements of God. The proofe of which matter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a catalog of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the computation of the yéeres of whose age and first comming to the crowne I haue followed Lesleus.

Robert Steward the first king of that surname, was 57 yéeres old when he began his reigne, in the yéere of our redemption 1370. Iohn Steward son of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two alone were of full age, when the title of the kingdome descended vnto them. Iames Steward, the first of the name of Iames, & the third of the name of Stewards, was within age at the death of his father, when the title and crowne descended unto him: who although he receiued not the crowne at Scone (because he was about eightéene yéeres honorablie kept as a prisoner in England) vntill hée was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the crowne inuested in him when he was within age, I doubt not to make him king from the death of his father, and so within age to haue obteined the kingdome, though not the kinglie vse thereof, beginning his reigne in the yéere of our redemption 1424.

Iames the second, and the fourth of the Stewards, was six yéeres old when he was crowned, in the yéere of Christ 1436. Iames the third, and fift of the Stewards, being seuen yeeres old, was crowned king of Scotland in the yéere that the word became flesh 1460. Iames the fourth, and sixt of the Stewards, being sixtéene yeeres of age, was adorned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yéere of our saluation 1488. Iames the fift, and the seuenth of the Stewards, being one yéere, fiue moneths, and ten dais old, was crowned king of Scotland, in the yéere from the birth of Christ 1513. Marie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but seuen daies old, was crowned queene of Scots, in the yéere of Christ 1542. Henrie Steward, sonne to Mathew earle of Lennox, and husband to the said Marie Steward, was not one and twentie yéeres old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he was slaine, as before in the yéere 1567. Charles Iames Steward, the sixt of the name of Iames, and the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the said Henrie Steward and Marie Steward, being about a yéere old, began his reigne in the yéere that God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Meluine (this yéere 1585 in England) did whilest he was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

" Dum tu, magne puer, patribus das iura vocatis,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
Iura tibi, tuus ille Solon, tuus ille Lycurgus,
Quæ recti è puris fontibus hausta dedit,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsignat auitis,
Hic, vbi quid fugias, quídue sequaris, habes.
Felix, si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequaris!
Felix cum populo túq;, patresq; tuo."

Out of the booke printed thereof.

There was order taken by the magistrates of the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose, touching the discipline of excommunication, and the excommunicated, diuided into these heads: that is to say, what crimes be woorthie of that seuere censure of the church by excommunication: how the minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience of the people: of confesssion of the penitent: of the offenses which merit publike repentance: of the order to procéed therein: the forme and the order of publike repentance: an admonition to the church: a thankesgiuing for the conuersion and repentance of the censured: the forme of the excommunication: the praier for the obstinate that will not repent after that censure: the praier before the excommunication: the maner to inuocate the name of Iesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receiue the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke conteining the

the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set foorth by Iohn Knox minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblie, in the yéere of Christ 1569, being séene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblie: whose names were Iohn Willike, maister Iohn Crage, Robert Pont, Iohn Row, Dauid Lindseie, William Christison, Iames Greg, &c.

A parlement holden at Edenburgh.

On the fiftéenth of December a parlement begun, being holden at Edenburgh before the earle of Murreie lord regent, in the which diuers acts and statutes were deuised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quéenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king Iames the sixt. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murreie in the regencie of the realme, which he tooke vpon him the two and twentith day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuration aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his vsurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And heereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine receiued by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorised in the same parlement. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had leuied warre, and apprehended the queene at Carbarrie hill, the fiftéenth of Iulie last past, and concerning the deteining of hir in Lochleuin.

An act for the abolishing of the popes authoritie in Scotland.

The castell of Dunbar and the fortresse of Insketh to be raced. *Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib.* 19.

Moreouer, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the fortresse of Insketh, should be demolished and raced downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one and fortie acts or statutes made and stablished in this parlement, as by the register thereof it maie appéere. * In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernor determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to administer law: which he ment to doo, to the end that he might amend and establish such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yéere before. Which matter woorking diuerse opinions in those of the quéenes faction, did cause that Metallane and Iohn Balfurie sought meanes to deliuer the quéene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the yoong king were gone, and the quéene made awaie, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did ioine with the queenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntleie refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murreie of Tillibartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being estranged and grieued from and with the gouernor, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he shewed great diligence in taking the quéene) but did also draw with him a great companie of his friends intised therevnto with no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quéenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessitie, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of aduancement, and néerenesse of aliance to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further the cause of the quéenes libertie. In the meane time, whilest the regent was at Glascow to minister law to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) this determination of setting the quéene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quéene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and thrée of his brethren by an other father, with a great troope of women: but none were admitted to see the quéene, saue such as were well knowen or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this houshold companie, there was none that séemed so meet to the queene to execute anie matter, as was George Dowglas the yoongest brother of the regent, being a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be ouertaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quéene to plaie at cards, and to vse hir with other courtleie pastimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterprises. Wherevpon this Dowglasse (not vnwitting as was

thought

thought to his mother) omitteth nothing that might séeme to serue for the queenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & tooke not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the kéepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Iland. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the kéepers with monie) consult with the quéene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) being drawen into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by Iames Hamilton (which had béene regent not manie yéeres before) and Iames archbishop of Glascow sollicited therevnto, the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quéene: which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Wherevnto the gouernor answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quéene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without their knowledge which first restreined hir of libertie, and after by decrée confirmed that deed: but he would not ceasse in pleasuring his sister, and such a frèend as the king (his maister) was, to doo all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblie of the nobilitie the twentith daie of the next moneth. Vntill which time the ambassador séemed somwhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.]

1568. The quéenes escape out of Lochleuin.

On sundaie the second of Maie, in the yeere 1568, at supper time, the quéene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Dowglas brother to the lard of Lochleuin. The lard Seton, the lard of Ricarton, and Iames Hamilton of Oribiston, were readie to receiue hir, and conueied hir ouer the quéenes ferrie, first to Nudrie the lard Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirteenth daie of Maie being thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murreie lord regent was in Glascow, at what time she thus escaped out of Lochleuin; and vpon knowledge had therof, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenlie changing his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glascow, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was persuaded, that if she should shrinke backe neuer so little, he should incourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Boid (vnto the quéenes part) hauing vntill that time woone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

The quéene gathereth a power.

The regents determination to staie at Glascow.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decaie of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought vp vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kinred did) was now content to séeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was posted ouer from them to the quéene mother the regent; and that contention was mooued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Boid firmelie continued vntill the quéenes returne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdome, on whose counsell Colin Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had coniured or conspired (to vse Buchanans woord) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hoong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quéene euerie thing that was doone in the same assemblie, from which time this Boid was partaker of all the quéenes secrets against his old friends, who with the queene did yet obteine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongest others of lightnesse

nesse and inconstancie. But after that the queene was imprisoned, and the earle of Murreie made regent, he went then to the part of the governor: with whome he shewed such proofs of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the prinie counsele of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betweene the regent & the queene (after hir escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the queene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirteenth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quéene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clede toward Dunbreton; and out of Glascow on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, neere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glascow.

The armies met at Langside.

There were on the quéenes part the earles of Argile, Cassiles, Eglinton, and Rothes, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Summerufll, Yester, Borthwike, Leuingston, Herries, Maxwell, Sauquhar, Boid and Rosse, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Bas, Wauchton, Dalhousie, Roslen the shiriffe of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, Menteith, the maister of Graham, the lords Hume, Lindsie, Ruthwen, Sempill, Ogiltree and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Fargawy, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Sesford, Lus, Buchanan, Tulibardin, Peteur, Grange, Lochleuin, Lethington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe incounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swoords. But at length, after three quarters of an houres fight, the quéenes part was put to flight.

Lords on the queenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

The quéenes part discomfited.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs: among the which were foureteene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about three hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Rosse, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindseie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselues verie valiantlie that day, failing not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie captains. The quéenes part was thought to be neere at the point of six thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

Fourteene of the Hamiltons slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntleie was comming forwards to haue assisted the queenes part, but the battell was striken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiancie of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great steed. For in the hottest brunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countriemen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quéenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had beene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obteining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Murreie) he recompensed that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the third daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quéene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of Huntleie comming forward to aid the quéene.

Fr. Thin.

The quéene perceiuing the ouerthrow of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Sauquhar to Dundrenan in Gallowaie: and after she had taried there two or three daies, she tooke ship and passed to Workington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scroope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewesburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quéenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with

The queene of Scots fleeth into England.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 19.

horsse and guides hasted all he could into England, without bidding the regent farwell. In which iournie he was robbed by théeues: but Iames Dowglasse, capteine of the marches at Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.

But now to the dooings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell. But the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glascow, and offered the keies to the regent. The castell of Draffan was also yéelded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Merne, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselues of vittels for fifteene daies, and to méet him at Beggar the tenth of June to ride with him into the southwest parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine théeues, and other disobedient persons. Héerevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched foorth of Edenburgh, and came that night to Beggar. The armie being assembled, conteined foure or fiue thousand horssemen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and yoong men that went with the cariage, there were about foure thousand.

The regents iournie into the southwest parts of Scotland.

The castell of Boghall, perteining to the lord Fleming, was surrendred to them. The twelfth of Iune Skirling castell was raced (a faire house) to the end that other vnderstanding therof, might be put in greter feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendred; it belonged vnto sir Iames Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of Iune they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rendred they spared, because the lord Chreichton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edenburgh. The foureteenth of Iune they came to Barbacan, where they laie that night, and the lard Wederborne was sent to speake with the lard of Louchinware. Wednesdaie the fifteenth of Iune, they marched to a place called saint Iohn Sclaghan, staieng there in trust of the lard of Louchinwares comming vnto them, but he came not: wherevpon, the next daie being the sixteenth of Iune, they raced the house of Kenmure, and an other house also, for that the owners were fréends to the said Louchinware.

The castell of Boghall.
Skirling castell.
Crawford.
Saucher.
Barbacast.
Saint Iohn Sclaghan.
Kenmure.

The seuentéenth of Iune they came to a gentlemans house, standing by the water of Ur, where diuerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eighteenth of Iune they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & apperteining to the lord Maxwell, was offered vnto them. Diuerse of the Maxwels, Iohnstons, Yrrewins, Grahams, and Bels, came vnto the regent, and offering themselues to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Maxwell, the lards of Iohnston, Cowhill, and Louchinwar, had béene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Maxwell would haue come in, if the other had not counselled him to the contrarie. The twentith of Iune they marched to Hoddom, a place belonging to the lord Hermes: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmish; two or three were taken, they laie within a mile of the regent that night.

The water of Ur.
Dunfreis.
Hoddom yéeldeth to the regent.

The one and twentith the house was yéelded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lard of Drumlanrig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought very strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had beene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at seuen shillings Scotish, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent foorth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hume with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue drawen the broken men to a skirmish: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not tarrie it. The two and twentith of Iune the campe laie still, but the regent with a thousand men went to Annand, and had it deliuered vnto him. Héere he met with the lord Scroope, and after returned to the campe. The three and twentith of Iune they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to Drumlanrig: but some of the Maxwels being closelie hid within an od corner of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

The lard of Drumlanrig.
Annand deliuered to the gouernor.
Lochmaben.

The same daie, two houses belonging to the lard of Iohnston, the one named Lochwood, and the other Lowhousie, were taken, but not burnt: because the lard Iohnston had put in suertie to come in by a day vnto the regent. The same daie they tooke great store of cattell, and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they slue two théeues among three score others that came and approched verie neere to the armie, as the maner of the prickers is. The armie laie that night at Milton holms. The foure and twentith of Iune they came to Peeples, and the next day to Edenburgh, so ending that iournie; in the which they had passed through the countries of Clidesdale, Gallowaie, Niddesdale, Annandale, & Twéedale. Much a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned vnder the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

Two houses of lard Iohnston taken by the regent.

Great trouble in Scotland.

Whilest these things were thus in dooing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was persuaded by such as were fled with the quéene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie doone vnto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chiefflie the kinglie authoritie was reuiled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone perteine to the priuat person of the quéene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was speedilie and soundlie to be preuented, least it might créepe anie further. By which and other persuasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were doone, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Fo. 170. Buchan. lib. 19.

Touching which matter, although it appeered grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in vre a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forren iudges and kings who were their enimies, and first persuaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same séemed dangerous and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that inforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agrée who they should be, sith the chiefest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iournie vpon him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Metellan, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Metellan with him (fauoring the quéene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were Iames Dowglas, Patrike Lindseie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Orknie, & the abbat of Fernlindon, churchmen; Iames Macgill, and Henrie Balnaue, lawiers of the college of iudges. To whome as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scotish historie: with whome the regent accompanied to the number of 100 horsses, tooke his iournie into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Yorke, to the assemblie appointed there by the quéene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Sussex, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did complaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to hir kingdome. These men being heard (sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not vnto them as iudges, hauing anie right to make lawes to bind them) with manie words open the iniuries which the Scotish subiects had doone vnto their quéene, and required of the quéene of England, that either she would persuade hir vnkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereunto.

In few hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall

arbitrators) did contend (sith nothing was doone but by right, by law, by the ancient customs of their countrie, by the determination of the assemblie of parlement, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vndoo the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things doone at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that inforced them so seuerelie to pronounce against their queene; the regent answered that he did chieflie flee that matter, least he should be driuen to accuse his queene and sister. Which he denied to doo, not willing to laie abroad to forren nations hir wicked deeds, as Buchanan rearmeth them. To the contrarie whereof he would not be inforced, vnlesse the queene of England would promise to defend the cause of the new king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie proove, that the queene of Scots had murthered the king of Scots hir husband. Wherevnto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request vnto their queene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the queene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie should send one or more to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would doo all therein that belonged vnto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie sent Metallan (a man before suspected, and that did after ioine in conference with Iohn Lesle bishop of Rosse) to the court of England, associated with Iames Macgill. Now after these men were come to the queene at London, it was thought most conuenient by hir and hir councell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London; where the same difficultie was obiected against him which was doone at Yorke: to which he answered as before. Whilst these things were doing at London, the queene of Scots did by Iames Balfure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to hirs and Bothwels friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland aswell as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vrging him to tell the cause (which being vntold, they could not determine ane thing therein) that mooued them to doo those things in Scotland; the regent (loth to offend the queene of England) made a long protestation how vnwilling he was to accuse the queene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would vse their wittes in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the queene of England required, that the queene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home; & therewithall giuing the regent a day, to shew cause whie the reuengers of the kings death had taken armes against the queene; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed doone. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the queene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the queene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answere all such euils as should be obiected against him.

But the regent desired them whilest he was there, that his accusors might be brought out. Whervpon the accusors being present, and saieng that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the queene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the councell brake vp without anie small sentence therin. But whilest the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the queene of Scots & lowers. For Iames Hamilton (who a little before had beene gouernor) being grieued with the

the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie vnto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie lurke to himselfe.

But when the queene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochleuin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a few daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise vp the said Hamilton against the earle of Murreie, and especiallie at that time whilest the regent was in England. Wherefore he comming out of his den abrode into the world, inriched by the French with a few golden crownes, and ouercharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kinred, whilest he hastened from England into Scotland, that the queene of England with the authoritie of the queene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer vp his regentship of Scotland vnto him; sith that place was of right due vnto him (by the maners and lawes of all nations, but chiefelie by the custome of his countrie) as neerest in bloud, and next in succession.

For the proofe whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon vp the memorie of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue beene giuen to those of yoong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue beene neerest of bloud. For so, after the death of Iames the third, Robert his vncle had the gouernement in the absence of Iames the first; and Murdac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, Iohn duke of Albanie did gouerne the yoong yeares of Iames the fift, and Hamilton himselfe, in the minoritie of Marie the queene that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome, did a few yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certeine rebels, was through vnlawfull voices excluded thereof with force and violence, and that (which is woorse) a bastard is aduanced thereunto in contempt of lawfull bloud. Which honor, if it were restored vnto him, he would shortlie appease all those ciuill bralles, and restore the queene of Scots vnto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes.

Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vniust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murthers committed by those of the kings bloud) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as neerest of bloud; but as persons most woorthie to weild a kingdome; Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murthers of kinreds amongest themselues) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in bloud should be aduanced to the place of the deceassed king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarse be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wisedome. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruse was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murreie, Iohn Randolph, & Robert Steward. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors togither; so when Iames the second was a child, Alexander Leuingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yoong king.

Which may not be excused, in saieng that the same was then so doone, because there

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wanted men of the kings bloud to supplie those places. For at that time were liuing Iohn Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of Iames the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: Iames Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt: and Dowglas also, earle of Angus, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, both of the kings bloud; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so neere of bloud appointed therevnto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to Iames the third, which were not made in respect of bloud; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, Iohn duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeeres of Iames the fift, and confirmed in the same by publike decrée of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of neerenesse of bloud. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue Iames Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of Iames the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted therevnto for neerenesse of bloud? No trulie.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie when king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his children to his gouernment; who in the end famished Dauid the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the yoonger sonne Iames; which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and beene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, dooth remember vnto vs manie things (though what soeuer was then doone, is no proofe that it was well doone) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empne place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeeres after, both sold the gouernement (obteined by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauor which the people bare vnto him, when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constreined to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but dooth see how vniust it were. For what can be more vnrightfull, than to commit yoong, weake, and faultlesse yeeres to his faith, which dooth dailie either looke or wish for the death of the pupill? Whose whole familie hath alwaies beene at dailie and deadlie warre with the house of the king that now is? What defense can be here by neerenesse of bloud against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeers of discretion, and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the bloud of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spared not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will bold enimies doo, inflamed to crueltie with the brands of couetousnesse (may rather what is to be thought that they will not doo) against a child, which deferreth effect of their hope

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of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some neerer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this latelie doone, that he knoweth not that Galeas Sforcia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to vtter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroied, and the barbarous people (from whose cruelties and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padus. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the cruelties of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloudshed was that in the end purged?

Now, sith these did not feare to doo such euils to their neerest bloud, by the onelie inforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise woorthie persons: what shall we looke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doo know? Whose vnskilfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters? And (which is more) whose familie not content with the murther of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilest he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselues into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doo now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the quéene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vniust thing, and that he should not hope for anie aid from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassador, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassador had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were doone, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obteined leaue to depart, and was honorablie conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especiallie the nobilitie and companie of the north parts, sith it was great honor for hir maiestie safelie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edenburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hée was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Strineling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had doone in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, Iames Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the quéene of Scots authorised with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obeie anie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon souldiers, to make them readie, if néed required, to the vttermost conflict) met on a day appointed at Glascow. *Buchanan lib. 19.*

But when there was a great assemblie of the common people at Hamilton, more than they looked for, a meanes of agréement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glascow, should acknowledge the king for chiefest gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agréed; but if he denied that, he shuld come in vaine: all which he promised to doo, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glascow, they obteined their former goods and honors the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselues subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine

manie in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if ayle of the said part would so doo, they should also be receiued on the same conditions, whereunto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntleie refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edenburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the couenants might be established by all their consents, for which he praied day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned quéene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Whereupon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of anie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Maxwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edenburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntleie was more hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken manie, and had made depaides about Crawford and Ogiluie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemblie at saint Andrews; whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreame dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme anie more, was of kinred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship togither euen from their yoong yéers. But when the cause of Huntleie (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults doone to him, or to the king: but that hee neither could nor would pardon anie iniuries doone to any other. And if Huntleie, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitrators chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At what time also there grew a further mischiefe, whether all they which tooke part with Huntleie should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things séemed indifferentlie well pacified.

Buchanan. lib. 19.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene; either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Petcarne, a man of great wisedome and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the quéene of England. Whilest these things were in dooing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned quéene, which now waxed great, did call William Mettellan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfurie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfurie by his friends soone obteined pardon; and Mettellan being led to Edenburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whome certeine horsemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble yoong man, appointed chiefe ouer them. But William Kircadie, capteine of the castell of Edenburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Murreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Mettellan, which he did accordinglie. Wherevpon Mettellan was caried by Kircadie into the castell, to the great mislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncerteine whether they should impute the deed to Kircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Kircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of the gouernour had not before beene sufficientlie knowne.

1569.

Rebellion in the north of England, by the earles of Northumberland & Westmerland.

In the yeere 1569, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland raised a rebellion against the queenes maiestie of England; but by the good diligence and prouident circumspection of the earle of Sussex, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by such direction as was giuen by hir maiestie and hir councell, for the leuieng of an armie vnder the leading of

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the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare, that they durst not aduance farre forward in their wicked begun enterprise, but were constreined to retire backe towards Durham. Whervpon the earle of Sussex, supposing that their meaning was for their last refuge and safegard to take the castels of Alnewike and Warkeworth, he wrote vnto sir John Forster lord warden of the middle marches, either by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his hands the possession of those two castels, and the same to fortifie with such number and garisons of men, as to his discretion should be thought conuenient, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Forster, being at his house neere to Alnewike, when he receiued these letters, accompanied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some souldiers that were come to him from Berwike, marched vp to the castell on foot, where finding the house garded with a great number of the earle of Northumberlands seruants, reteiners, and tenants, he made proclamation before the castell gate, that euerie of them within the castell should come foorth, and withdraw to their owne houses, vpon paine to be reputed rebels to the queenes maiestie: and that which of them soeuer did refuse to obeie this proclamation, staieng either in the castell or elsewhere in anie vnlawfull assemblie, it should be lawfull for euerie man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he made resistance.

Proclamation made at Alnewike by sir Io. Forster.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they within the castell, at the first refused to yeeld it vp. And therevpon sir Iohn Forster marched through the towne into the market place, and there made the like proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for their repairing home to their houses. And comming herewith backe towards the castell, they within perceiuing themselues desitute of succor, and sir Iohn Forster to increase in power, did vpon better aduise yeeld themselues vnto him, who saued all their liues. After the same maner he got also the castell of Warkeworth, and fortified them both with sufficient number of men. This doone, he assembled such forces as he was able to make, so that he got togither to the number of eleuen hundred horssemen, and tooke order to forlaie and stop the passages, so as the earles friends and tenants in Northumberland should not go vnto him.

The castell of Alnewike and Warkeworth fortified by sir Io. Forster.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord Ogle, and Thomas Forster his brother, and other gentlemen, he went to Newcastell, where, with Thomas Gower esquire, that had the principall rule therof at that time, he tooke order for the defense of that towne against the rebels. Hither came to him sir Henrie Persie, offering his seruice against his brother, and other the rebels, to the vttermost of his power. Herevpon diuerse excursions were made foorth of Newcastell into the bishoprike, where the two earles were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed thereof. The erles yet on a day came from Durham, and with their armie marched towards Newcastell. Sir Iohn Forster, and sir Henrie Persie, hauing intelligence thereof, issued foorth of Newcastell with all their forces, and certeine peeces of great ordinance. They had also with them certeine bands of the souldiers of Berwike, meaning verelie to haue ioined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Persie shewing himselfe as willing and forward thereto as anie other in all the companies.

Sir Iohn Forster keepeth Newcastell against the rebels.
Sir Henrie Persie against his brother the earle of Northumberland.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and Newcastell, the armies approched the one neere to the other, a small brooke running in a hollow diuiding them asunder, so that there was no passage for them to conueie their ordinance ouer, the bankes on either side being so steepe and cumbersome. Whervpon the erles, perceiuing that they were disappointed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt the horssemen, they returned vnto Durham: and from thence the next day they went to Hexham, and after being in vtter despaire, fled into Scotland: where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those that shifted him awaie so from place to place, that he escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer remaine there in suertie. But the earle of Northumberland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto the regent, who thought he could doo no lesse than

Chester deane.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland flee into Scotland.

put him in safe keeping, considering the anitie that was betwixt the two princes, the queenes maiestie of England, and the king of Scots.

1571. *Buch.* 1570. The earle of Murrefe lord regent slaine. *Fr. Thin.*

But shortlie after, the regent (as he was riding through Lithquo) was wickedlie shot in with an harquebuse, by one Iames Hamilton, and so wounded, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clothes hanged as it were to an other vse.] * But the night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter Scot, and Thomas Kar also of Fernihirst entered into England to spoile the borders, which they did more cruellie than euer was doone before, rather for desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine of anie booties. Besides which, the capteine of the castell where Mettellan was prisoner, was now commanded to set the same Mettellan at libertie: who vpon oth before the nobilitie (which allowed and confirmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of the king, and of the ciuill warres mooued in England (wherewith he was charged) adding that he would proue the same at anie time when day should be appointed to him therefore. After which, there was an assemblie made for the election of a new gouernour.

Ruthan. lib. 20.

At what time Thomas Randolph, being sent thither ambassador for the queene of England in the life of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose message was to demand the deliuerie of such rebels of England as had fled thither: which ambassador the deceassed gouernour had before refused to heare at Striueling. Whereupon, sith all things were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed. But now, when there was a parlement for the choosing of a new regent, Randolph which had beene in Scotland some yeeres before, because he seemed best to know the men and their conditions of Scotland, and bicause he had before dispatched some other ambassages for the benefit of the realme, was held deere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therfore was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared what the mind of his prince had beene vnto the Scots, he shewed that she would not now abbate the same vnto them in these troublesome times, no more than she had before doone. After which he remembred the inuasions made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and burnings committed a little before: all which he well knew was not doone by the counsell or labor of the publike state: and therefore his queenes fauor was not diminished to them, but that the same good will did remaine to them now, as ample as euer it was. And where she was grieuouslie offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right she iustlie might) to demand publike restitution and recompense for such euils: nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the misdooing of a few.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongest them. Notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet anie whit doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publike consent: but also (if they themselues for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then doo by that meanes, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without anie damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon anie that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did conteine admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone dooth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equall & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and ores, that peace and quiet maie be holilie and vertuouslie nourished at home amongest their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie

gouernement

gouerneement ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeie their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and dooth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens bloud, a fault which God of all others dooth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enimies, and is the preseruer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisting in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be imbraced: when contrarilie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremitie, and not be succored with anie fauor, with anie mercie, or with anie pardon, into what countrie soeuer they flée for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certeine answer be giuen therevnto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and Iames Dowglasse, brothers of the slaine regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vnworthie death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for anie priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Vpon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offendors should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murther: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had alreadie taken armes with violence to defend that déed which they had alreadie doone; and that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assemblie of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiors did soone agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Morton did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrie, vntill there were a greater assemblie of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe, that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, wherby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murther. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be doone or changed vntill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assemblie or parlement appointed.

Vpon which persuasion the companie was dissolued, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemne this delaie, as mooued thervnto: because that the other would saie that all things were doone at the becke of the kings enimies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerse faction gather greater power togither. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) Iames Hamilton) morgaging his lands to Iohn Summeruill of Caninethame) borowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiors) being warned before, that they should alwaies be readie at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enimie, the earle of Murreie: neither after that time did the quenes faction ceasse from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton dooth Buchanan alwaies terme those that tooke the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boid did write vnto earle Morton, that they would willinglie (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting therevnto) consult with the other nobilitie about the

same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edenburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so persuaded, they would willingly come to Lithquo, to Faukirke, or to Stirueling, there to meet with them. Whereupon, the earle of Morton, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Kar wrote to Limuch (to vse Buchanans woord) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obteine of the quéene of England to staie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without anie further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were woont: but if she did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subiects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quéene, & would ioine themselues togither, because aid would shortlie come out of France vnto them.

On the fift nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argile, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murther of one hired souldior did trouble all their deuise by a sudden tumult that was raised therevpon. Wherefore the next day after the archbishop of saint Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of the quéenes faction, especiallie the earles of Huntleie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogiluie, Hume, Seton, and Metellan, met at Edenburgh: in which the earle Morton was accompanied with a small traine, vnlill the earles of Glencarne and Mar were come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March the chiefe of the factions met togither to consult of the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Argile, whose power and authoritie was then verie great.

This man did Huntleie séeke to persuade to ioine with the rest of the faction, but he returned without dooing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men) through the subtilie of Metellan, which would haue things long deferred, that more conuenient meane might be had in that troublesome state of the kingdome, for the innouation of things. The greatest thing doone in this assembling, was the argument for the choise of a new gouernor, which (as it séemeth) came to no effect. Now when all these assemblies tended to little purpose, those of the quéenes faction returned to sowe sedition by procuring English warres, thereby to draw the common-people to assist their part. Wherefore they send the capteine (that before had doone the like) afresh at this time to execute the same, who left nothing vndoone that might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction doo reproch the quéene of England, and slander the nobilitie of Scotland, as though they were the clients and followers of the English; further threatning abroad in euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the French and Spanish, if the lord of the congregation praied in aid of the English. Much about that time, (as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at Dunbreton, Veriacke, one of the chamber to the French king, which aduanced the mindes of the quéenes faction, with manie large promises: by meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assemblie of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assemblie was made of the quéenes faction, they began there openlie to treat of those things which before were whispered in secret: which was, that the death of the king and regent might be either forgotten, or at least wax cold in the publike turmoile of the realme, by making warre vpon the English. After which consultation, they determined to go to Edenburgh the third ides of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vnto them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought they might easilie bring about, by reason that William Kircadie was gouernor both of the castell and towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet contend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the quéenes part was admitted into the towne. After which, not thus contented, they persuaded the citizens to deliuer vp the keies of their towne, which they most wiselie refused.

All

All this while there was a great resort to Metellan then lieng of the gowt, for which cause his house was commonlie called the schoolehouse, and himselfe the schoolemaister. In which meane time, the earle of Atholl did not spare to trauell hither and thither, to draw those of the other faction to that assemblie at Edenburgh. But they would not come thither at all, vntill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appointed for the parlement) vnlesse they knew some iust necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if there happened anie thing of moment, which might not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the same to the earle Morton, whose house was but foure mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledge thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should méet at the towne of the earle Morton, called Dulketh, which place did not like the quéenes faction, whose strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kircadie had set at libertie out of the castell of Edenburgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quéens faction were quailed, by the rumor of the English armie comming to Berwike. Whereupon, Alexander Hume, and Iohn Maxwell latelie deliuered out of prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to set them free, went home to defend their owne possessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas Kar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue made some roads into England by the persuasion of the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should rise in England) being forsaken of those which inhabited neere these places, & fearing their owne estate, sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe of them: or if they would not doo so, that at least they should come to Lowther the next towne; and from thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which when they could not obteine (nor anie of the publike monie) they foorthwith departed to their owne lands in great anger.

After this, whilest manie other things passed, as that the quéens faction sent an ambassador to the earle of Sussex, to staie his iournie into Scotland; that they also sent letters to the quéene of England concerning their cause; and that a seruant of monsieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the quéens factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) directed also vnto other that were indifferent, to ioine with the imprisoned quéene; and that he promised them aid out of France; and that the queens people were assured, that the kings part would come to Edenburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these things (I say) they of the quéens side departed to Lithquo, supposing that place most commodious to assemble their confederats. Whither when the Hamiltons and their clients were come, they beset all the way to Edenburgh: for when they vnderstood that Iohn Areskin earle of Mar was comming thither, they laid ambushes vnder the next hils to intrap him.

But he knowing the iniurie of the place, passed the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edenburgh the third day of Maie about euening. Shortlie after, the kings part remaining at Edenburgh, and the quéens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile, and Huntlee appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the three nones of August. The other faction sent Robert Petcarne ambassador to the quéene of England, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the common enimie; and further to let hir vnderstand, that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir, that they would choose a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Lennox, then remaining in England, to repaire home with all conuenient spéed into Scotland. ¶ Ye maie read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle of Sussex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring into Tiuidale the seuen & twentith of Aprill, burnt the Mosse tower, the towne of Crawling, the castell of Fernihirst, the towne of Howike, and the castell of Brauxton, that belonged to the laird of Buclewgh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towns, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernihirst, Buclewgh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scroope inuaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Sussex wan the castell

of

The earle of Lennox sent forward to returne into Scotland.

of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe ouer, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennox, hauing got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwike towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sickenesse, he remained by the space of fourteene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntleie, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, séeing the time serued well for their purpose, now that the regent was slaine and dispatched out of the waie, gathered a power, to the number of three thousand men, and came downe to Edenburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennox was comming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the quéens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safegard of the yoong king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennox home into Scotland; the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselues from Edenburgh to Glascow, where they besieged the castell by the space of fiue or six daies, vntill the earle of Lennox approched thitherwards. For ye haue to vnderstand, that after the earle of Lennox was recouered of his sickenesse, there was appointed a power of horssemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Drurie; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

The duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glascow.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that iournie, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne good wils, to sée the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Austell capteine of fiftie lances, William Gurleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horssemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horssemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Maners, capteine Brikwell, capteine Caruill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Erington, Iohn Constable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Capteine Erington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne good wils, there were diuers; as maister George Deuereux, sir Ieroine Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Gawdie, maister William Drurie of Suffolke cousine to the generall, maister Greuill, brother to sir Fulke Greuill, maister Conweie, brother to sir Iohn Conweie, maister Edmund Verneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

Capteins and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennox into Scotland.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennox himselfe with sir William Drurie and the horssemen ouertooke the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such spéed in their march, that they came through to Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Murreie, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrée, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of the kings side: who receiued the said earle of Lennox, and the Englishmen verie courteouslie. From Edenburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Faukirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennox, and the Scotish lords, with sir William Drurie and the horssemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glascow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lard of Minto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eighteene persons in all; and yet they kept it fiue or six daies against the duke and his whole power, slaieng (as hath béene reported) aboue fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue béene taken, if they had not béene the more spéedilie relieued. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the comming forward of the erle of Lennox with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awaie, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

The earle of Lennox with the Englishmen come to Edenburgh.

Faulkirke.

The earle of Lennox and sir William Drurie side to Sterling.

The castell of Glascow besieged by the duke of Chatelerault.

He breaketh vp his siege.

After

After that the earle of Lennox and his friends were thus come vnto Glascow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of fiue or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinred and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennox and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Drurie, generall of the English there. This doone, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

Armuster of foure thousand Scots. See more here of in England.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Merinton was capteine, hauing vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peeces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planted in batterie. For then perceiuing themselues in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certeine terme, and herevnto they were sworne. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next insuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yeelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yeelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Roplocke, the abbat of Kilwinnings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Cliddesdale.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowen vp and raced.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus woone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Morton went with them; but the earle of Lennox and the other earles and lords with their companies tooke their way towards Glascow, and from thence euerie of the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortlie after, there was a conuention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other conuention at Edenburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A conuention of the lords. The earle of Lennox made regent.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntleie tooke vpon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the queene of Scots that remained still in England, and therevpon in hir name summoned a parlement to be holden at Lithquho the one and twentith of September then next following. Vnto the which parlement, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being aduertised, caused a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Lithquho, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntleie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntleis comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no neerer than Brechine.

The earle of Huntleie.

A parlement proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntleie commeth no neerer than Brechine.

Wherevpon it was decréed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, Iames Dowglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horssemen to haue taken him vpon the sudden in the towne of Brechine, before he should haue anie warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie hauing warning of their approch, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his footmen were so put to their shifts, that they were driuen for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechine: the earle of Huntleie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being streictlie besieged,

The earle of Huntleie escapeth.

and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yéelded themselues and the castell vnto the regents mercie.

Execution.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had beene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthie to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the seruants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yeelded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his seruants called Iohn Moone, with letters into England, directed to the queene of Englands councell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enimies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiuing of their letters to be conueied also, and herewith discouering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed vnto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretlie receiued being found vpon him, and the matters aforesaid proued against him, he was by law executed.

The castell of Downe yeelded.

Commissioners sent into England.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and Iames Macgill, clearke of the register, were sent into England commissioners vpon the kings partie; the bishop of Rosse, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Lidingston, appointed for the queenes then being in England. In Ianuarie following, the regent then being at Edenburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Chateleraults sonnes, entred the house of Pasleie, then being kept by the seruants of the lord Sempill: and seizing vpon all things which they found as stood with his pleasure, he fortified the house with men, munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Pasleie, or neere thereabouts. The regent aduertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to aduise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yeeld the house, so manie of them as had not borne armes before that time against the king and regent, should haue their liues saued, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Pasleie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Pasleie.

Herevpon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them hauing not serued in anie iournie or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yéeld; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselues. Wherevpon they were readie to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agréed to surrender the house, and yéelded themselues, vpon such condition as the regent had prescribed: wherevpon fiue of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their liues. The capteine Iohn Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glascow, there to remaine in prison, and shortlie after the said Iohn Hamilton was executed.

Pasleie is surrendred to the regent.

1571.

In March following, the regent returned to Glascow, and for that Gilbert Kennedie with the erles of Cassils & Eglenton refused to shew themselues obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glascow, and with the same marched towards Vrwin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassils countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent foorth his brother to offer his submission. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of twentie daies, and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to answere such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassils.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglenton, and Robert Boid leuied their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance giuen) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agréeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbreton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken

The earles of Cassils and Eglenton committed to ward.

betwéene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for twentie daies, to wit, vntill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to giue an attempt to the castell of Dunbreton, which had beene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Murreie late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yeere or more, but could not by anie meanes compasse to win it. A truce for twentie daies.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward captein Thomas Crawford, and capteine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose; who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other deuises, found meanes to clime vp the rocke, which is of an exceeding great heigth, and so with great paine, and more danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heigth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Ramsie, ensigne bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by three of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flée from them. The castell of Dunbreton taken by a policie.

Herewith capteine Crawford & capteine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke vp the drum, & cried; A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming capteine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argile. The souldiers of the castell, perceiuing their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enimies, yéelded themselues, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell Iohn Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Veriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and Iohn Fleming lard of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and Iohn Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after prooued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth. Capteine Crawford & capteine Hume. The lord Fleming escapeth. Iohn Hall.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbreton was thus strangelie woone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the capteins and souldiers togither, caused them with him to knéele downe vpon their knées, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprise, brought to passe rather by the prouidence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in maner to be woone, by reason of the great heigth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being inuironed almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was ioifull to the townes and countries about, which before had béene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng awaie the commodities of the inhabitants there abouts, as well by land as by water. The strong situation of the castell of Dunbreton.

The regent dealt verie honorablie with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart away with all such plate and iewels, as apperteined either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Veriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to atchiue so high an enterprise, bringing it to the wished effect by policie with so little bloudshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next insuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed Iohn Cuningham lard of Drumwhassell, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be capteine of that castell, and leauing him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well The ladie Fleming honorablie intreated.

well touching the murther of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late regent.

At what time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath béene said) and before the regent declared, that one Iohn Hamilton, being in extreme sickenesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with three others to the murther of the king. And as touching the murther of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Therewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had beene forfalted afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edenburgh the fourteenth of Maie next insuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithquo.

The archbishop of saint Androws executed.

A parlement summoned.

Here the earle of Morton (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edenburgh, where they thought to haue béene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lard of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was reuolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate stréet, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the queenes part were forfalted. This being doone, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued foorth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

The castell of Edenburgh kept by the lard of Grange against the regent.

In the meane time the earle of Morton, hauing certeine stuffe come foorth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lard of Carmichell with his houshold seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalketh, being fiue miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stuffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edenburgh with their power: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constreined to flie, and were pursued by Carmicheil and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edenburgh, some of their men béeing slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortlie after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edenburgh, to Dalketh, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

The lard of Carmicheil.

The earle of Huntleie and lord Hume put to flight.

But the earle of Morton, hauing knowledge of their intention and comming, sallied foorth of Dalketh with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morton was put to the worse, fourrie or more of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horssemen that should haue succoured them. About the fiue & twentith day of Maie following, capteine Cullen issued foorth of Edenburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morton, who kept still at Dalketh.

The earle of Morton put to the worse.

Whereupon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprise, aduertised the regent therof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his comming thither, Cullen had met with a bote vpon the water, wherein were aboord fiue and twentie shot, whome he tooke prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edenburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Drurie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Drurie passing foorth of Leith towards Edenburgh, accompanied with sundrie captens, and other gentlemen for his conuoie thither, they within Edenburgh perceiuing them comming, imagined that they were come foorth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and castell to incounter them.

So that being readie on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Drurie, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, tooke in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agrée vpon a truce to indure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet when both parts staied in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agrée whether companie shuld first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharplie for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the ouerthrow: the abbat of Kilwinning being slaine, with diuerse other; and there were taken aboue an hundred prisoners: amongest the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased & constreined for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edenburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

A skirmish.

The abbat of Kilwinning slaine.

The lord Hume and capteine Cullen taken.

The regent immediatlie after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his aduersaries within the towne and castell of Edenburgh. Herevpon was Leith [whose capteine was Patrike Lindseie] intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enimies, and so readie to annoie them, and also seruing well to preuent them of such succour as they looked for dailie out of France. In this meane time, the lard of Grange, then capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edenburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Wherevpon, manie of them departed thence, togither with their wiues and children, and tooke with them also such goods as they could secretlie conueie: and comming to Leith, offered their seruice vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, seruing against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expenses.

Leith fortified.

A proclamation.

After this, the lard of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enimie to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would iustifie the same. Which being aduertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to vndertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lard of Garlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Wherevpon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lard Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought conuenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

The challenge of the lard of Grange.

The lard of Garlisch.

Shortlie after, there came out of France one Iohn Cheseholme, who was sent with monie to the lard of Grange for the paiment of his souldiors: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and thrée hundred caleeuers. Vpon his entering into the water of Fourth, and comming vp the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: wherevpon he landed at Brent Iland, and afterwards for feare hid himselfe betwixt two clifs of a rocke, not farre from the quéenes ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbat of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent laie about two moneths, vsing sundrie meanes, as well by practise and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edenburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

Iohn Cheseholme.

At length, the regent caused a parlement to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Striueling the two & twentith of August next insuing. And when that day approched, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Striueling, where at the prefixed daie did assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Montrosse, Eglenton, Glencarne, the lords Ruthwen, Glamis, Methwen, Sempill, Ogiltree, and Cathcart, with manie lards and gentlemen. The first day of this parlement the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and swoord being borne before him.

A parlement summoned.

When he had taken his place, he vttered a certeine speech as had béene taught him, touch-

ing the assembling of that parlement, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this doone, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Moreouer in this parlement, the duke of Chatelerault with his two sonnes, the abbat of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Huntleie, the lard of Grange and sundrie others were forfalted. This parlement continued by the space of seuen daies: at the end whereof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lard of Bouclugh, the lard of Ormiston, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horssemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Striueling, and suddenlie beset not onelie the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The duke of Chatelerault forfalted.

Fe. Thin.

The regent hearing a great vprore raised within the towne [in which George Ruthwen was slaine] and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceiued how the house wherein he lodged was beset on ech side, he defended the same against the enimies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had beene vnderlaid with some barrels of powder, and that it would be blowen vp if he yeelded not as some told him: and the enimie to increase that doubt, crieng still; Blow vp the house, what shuld we stand longer about him? at length he was contented to yeeld to the lard of Ormiston, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest capteins had yeelded themselues before his face. He yeelded, with condition to haue his life saued: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceiued rescue comming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capteine Cauder with a pistolet shot him into the bodie, before he could be recouered out of their hands.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging.

The earle of Lennox wounded.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Eglenton, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presentlie rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lard of Bouclugh, tooke the same lard prisoner, he yeelding himselfe vnto him: and likewise the earle of Glencarne tooke his keeper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their takers: but Claud Hamilton, with others their companies, hauing first gotten all the horsses that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was comming, shifted for themselues, and fled awaie. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet deliuered from his enimies, rid vp to the castell, and calling there vnto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approch, he vsed these woords (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennox his woords before his death.

"My lords, it is not vnknowen vnto you all, that my comming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chieflie mooued me heerevnto, was, for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whome by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minoritie, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruellie did murther the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his vncle the good earle of Murreie, late regent: whose mischeeuous and diuelish deuises if in time you doo not preuent by your wisedoms and discretions, they will procure the finall ouerthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my bloud, and haue plaied the last part of my tragedie, and now I feele death to draw neere at hand.

"Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almightie God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholie to imploie your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onelie accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can iustlie require. And I shall further commit to your friendlie protection, my poore seruants, who for their good seruice haue well deserued, and yet remaine vnrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastlie, I desire you to commend me vnto the ladie Margaret my deere wife, now being in England: vnto whome I beseech God to be a comforter,

comforter. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth neere to an end, I take my leaue of you all, desiring you to praie to God for me." These words being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in praier vnto the end, within a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Striueling. The erle of Lennox departeth this life.

¶ Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland, not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie sée; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scotish nation, otherwise than I haue found in authors, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the parciall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I shuld not séeme to wrest the woords of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disaduantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanor, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in anie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth heerein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else-where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whome I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and redound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almightie; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernors, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisedome séemeth most expedient. To whome be glorie, honor, and praise for euermore; Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of Raphaell Hollinshed, *and others.*

The sequele, concerning the continuation of this Scotish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.

THE

ANNALES OF SCOTLAND

IN SOME PART CONTINUED

FROM THE TIME IN WHICH HOLINSHED LEFT,

Being the Yeare of our Lord 1571,

VNTILL THE YEARE OF OUR REDEMPTION 1586.

BY FRANCIS BOTEVILLE, COMMONLIE CALLED THIN.

SOCRATES (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoued, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concerne publike affaires, and such publike affaires are most knowne when they end in publike action; & publike action, so farre foorth as it concerneth the thing doone, must needs be true that the same was so doone in that order, as it was openlie sene to be doone. Wherby might be concluded, that in chronicling and treating of publike affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: bicause we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement. For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publike shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saieng, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowe in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbeare to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publike affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saieng of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those

for

for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publikelie doone; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptablie in writing publike affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitched with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publike things: sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the atteining of truth, and not that perpetuitie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onelie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, bicause the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publikelie doone, and that they are publikelie doone that sort to anie action in the common-welth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptablie, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; bicause that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therfore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had beene sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelesse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descanting vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especiallie at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind bairad boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curiouslie carping at my barrennes in writing, bicause I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland, & haue reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo: I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselues, beside manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduise and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restreint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scotish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publike and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to

breake

breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeet to enter into the bosome of princes (whose harts as Salomon saith are vnsearchable) should for my vnaduisednesse seeme worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stale the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, bicause the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue beene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue lept into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the sonnes of God in writing, and laieng abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearchable works of the Almightie, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translated to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others. For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men to expresse in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for medling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in medling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthlie accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious toongs. For which cause sith I was bound to him by desart, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldest complaine of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great councellors and men priuie of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singularitie and amplenesse of Platos knowledge in philosophie feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeuxis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lysias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demos-

thenes? Shall none write histories but Cæsar, Liuie, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their trauell to the world bicause they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Cheeke, Roger Askam, Geffrie Fenton, or Iohn Lilie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doone. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrennesse of suppli-eng of things requisit for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue beene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speeches, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vndeserued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scotish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue alreadie consecrated my selfe, whatsoeuer I am, hauing long before this couenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to prouide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither choose a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out therout) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence

telligence thereof, but onelie culled foorth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and chalenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this sand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willinglie would: that I ought not to forbeare to write bicause I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposelie in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance thereinto with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed ffinished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

FRANCIS THIN.

THE

CONTINVANCE

OF THE

ANNALES OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE DEATH OF THE REGENT MATTHEW EARLE OF LENEAUX.

THE earle of Lineaux slaine and buried at Stearlinge (as the state of that same troblsome time wold so permit) the noblemen which were there present of that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselues for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named thrée, and those first by oth compelled to yeeld to the voices of the nobilitie. The thrée appointed by them were Gilspec Cambell earle of Argile, Iames Dowglasse earle of Mourton, and Iohn Areskine earle of Mar. But in the end, vpon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficiall and honorable to the realme and king) were méetest to wéeld so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid vpon the shoulders of the last of the thrée, to whome (they wholie inclining) gaue full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Areskine, hauing nothing more déere or desired to and of him, than the besieging and recouerie of the castell and town of Edenbrough (out of the hands of the queens faction) to the vse of his maister and pupill (whervnto the last calends of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last decessed regent his predecessor) he was now hindered therof by sudden (and vnlooked for) turmoiles of the estates of the realme. Wherevpon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delaie was after occasion of great impediment for the recouerie thereof, bicause it ministred time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and capteins, to mure and strengthen the castell and towne, when the sharpe winter, the long nights, the hard carriage for the wars, preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said turmoiles) occasioned departure from thense, without dispatch of that for which he came.

1572.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 887. Buchan. lib. 20.

Colen.

The earle of Mar made regent of Scotland.

Certeine moneths after that the regent was gone from thense, there were some few and small excursions and skirmishes vsed amongst them, the victorie inclining to neither part. For the frée sight & watch out of the castell of Edenborough (towards euerie part of the countrie) so wrought, that the quéenes faction should neither come to handstrokes, nor yet (being vnprouided) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enimies: bicause by a priuie token (giuen out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easilie warned to recoile and draw homeward in conuenient time. All which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enimie, when all the horsse and footmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (hauing first laid an ambush in the vallie) did with the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the towne garrison vpon them out of the wals of their defense, which their expectation was not deceiued. For the said Edenburgers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the said part of the kings armie, which feined a spéedie flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means wherof, they of the towne did so egerlie pursue them so flieng, that in the end they went so far after their enimies, that they drew néere the ensignes of the other ambush, now

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

An ambush laid by the kings faction.

now shewing themselues out of the vallie to rescue their fellowes put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceiued by the watch of the castell of Edenborough, foorthwith it gaue the appointed signe, whereby those on the quéenes part (before that they came neere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recoile for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, bicause they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whense or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned therof by the said watch of the towre. In which recoile of the quéenes part the few horssemen which had before feined the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were inforced (with all the spéed that might be) to flie vnto the citie, the next waie that euerie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manie of them were wounded, and manie taken prisoners, as well capteins and gentlemen of armes, as others.

The quéenes part warned by the watch of Edenborough castell.

They which laie in ambush pursue those that came foorth to set vpo the kings part.

Whilest these things were thus slowlie performed, in that the towne of Edenbrough was with no more heat sought to be recouered, a miserable misfortune happened in an other part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countrie two families of great power and authoritie, both valiant and wise, both harboring deadlie food of long rooted betwéene them. These two were of the sier-names of Gordon, and of Forboise, whereof the first liued with great concord and amitie amongst themselues, and by the kings sufferance had manie yeare gouerned the people adioining vnto them, whereby they purchased both strength amongst themselues, and the helpe of other men towards them: when contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with another, dailie impaired their owne strength by their owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still remaine amongst these families, they did not in manie yeares before attempt anie open warres the one against the other; rather liuing in secret emulation, than open enuie, bicause they had (in waie of some shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled both their families togither. Among these Forboises there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit, and of no lesse readie hand to performe his deuise) who had alwaies followed the kings part to his vttermost, from the first time of these discords. This man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or neuer) wherin he must honor himselfe and his name, increase the substance of that part which followed him, & suppresse the rage of the Gordons, first laboured to bring his familie to vnitie and mutuall loue, for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest strength. The which if he might compasse (as by anie possible meanes he would leaue no stone vnturned that might further it) he was then in so good safetie as he desired. For then was there not anie faction or familie in those parts whatsoeuer, whose wealth or strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he did feare.

A conflict betweene the Gordons and the Forboises.

The Forboises disagree among themselues.

Arthur Forboise.

For furtherance of which vnion, when daie and place was appointed to assemble the Forboises togither, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Huntleie (deuising by all policie he might to hinder the same, and hauing priuie intelligence thereof by his kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great power of armed men vnto the same place (at the time appointed for the assemblie of the Forboises) to breake off their vnion. And although there were two troopes of the Forboises, which presentlie appéered in their sight, yet before they could ioine their strengths, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one armie (not readie to be succoured by the other) and in the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise; who being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his death did so amaze the other, that foorthwith the rest were soone ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one as he might best shift for himselfe. In which vnhappie conflict some persons of name were presentlie killed, and manie others taken and reserued for ransome. Whervpon the residue (fearing more cruelties should be vsed vpon the prisoners, loath to haue anie more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place to the time present) withdrew themselues from the fight, and neuer attempted anie thing afterward in the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and wise

Adam Gordon disappointeth the vnion of the Forboises.

Arthur Forboise slaine.

The Forboises put to flight.

suppression of reuenge grew not without iust cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were further vrged) would shew no more mercie to such as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt with his great bellied wife and the other of his children. The house, great bellied wife, and children of Alexander Forboise burnt.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and himselfe hardlie escaping from his enimies hands, hastned to the court, from whense (though the matter was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be releeued. For which cause there were appointed two hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as fauoured and followed that faction, with letters to the adioining nobilitie to associat themselues to the part of the Forboises. These thus confederat and come togither to the rest of the Forboises, with certeine other families of their affinitie & neighbours, so aduanced the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought himselfe sufficientlie fensed against all the forces of his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to inioy the place of a capteine, whome the rest might follow, sith all the principals and heads of the families were almost yoong men, and scarse one better than others in degrée of calling. Wherefore the assemblie being drawen into diuerse companies (for they were inforced to follow seuerall leaders) Iohn Keth with fiue hundred horssemen departed to his house not far from thense. Alexander Forboise with his retinue and two hundred footmen went to Aberden, to expell Adam Gordon from thense, and to repare his armie in the iournie. The Forboises receiue aid from the king. The Forboises follow seuerall leaders. Iohn Keth departed. Alexander Forboise goeth to Aberdon.

Adam Gordon (not sléeping his affaires, knowing the preparation of the Forboises, and vnderstanding the approch of his enimie so néere with so small companie) assembled his people, led them out of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to make the number of his armie to séeme the greater. Shortlie after, in a field next adioining to the towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe conflict was committed betwéene them. In which the kings footmen (appointed to the Forboises) desirous (more hastilie than wiselie) to fight, and aduenturing further in following of the Gordons (than their shot of powder would continue) they went so far, that in the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of their companie) they were put to fearfull flight by the bowmen of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie, and continued the battell vntill night. At what time there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but mostlie taken and reserued as prisoners, amongst which was the said Alexander Forboise taken, after that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe against his enimies in the same conflict, to the perpetuall glorie of that house. The Forboises ouerthrowen besides Aberden.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north parts, the quéenes fauourers were highlie incouraged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assembling their power out of diuerse parts of the kingdome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of Iedworth, a towne which after the manner of the countrie is vnwalled and vnfensed, but onelie with the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (certeine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of the quéenes faction. Neere vnto this towne were neighbours Thomas Car of Fernherst, and Walter Scot, both which besides their owne retinue had ioined vnto them the people of the next countries, being Lidesdale, Euian, and Eskine, alwaies troubled with robberie and giuen to spoile, who at that time by the libertie of war freelie without restreint, did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile and catch what they could. Besides whom there were also in Teuiot (aswell by the infection of these countries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for these things were by vse made an other nature and priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin) great families defamed with such theft and rapines, and not these alone (sith this poison had crept almost ouer all the land) but certeine of the next English pale (being allured with hope of preie, and supposing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined togither; and (to make their number the greater, and their power the stronger) called from Edenborough one hundred and twentie harquebushers, chosen out of the chéefest souldiers, to be assistant vnto them. Iedworth defended from assault. Thomas Car. Walter Scot. *Buchan. li. 20.*

The inhabitants of Iedworth (not ignorant of their intent, and considering wherevnto all this

this preparation tended) with spéedie & fearefull messengers signifie vnto Iohn Areskine earle of Mar & regent, the present danger wherein they stood, craning some succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them, which foorthwith was granted accordinglie. Whervpon Walter Car of Stefford, being called before the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid granted vnto him, as a person who both for valure & experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the countries adioining, for that season assembled themselues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie with them at Iedworth. At what time also to strike more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and certeine horsmen (wherof he brought part with him, and part he gathered out of the marches adioining) were at the same time comming to Driburge with the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the queenes faction trusting to their owne strength consisting in multitude (for they were in number three thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw towards the towne, to preuent the comming of such succours as both were promised, looked for, and then almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwine partlie before suspected, he hastened the people with more spéed to follow them at the héeles, and by continuall shot weried the taile of his aduersaries with often assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Car sent to defend Iedworth.

William Ruthwine with a power comming to Driburge.

Walter Car ioineth with William Ruthwine.

Waker Car also ioining vnto him and to his complices the townes men (readie to defend their titles, their goods, their wiues, and their children) tooke the direct waie towards his enimies, to the end the better to suppresse them and their vnited force. Which when the aduerse part perceiued, foorthwith they retired to places of more defense, lest they shuld incounter their enimies with doubtfull battell; and least being set vpon before and behind, they might be suddenlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne themselues, either to escape, or to preuent the approching enimie. At what time such as sought after spoile, and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine, being now by that means defrauded of their preie, when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and the kings part readilie and stronglie come foorth to battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his owne house, as it was néerest to the place where they then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any occasion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing at the first nothing lesse than that the enimie would make vpon them) they also followed after the others, raised their campe, and departed to Hawike with the rest of their followers and companie of footmen, hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow, which would staie the following of the enimie.

The quéenes faction flie awaie.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportunitie of time, did before daie so spéedilie lead his armie to Hawike, that he was within a mile of his enimies, before they could by anie means be certified of his comming. Whose spéedie and vnlooked for approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that euerie one should shift for himselfe as well as hée might. Wherevpon suddenlie bringing foorth their horsses and footmen, and following the course of the next riuer, they attempted to withdraw into places of more safetie for themselues, and further from their enimies. But the horssemen of Ruthwine spéedilie following at their héeles, so preuented their deuise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all the countrie to the places best knowne vnto them.

Ruthwine with his armie commeth to Hawike.

The quéens faction ouerthrowne and dispersed at Hawike.

Vpon which the footmen being thus left to the spoile and preie of their enimies, did (for their more safegard) hide themselues in a little wood adioining to the said riuer. In which, being on euerie side beset with the force of their aduersaries (fullie determined to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholie yéeld themselues with submission to their courtesie. Whervpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their number was ouer great to be caried about from place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suffered harmelesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture

to depart, some few being still reteined in that place as pledges for the others departed companie. But when the time of their returne approched, Kircawdie, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, forbad them to returne at their daie appointed, and made them incurre the note of periurie. The rest of the winter, and all the next spring was passed foorth with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings and quéenes factions, in which few lost their liues, and of that few more on the quéens than kings part. For the quéenes fauourers, remaining in the mounteins next adioining to the citie, whilest they would take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing well, would (scarse entring into the danger of the conflict) for the most part retire and flie into the citie for more defense.

Kircawdie causeth the prisoners not to returne at their daie appointed.

In the meane time, while these things were thus ordered, there came manie ambassadors out of England, to pacifie these discords growne to these great extremities, betweene the king and the imprisoned quéenes factions. But the same ambassage so well meant by the quéene of England, and reiected by the seditious of Scotland, sorted not to that end which was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required. Wherefore these ambassadors returned home without anie such dispatch as might answer their trauels, their mistresse care and loue, and the vnities of that quarelsome people: by reason that the Frenchmen fauouring the cause of the banished queene, did not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots, for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres for the destruction of the naturall subiects, and to bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furtherance thereof, did with great promises interteine the apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the better support whereof, the French king sent some portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great, or such as their necessitie required, seemed rather sufficient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the warres, than fullie to dispatch or defraie the charges or the affaires therein; and that the rather, bicause some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such as had the cariage thereof.

Ambassadors out of England.

The French king sendeth monie into Scotland.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little purpose betweene the aduerse parties. But the greater companie, who could not satisfie their eagles minds with litle flies, abstained not from robbing and burning the countrie. For Adam Gordon, entring into Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglasse of Glenbernie: but after that long besiege, perceiuing that the man whome he sought for, was not to be found there, he cruellie destroied all whatsoeuer there was left, consuming it with fire and sword. Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression into the harts of those of Dundée, that they despairing of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their neighbours of Fife vnto their aid, sith they were next adioining vnto them, vnto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enimie continuallie in all that possiblie he might, bicause they constantlie and subiect like did in all duties support the kings part.

Adam Gordon inuadeth Angus, and besiegeth the house of William Dowglasse.

They of Dundee crime aid out of Fife.

At which time Blackenesse being betraied to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatlie hinder the traffike and passage betweene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wise forecast sought to preuent following euils, brake downe all the mils about Edenburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons néere vnto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed queene were taken prisoners, put to their ransome, compelled to abiure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Blackenesse betraied.

Edenburgh mils broken.

Prisoners taken both on the king and quéens part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed quéenes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did dailie more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceiued by forreine nations (pitieng the present calamities, and seeking to prouide to staie the following dissention of that countrie which was like to be at hand vpon these ciuill and vnnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the quéene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat

The quéene of England & the French king send ambas-

Men sent into Scotland.

of Scotland, sent their ambassadors into the realme, to sée what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minoritie; hoping either to set a finall end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and asswage that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minoritie passe anie further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Drurie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the queene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also béene ambassador out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

An abstinence of warre for a time.

These much about one time arriuing in Scotland, and ioining togither concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectuallie therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betweene the parties of the king and quéenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue vntill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarels to be set downe by the queene of England, and the French king. Which being doue the ambassadors returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Drurie and maister Randolph into England.

Sir William Drurie and maister Randolph go into Scotland.

The death of the earle of Marre.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sickenesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus saith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit*) being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situat foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erledome succeeded Iohn erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which Iohn Areskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Murrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this Iohn, which succeeded him in the earledome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglasse now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which decessed Areskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses comendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour of the said earle in this forme and maner following:

Si quis Areskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore vtroque pium:
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,
Rebus in ambiguis suspicione fidem,
Si quis ob has dotes, sæuis iactata procellis,
Figit in illius patria fessa pedem:
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit:
Illud & proprium est, longæ quòd in ordine vitæ
Nil odium aut liuor, quod reprehendit, habet.

Vpon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succéed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had doone before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the same. After whose election, the two princes, the English quéene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadors to the regent and states of Scotland. Which ambassadors were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Veracke for France. But as monsieur de Veracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and vpon the sea in his iournie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could atteine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongest the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which

Earle Morton made regent.

Maister Henrie Killigrew sent into Scotland.

being

being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come foorth of England from that prince, whome religion, bloud, affinitie, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolue themselues, that both the affection, aswell of the yoong king, and of the imprisoned quéene, should referre themselues to the queene of England, to make a finall conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Whereupon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwéene all the lords of Scotland after this maner. In Februarie following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Iohns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntlie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieng the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the quéene of England should by hir ambassador, set a quiet end and order amongest them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordinglie, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edenborough: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Grange, secretarie Lidington, the lord Rastairege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons meetelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to anie peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned quéenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare. An assemblie at saint Iohns towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue beene crediblie informed, there was a parlement called at Edenborough to begin the fifteenth of Ianuarie, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Cassels, Eglinton, Mountrosse, and yoong Marshall, for the earle Marshall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindseie, Glames, Simple, Boid, Maxwell, Herris, Graie, Olliphant, Sinclair, Ferbois, Cachart, Ochiltrée, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borows of Edenborough, Striueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glascow, Lithgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemblie were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, and Mountrosse, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Boid, Simple, and Herris, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Orkeneie, the abbats of Aberbroth, Dunfirmiling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie ile and Portmuake, which were also adioined vnto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following. 1573. A parlement at Edenborough.

THE ARTICLES AND ACTS OF THE PARLEMENT HOLDEN AT EDENBOROUGH THE 25 OF IANUARIE.

"1 The approbation and ratification of the regiment.

"2 Annenst the true and holie kirke, and deiering of the true ministers & members thereof.

"3 That name of the aduersaries and enimies of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.

"4 That sike of the disobedients as shall be receiued to mercie and pardon, protest the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrées and execution of the councell of Trent.

"5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge set vaile during the kings minoritie.

"6 Annenst recouering of the iewels, housholdstuffe, munition, and moueables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoofe.

"7 A declaration, that all things doone in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and vnder color of quhatsoeuer other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.

"8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhens maiestie of England, for

the defense of forren inuasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be drawne into the same.

"9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annenst masse and gleibis.

"10 Annenst the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet buls or prouision to benefices with antedats.

"11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie councell, made in the reigne of the quheine the kings mother, annenst the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.

"12 Annenst execution against persons excommunicat.

"13 Annenst the reparation of parish kirks.

"14 Annenst proceeding in cause of diuorse.

"15 Annenst the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.

"16 A confirmation of the infeffement of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glascow. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise giuen to the regent, touching the receiuing to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaieng of pursute of the murther of the kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought good to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same."

Skirmishes about Edenborough.

During the time of which session of this parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said fifteenth of Ianuarie. For Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from salleing out of the castell gate, where capteine Craiford, and capteine Hume laie with their bands to keepe them in. Notwithstanding all which, they within repaired vnto a posterne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and fet water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enimies, capteine Michaell and his band came from Dondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within three daies after such his approch, destroied their well, and inforced them to keepe within the wals of the castell: at what time the regent aduanced his trenches made against the castell, from the bulworke or spurre of that castell to the west part: and from thense, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the southwestside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourescore and seuen great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poore dog that was slaine before the doore of the regents house: although men, women, and children did dailie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not more strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Ianuarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, skirmishes or otherwise) aboue six persons, and within the castell but three, with as manie hurt betweene the tolbooth and the spurre of the castell. The cause whereof grew by reason of three trauerses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at what time also the tolbooth and the church was fensed with a rampier forced of turfes, fagots, and other stuffe fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safalie to the church to heare diuine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was besieged.

An abstinence of war granted.

During which dooings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadors of England for the duke and his adherents, vntill the foure and twentith of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with

with the said ambassadors for an accord to be had betweene the king and imprisoned quéenes faction. Whereupon sir Iames Balford came to the regents grace, obteined pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argile was aduanced to the honour of the chancellorship. And Alexander Areskine maister of Marre was appointed to haue the kéeping of the kings person vpon certeine condirions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure suerties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bodie and lands, hauing fifteene daies appointed vnto him to consider thereof, whether he would enter into so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolued and concluded, that the earles of Glencarne and Buquhan, the lord Glames, and master Marshall should haue the kéeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anie of the foure should happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, Iames Kircawdie arriued in the Blackenesse in a small pinnesse, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such monie as he had prouided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassceged and inuironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Bruse sallieng foorth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to prouide vittels, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would doo.

Sir Iames Balford submitteth himselfe to the regent. Officers created.

Iames Kircawdie entreth Edenborough castell.

1573.

Wherevpon the regent of Scotland solicited the quéene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots hir cousine, thus grieuouslie molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quéene of England sent a power of fifteene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, ouer whome sir William Drurie knight and marshall of Berwike was made generall, with such capteins as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other capteins, as Read, Yaxleie, Wood, Brickwell, Pikeman, Garn, Case, Carew, Errington prouost marshall, Astoll, Steerleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carie, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresurer of England, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Kelwaie, Dier, Tilneie, William Killegrew, & manie other gentlemen of good estimation did associat themselues with conuenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwike to Leith, where they met with maister Henrie Killegrew the quéene of Englands ambassador, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserued no small commendation; and with the Scotish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioine with the English in the behalfe of the yoong king against such as tooke part with the deposed quéene. Which Scotish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and allied to him by kindnes and kinred, and such as fauoured the yoong king, distressed by the deposed quéene, as was pretended. After the ioining of these two nations, they on the fiue and twentith of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Drurie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The taking of Edenborough castell by the English and the regent of Scotland.

THE SUMMONS GIUEN TO THE CASTELL OF EDENBOROUGH.

"Sir William Kircawdie, sometimes of Grange knight, forsomuch as the queens maiestie my souereigne ladie, vpon the ernest request of hir deere cousin the king of Scots your souereigne lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes vsed to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not dulie harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the vniuersall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning (as it seemeth) to re-

serue

serue the same for a receptacle of foren forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my soueraigne; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perilous a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoofe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due maner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, houshold stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoofe of the king your soueraigne and his regent in his name, immediathe after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obeie, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, councell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your liues, &c: otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the vttermost, and holden as enimies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraigne, and countrie. Giuen at Edenborough by me sir William Drurie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this fiue and twentith daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573."

This letter by the lord Grange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their bloud, did vtterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselues. Wherewith the English generall greatlie grieued, did incontinently redeliuer such answer to the said lord Grange as wrought an vtter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie therevpon against the castell. After which euerie one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force togither, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in fiue seuerall places, where were fiue seuerall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Drurie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carie, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, whereof fifteene hundred were English, and the other fiue hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie conteining six canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and six sacres. Whilest the armie without was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the capteine of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other souldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof; whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castillians, but mostlie after that the pioners and laborers had finished the mounts. At what time they gaue vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the extreame heat thereof began not vntill the seauenteenth daie of Maie following. In which siege on the said seauenteenth daie of Maie, the castell was most roughlie assailed by thirtie shot of canon discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dauids tower, that the force of the English canons was easie to be then and long after seene therein. Which assalt continued vntill the one and twentith daie of Maie following, on which daie the whole batterie began not againe as before against part, but wholie round about on ech side of the castell. For vntill then Dauids towre was onelie the marke of the enimie: but after that daie they laid out their power in euerie place, offending and defending ech others soldiors, as well within the

castell

castell as within the mounts and trenches in that sharpe conflict hurting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be so great, that they forthwith displaced the ordinance in the castell, and stroke one of their greatest péeces first in the mouth: whereby the same was broken, and the castillians force somewhat abated.

After this on the six and twentith daie of the said moneth of Maie, there was a fresh assault giuen at seuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defense or blockehouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith vpon the entrance therin was the banner of the generall displaied and set vp, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the vse of one of their great péeces, that their walles were battered, that some of their men were slaine, & that they had almost all their water taken from them; yet would they not yeeld, neither did anie whit begin to despaire of keeping the castell, or repelling the enimie; vntill such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

Now, during the time that these gaue the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of Englishmen and Scots, that had in charge to make shew of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as laied batterie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselues, and lesse suspicion of the aduerse part, obteine the said Spurre. But this last named band, ouer hastilie putting themselues in aduenture beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and driuen to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of thirtie persons, or thereabous. All which notwithstanding, the castillians (perceiuing their chiefest defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatlie reioising of this small victorie ouer those which assailed them on the west side) did the same daie by a drumme demand parlee: which they obteined with truce of peace from that daie, vntill the eight and twentith of Maie next following. For which cause the lard of Pittadrow, was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lard of Grange, capteine of the said castell, with Robert Meluine; all which came to haue conference with the generall sir William Drurie, & such other persons as were chosen to accompanie him about the same. In the end, vpon much conferrence had betweene the Scotish lards and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentith daie (in which the truce ended) deliuered vp into the hands of the said sir William Drurie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set vp and spred his ensignes and banners vpon sundrie parts of the wals of the same.

This doone, the generall (after quiet possession had, not determining to reteine it vnto his mistresse vse, sith he was onelie appointed by hir to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as tooke his part) did after (according to his commission) deliuer ouer the same castell to the vse of the yoong king of Scots; for which cause not meaning vtterlie to spoile the castell, he gaue but part of the spoile to the vse of the soldiers, leauing the canons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obteined it by composition, that then they should wholie haue inioied the full spoile by the space of three daies, the artillerie onelie excepted, which should be carried awaie by the English. But sith for these causes following, the same could not abide anie long siege, but must of necessitie yeeld it selfe, there was euerie part of the said spoile giuen vnto the souldiers vpon the deliuerie of the same castell to sir William Drurie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were depriued of water, bicause the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wals; & the other well without could not serue them, bicause there was a mount made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was vnknowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre, out of which they were woont to haue a pint a daie for euerie souldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie,

Secondlie, diuerse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drinke of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had beene poisoned by some of their enimies.

Thirdlie, diuerse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anie rest, being so plied and dailie wearied with batterie.

Fifthlie, diuerse of the souldiers diuided in opinions.

Sixtlie, some were no souldiers at all.

Seauenthlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waie of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the horssemen dailie and nightlie watching and riding, which held and tooke from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes mooued the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixteenth daie of June following, the prisoners were deliuered by the said sir William Drurie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & English men, vnto the regent; and that doone, the same daie sir William Drurie departed with his power to Berwike. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Kircawdie laird of Grange, and capteine of the castell of Edenborough, the lord Hume, William Metellan, lord of Lethington secretarie, the laird of Pittadrow constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladie of Lethington and the ladie of Grange, with others. But yet the priuat soldiers & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Edenborough woone, as you haue heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as manie thought it tooke the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not beene woone at anie time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the falser, in that the common sort doo imbrace it, for that they iustlie incline to common fables. For this castell was not surnamed the maiden castell, bicause it was neuer taken by force: but bicause the princes children were there nourished, as maie well appeare by that which I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this towne & the name thereof: of which there be diuerse opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Eboracus, of some called Ebraucus king of Britaines, called also in British Castle mynid Agnes, the castle of saint Agnes hill, afterward the castell of virgins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the time of Christ, by the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. "Chrutmæus Camelodunum primariam Pictorum vrbem & Agnedam postea Ethinburgum ab Etho quondam rege dictam, cum puellarum castro, vbi regis & nobilium Pictorum filiæ dum nuptui darentur, seruari, & præceptis ad humanitatem & virtutem informari solebant, condidit." A little before which, the said Lesleus writeth that Fergusius died "Anno ante Christi in carnem aduentum 305," & that "Hoc tempore Esdadus Britonum & Chrutmæus Camelonus Pictorum imperium tenebant." Now this king Chrutmeus that built Agneda, liued before Christ three hundred and fiue yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or Ebranke liued nine hundred foure score & nine yeares before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this towne more ancient than the Scots. But as Lesleus hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius, to place Camelodunum in Scotland: so hath he appointed Edenburgh to be built by the Scots, being built by the Britaines. But true it might be that Eborac first builded it, & that being in the space of six hundred foure score and foure yeares wasted and vtterlie decaied, the same was afresh erected by Chrutmeus, and after repared by Ethus. The castell of which towne, being sometime appointed for the bringing vp of the daughters of the noblemen of the Picts, vntill they were mariageable, was for that cause (and not bicause it was neuer woone by force) called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affirmeth. But after, when christianitie came into Scotland, it was called (as I coniecture) Agneda, bicause it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not before the comming of Christ so

called

called Agneda, as hitherto it hath béene set downe, but not rightlie; as I maie with reuerence speake vnder correction of such as by better authoritie can disprooue that I saie.

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie soile of Scotland, and such things as were there then doone; and talke somewhat of the persons of that realme, who performed matter of valure in forren countries. Whilest the towne of Leiden was stronglie besieged (in the moneth of Iune) and that the townesmen (hauing a néedfull and héedfull care) were altogither imploied about making of prouision of all such things as were déemed necessarie for the defense of the same towne; the principall part of the commandators armie arriued in Bommell quarters, Gorcun, and Lowiestein. Howbeit the prince and the estates of the low countries made no great account therof, by reason that Bommell (which was well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars) was vnder the custodie of capteine Baufoure, coronell of the Scotishmen who had there attending on him the number of seauen Scotish ensignes. Which Scots desirous to performe some matter of valure, dailie sallied out of the towne with some of the citizens and gentlemen Hollanders; in which often issuing they valiantlie skirmished with the enimies. Whereby in the end amongest their sundrie conflicts there were manie warlike exploits performed by the Scots, which deserued not to be forgotten: as well for that they often repelled the enimie, and kept their strength togither; as for that they being few in number, aduentured (beyond the hope of good hap, by incountering with a greater troope of such as came against them, than they were themselues) either to returne victors, or to loose their liues.

1574.

The tragicall historie of the warres of the low countries *lib.* 3.

The Scots repelled their enimies at Bommell.

After which also the same Scots, continuing in those low countries, performed manie other matters of martiall exploits, which I will set downe in this place. For sith I haue béene denied of some of the Scots (whom these annales chiefelie concerne) such things as might supplie the default of sufficient matter of Scotland to furnish the same; and for that I haue béene defrauded of the performance of promise made vnto me by manie others of that nation, who for dutie vnto that countrie ought, and for clearing some sinister opinion conceiued against them of their actions in their owne countrie should haue sought to further me in these my labours: I must leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen to other places; producing matter to helpe my barren discourse, which inforced therevnto doth deliuer an action performed by the Scots in the same low countries; where they which were their in seruice against the Spaniards, vnder the pale of the prince of Orenge, did that which deserueth not to be forgot.

1576.

The Scots denie their furtherance to the writing of the annales of Scotland.

These Scots therefore remaining in those countries, seruing vnder the conduct of their coronell surnamed Baufoure, did in Ianuarie set foorth & meet with the Spaniards at a place called the Footbale, distant not much more than a mile frō Leige, where was a long and sharpe conflict betweene these two nations. In which by the successe of battell (for the most part yéelding victorie vnto the stronger side) a great multitude of them were left dead in the place, and the rest driuen to saue themselues by flight from their enimies: who yet felt not this ouerthrow so swéet and gainefull, but that they lost manie of their people before the Scots were put to the worst.

The tragicall historie of the warres of the low countries *Lib.* 4.

The Scots put to flight besides Leige.

But leauing these Scots in the midle of the wars of these countries vnder the prince of Orenge, we are to come to other matters following by succession of time, which hath deliuered to vs that Margaret the daughter & heire of Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning the yeare at the Annunciation of the virgin. Which ladie being borne at Harbotell castell in England in the yeare of Christ 1515, was afterward brought vp in England; and then being priuilie affianced in the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ 1536, to Thomas Howard yoongest brother to the duke of Northfolke, she was that yeere committed prisoner to the tower; but after set at libertie the last of October, in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1537, & married to Matthew Steward earle of Lennox by the consent of Henrie the eight king of England, in the yeare of our saluation 1544. After which, being tossed with both fortunes, sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, she was notwithstanding alwaies honorablie

1577.

Some part of the life of Margaret Dowglas.

interteined in England, as both hir birth in respect of hir kinglie bloud, and hir calling in respect of hir place, did worthilie deserue. In the end, to cut off all hir other aduersities, and to draw to things falling in mine owne knowledge, she was on the two and twentith of Aprill in the yeare 1565 (vpon the mariage of hir sonne Henrie Steward lord Darneleie vnto Marie Steward queene of Scots) commanded by the quéene of England first to kéepe hir chamber in the Whit-hall the princes court and palace, where she remained vntill the two and twentith daie of 1. Stow. Iune next insuing; and was then by sir Francis Knolles (one of the priuie councell and vice-chamberleine to the queene of England) and by some other of the gard conueied to the towre of London by water; in which place she remained prisoner vntill that hir sonne the said Henrie Steward was miserablie and traitorouslie slaine by the earle Bothwell and his complices (as some affirme, but how trulie I know not) vpon the twentith of Februarie one thousand fiue hundred three score & six. In which yeare, on the two and twentith of the same moneth, the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the towre and set at libertie, who still remaining in England did (as before is said) in the three score & second yeare of hir age, and in the sixt yeare of hir widowhood, surrender hir soule to God, being most honorablie buried & answerablie to hir calling in the great chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seuenth king of England) among the kings of that realme in an inward chapell standing on the right & the southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before whose death hir sonne Charles Steward earle of Lennox (hauing before maried Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Candish, by whome he had issue Arbella) did also depart this life. Ouer the bodies of both which persons, Thomas Fowler executor to the said ladie Margaret, did with the goods of the said ladie erect a costlie and statelie toome of rich stone and curious workemanship, with the picture of that ladie, as liuelie, and as well coloured as art might afford it, about which monument is grauen this memorable epitaph declaring hir nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the toome is set downe

" Memoriæ sacrum.

" Margaretæ Dowglasiæ, Matthæi Stuarti Leuiniæ comitis vxori, Henrici septimi Angliæ regis ex filia nepti, potentiss. regibus cognatione coniunctissimæ, Iacobi sexti regis auiæ, matronæ sanctiss. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, incomparabili P.

Obijt Martij decimo Anno
Domini 1577."

On the right side of which toome is this ingrauen.

" Margareta potens, virtute potentior, ortu
Regibus ac proauis nobilitata suis:
Inde Calidonijs australibus, inde Britannis
Aedita principibus, principibúsque parens:
Quæ mortis fuerant soluit lætissima morti,
Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.

" Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to Iames the sixt now king. This Henrie was murdered at the age of one and twentie yeares, Charles the yoongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie yeares, and is here intoomed."

On the left side of the toome is this ingrauen.

" This ladie had to hir great grandfather king Edward the fourth, to hir grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, to hir vncle king Henrie the eight, to hir coosine germane king Edward the sixt, to hir brother king Iames of Scotland the fift, to hir sonne king Henrie the first, to hir grandchild king Iames the sixt; hauing to hir great grandmother and grandmother two queens both named Elisabeth, to hir mother Margaret queene of Scots, to hir aunt Marie the French queene, to hir cousines germane Marie and Elisabeth quéens of England, to hir neece and daughter in law Marie queene of Scots."

At

At the foot of hir toome is this written.

"Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus, by Margaret queene of Scots his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie the seuenth, which bare vnto Matthew earle of Lennox hir husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters."]

Which honourable toome, with these superscriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Margaret. This ladie being (as before is shewed) countesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to declare in this place, what became of both the said earledoms, as well in hir life, as after hir and hir sonne Charls his death. Touching Angus, this ladie Margaret, vpon the mariage of hir son Henrie lord Darneleie, which was solemnized the nine and twentith daie of Iulie 1565, to Marie queene of Scots, did giue the said earledome with all the rights and members thereof vnto the said queene Marie, to dispose as fell best vnto hir liking. Whereupon the said queene bestowed that honour and earledome vpon Archibald Dowglasse cousine to the said ladie Margaret: who being exiled, was here in England at the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after the slaughter of Matthew earle of Lennox (husband to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571, but 1572 as hath Leslens, was inuested in Charles Iames the sixt king of Scotland, heire in bloud to the said Matthew earle of Lennox, father to Henrie lord Derneleie (that maried the queene) father to the said Iames the sixt. Whereupon the yoong king, mindfull of the aduancement of his vncle Charles sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charls with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox, which Charles died in the life of his mother Margaret without heire male, by reason whereof the said earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leauing the title and succession of the earles of Lennox to an other place following (sith I am entered into the discourse of such of the earles & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For although the same matter would more aptlie haue béene placed before at the end of the historie of Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the beginning of my continuance of the annales of that countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle: yet sith the note of that epitaph came not vnto my hands, vntill I had thus farre proceeded in the historie; and the same also at that time passed the print (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I will here (hauing so good occasion therfore) intreating of the toome of his wife (whose charge also wanted not in erecting of this toome of hir slaine husband, and for that this dooth also touch some part of hir epitaph) insert the same in this place after this maner, as it is written vpon the statelie toome of the said Matthew Lennox, and now standing in the chapell within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Matthew earle of Lennox.

"Lo here a prince and potentate,
whose life to vnderstand,
Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,
though from his natiue land
His enmies thrice did him out thring,
he thrice returnd againe,
Was lawfull tutor to the king,
and regent did remaine:
Where he with rigor rebels rackt,
the right for to defend,

Till enmies old through tyrans trackt,
did worke his fatall end.
Lo thus respects the death no wight,
When God permits the time,
Yet shall the vengeance on them light
that wrought that curssed crime."

Besides which also on the same toome are these heroicall verses set downe, declaring his name, his descent, his mariage, his issue, his offices, and such other matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

" Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine soile,
did liue a pearlesse pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards stocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie :
His fortune was euen so to match,
with passing vertuous wight,
Whose race deriued from famous kings,
of wide renowmed might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldest daughter deare,
Of Henrie seuenth English king,
a princelie mirror cleare.
Hir father earle of Angus was,
she ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerse goodlie imps there were,
that issued from them twaine:
Charls Iames now king, and *Charls the earle
of them dooth still remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their first begotten sonne :
Oh cruell fates ! the which so soone,
his vitall thred vnsponne,
By whose deuise the grandsire came,
lord regent in this land:
And noblie bare the regall sword
of iustice in his hand.
Whereby he did in tender age
of the kings maiestie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,

Shall

* This was Charles earle of Lennox buried in the toome which his grandmother the ladie Margaret Lennox before mentioned who lived after the death of this Matthew his grandfather.

Shall spread abrode this worthie man,
and through the world him set.
And tearing time shall not consume,
nor weare the same awaie,
But with the worthiest reckned be,
vntill the latter daie.
After which time, eternitie
dooth triumph then by right:
Where he with angels shall reioise,
in Gods eternall sight."

Besides which English epitaph these verses were also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of Lennox, wherein is not onelie set downe (as before) the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the places of his education, with other things which right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this sort.

" Regis auus, regis pater, alto è sanguine regum
(Imperio quorum terra Britanna subest)
Matthæus, genuit Læuinia, Gallia fouit,
Pulso Anglus thalamum rémq; decúsq; dedit.
Cœpi invicta manu, famam virtute refelli,
Arma armis vici, consilióq; dolos.
Gratus in ingratos: patriam iustéq; piéq;
Cùm regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.
Chare* nepos, spes vna domus, meliore senectam
Attingas fato, cætera dignus auo."

*Iames the sixt king of Scots.

Thus setting end to the liues & deaths of this Matthew Steward erle of Lennox, of Margaret Dowglasse his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe againe to such others, either generall or speciall, accidents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland, and which will touch the vniuersall gouernement, or the particular occurrents as well of Scotish as of other forren affaires managed by them at home, or in other countries, therwithall ioining the discourse of such things as haue beene performed by other nations in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in Scotland this rarelie happened, that the earle Morton surrendered his protectorship or regentship of the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie worthilie count rare, sith men in so great authoritie of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought to giue ouer such honour, and to yéeld themselues to the commandement of others, bicause " Qui primatus sui authoritatem perdit, in despectionem & angustiam se mittit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ac suos ad profectum dirigit." And Bias the philosopher knew, that it was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie fauouring of great magnanimitie and wisedome, " Fortiter ferre mutationes rerum in deterius." But he being verie wise, feared not the alteration of his estate, but rather desired to be rid thereof, considering the weightinesse and danger which depended therevpon, and remembring that notable saieng of Gregorie in his Morals, declaring the singular good of such, which doo shun the gouernement of temporall things, in these words. " Quasi quodam iugo seruitutis premunt prospera, dum appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis semel dominationem desideriorum temporalium à collo mentis excusserit, quadam iam etiam vitæ libertate perfruitur, & dum nullo desiderio fœlicitatis afficitur, nullo aduersitatis errore coarctatur."

Gl. super ill. eccles. 23 melius est vt filij.

This earle Morton (I saie) surrendred his office (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in this yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie & seuen, at what time also Robert Bowes esquier was then in Scotland for hir maiestie of England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Morton there were no more regents in that countrie, but the king

The earle Morton surrendred his regentship.

king tooke vpon him to rule the realme by himselfe & by such curators as he should appoint therfore. For the king now about the twelfe yeere of his age thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouernment of the countrie by himselfe, and such as he appointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancestors had doone before in their yoong yeares: notwithstanding the opinion of manie of the better sort of the presbiterie, which maintaine that he cannot absolutelie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the customes of their countrie, vntill he come to the age of fiue and twentie yeares. But we find in their owne historie of Scotland, written euen by men of best iudgement, that Iames the second of that name king of Scots, did in the fourteenth yeare of his age, in the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, put Alexander Liuinstone knight from his regentship, and tooke vpon him himselfe the absolute gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writeth Lesleus. "Gubernatoris cancellariique consilio & iussu factum est, vt omnium ordinum comitijs Striueling indies diceretur. An. Dom. 44[illegible] mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est constitutum, vt rex suum regnum lustrans, contentiones sopiat, causas decidat, controuersias dirimat, reliquaq; reipublicæ negotia præsens procuret. Multi nobiles sese comites itineris adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes, odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, vt aliorum seruituti se premi diutius non sinat: sed vt omni iugo excusso, ipse sibi reipublicæ gubernandæ partes assumat. Is iuuenili quodam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tanquam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effluere liberalissimè patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regium solium præceps irruit, ac vt publicis comitijs solus præesset, omnes ordines Striuelingum vocat, 4 Nouembris 1444."

The kings of Scotland take on them to rule the realme without procurators being within age.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 393.

After which, about fiue yeares following, the same Iames, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age and the twelfe yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntleie, and George Lesle a baron earle of Rothseie. Iames the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixteene yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score & eight, administred the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. Iames the fift the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, in the seuenteenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftéenth yeare of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentship, and tooke vpon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whilest she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselues the gouernement of the kingdome, after that they haue atteined to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and vnfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vnmeet in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue doone in England at the end of the gouernement of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

THE PROTECTORS, GOUERNOURS, OR REGENTS OF SCOTLAND, DURING THE KINGS MINORITIE OR HIS INSUFFICIENCIE OF GOUERNEMENT, OR DURING HIS ABSENCE OUT OF THE REALME.

Conanus.

CONANUS was gouernor vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seuen: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and flieng to Yorke, where

where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. "Conanus qui reipublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optimè administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere voluerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater suffectus est."

Cadallus liuing about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Euenus) hauing slaine the sonne of Euenus, and vsurping the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6, pag. 92. "Tandem auctore Cadailo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in illum (which was Gillus) conspirant, quem in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur." Cadallus.

Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodius the next king, whome this Argadus holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iustice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this daie the earles of Argile doo inioie by inheritance. Argadus erle of Argile.

Donald, Cololian, Mordacke and Conrade were made gouernors of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. "Senectutis tandem tædio illius (which was Elphine who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, seuen hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitatæ sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus præstans quædam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldo Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Conano Morauiam." Donald, Cololian, Mordacke, & Konrade.

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrews, &c: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure score and three, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not knowen to whome the kingdome did apperteine, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balioll, Bruse, Hastings, and others) agreed amongst themselues, and chose six regents or gouernors of the same, vntill a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, Iohn Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glascow, sir Iohn Cumine, and Iames high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts. William Fraiser.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernor of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasuror of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his absence, whilest he was busied in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselues at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seuen, at what time also Andrew Murreie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the king. Hugh Cressingham. *Buchan. lib. 8.*

William Wallace after manie worthie exploits doone in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernor of the realme vnder Iohn Balioll, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernor of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight renounce his office of gouernor, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawen, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiue. William Wallace.

Iohn Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernor, was chosen to be gouernor for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties, Iohn Cumine.

berties, which being knowen to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroied it. Whervpon Iohn Cuuine admitted Simon Fraiser fellow with him in the administration of the wars against the English, and discomfited the English in the yere of our Lord God one thousand thrée hundred and two. After which, king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Odomare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Odomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence.

Odomare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, vncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe bloud, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and foure, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred & two, tooke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruse being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of Iune in the yéere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and six, at Mefen discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Odomare de Valence, who after banished all those which anie wale tooke part with king Robert Bruse. But in the end Robert Bruse recouering himselfe & more aid, draue all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Murreie, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yeere of Robert Bruse, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruse being fallen into extreme sickenesse, whereby he could not wéeld the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, cõmitted the administration of the relme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to Iames Dowglasse knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruse, whose death happened in the yéere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being but seuen yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minoritie and insufficieneie of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betweene England and Scotland. Shortlie after which the gouernor died of poison at Muscleborough, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, Iohn erle of Murreie, and Thomas, both being persons woorthie of such a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of earle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemblie of parlement of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and one, and the second yere of the reigne of king Dauid, these two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Marre were chosen gouernors of the relme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the relme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin neere to the water of Erne, by such as followed and tooke part with Edward Balioll atteining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murreie.

Andrew Murreie, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Marre, and ioined in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortlie after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockeborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sicknesse, and was buried in Rose Markie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglas.

Archibald Dowglasse, after the decease of Andrew Murreie, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murreie, whilest king Edward did besiege Berwike, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoone his siege of Berwike. Afterward this Dowglasse was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the

yeare

yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this sorte. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balioll the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glascow: but perceiuing no resistance against him, retired with Balioll into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which Dauid tooke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balioll king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which perteined to Robert Steward, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger. Dauid Cumine.

Robert Steward regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balioll; for this writeth Lesleus li. 7. pa. 284. "Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum insidijs pateret nata, is, Robertus Stuartus omnem regni curam in se transtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipse tũc regni gubernacula susceppturus." By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balioll gone into England, so this Robert Steward tooke vpon him the regentship for king Dauid Bruse fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had spoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paieng of tribute of corne and graine. For this Steward togither with Iohn Randolph earle of Murreie, were by a councell assembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and foure, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and fiue. Robert Steward. Iohn Randolph earle of Murrefe protector.

Robert Steward earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Steward the first king of Scotland (by the name of Steward) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the consent of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred & ninetie. After whose death, when Robert the third, being before called Iohn, came to the kingdome, and had by a fall from his horsse so bruised himselfe, that he was not able to follow the gouernement of the kingdome, this Robert earle of Fife his brother was made gouernor of the kingdome. After which about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight, being about the ninth yeare of Robert the third king of Scotland, the king created this Robert Steward duke of Albanie, being one of the first dukes which were made in Scotland. Besides which also, after the death of the same Robert the third, which fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and six, this Robert duke of Albanie was by new election, or rather confirmation established in the office of gouernor (as haue some Scotish chronicles) which duke of Albanie died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, the third of September, when he had beene gouernor fiftene yeares after the death of Robert the third. Wherein it seemeth to me for this time that there is much difference of yeares, if the Scots haue truelie set the same downe: for those accounts can not stand togither, with the death of king Robert the third, and the yeares gouernement of the duke of Albanie, after the death of the king. But I passe it ouer, and rather impute the fault to the offendor, in mistaking the figure of the number of yeares, than anie want of consideration in the writer of the historie. Robert Steward.

Mordacke Steward erle of Fife & Menith, the eldest sonne of Robert duke of Albanie, Mordacke Steward.

was after his fathers death made gouernor of Scotland, continuing in that office by the space of foure yeares, vntill about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twenti and foure, in which yeare he found meanes to bring home Iames the right king of Scots, who had béene eightéene yeares deteined in England, and placed him in the kingdome of Scotland, by the name of Iames the first: at what time the crowne was set vpon the kings head with the hands of the said Mordacke the gouernor, & Henrie bishop of saint Andrews. This duke was in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and six, and in the second yeare of the reigne of Iames the first conuicted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell of Sterling. He had issue two sons, Walter Steward, and Alexander, which were also beheaded at the same place the daie before the death of their father.

Alexander Leuingstone.

Alexander Leuingstone knight was made gouernor the daie after that Iames the second was crowned, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie & six: for the king being but six yeares old, the nobilitie did appoint the said Alexander Leuingstone of Calender knight to be gouernor of the realme: at what time the kings person was committed to the education and rule of William Creicton knight lord chancellor, who was then confirmed in his office. After this in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, about the eight yere of Iames the second, they both (through dissention which had long continued betwéene them about their authorities) were put from their offices, remooued from the king, all their friends banished the court, and they themselues commanded to appéere before the king: which bicause they refused so to doo, they were both proclamed rebels and put to the horne.

William Creicton.

Marie.

Marie the daughter of the duke of Guelderland & widow to Iames the second, was appointed with others to be gouernors: for after the death of Iames the second, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thrée score (when Iames the third hir sonne was but seauen yeares old) the nobilitie assembled at Edenborough to prouide for the administration of the realme, because the king was so yoong. Wherevpon there were seuen regents appointed for the gouernement both of the kings person, and also of the kingdome, which were Marie the quéene his mother; Iames Kennedie bishop of S. Andrews, being sisters sonne to Iames the first, the bishop of Glascow, the earles of Angus, Huntleie, Argile, and Orkenie. These so long as Kennedie liued, agréed well togither about the gouernment of the realme; but shortlie after his decease, or rather before, they fell at square, which we will more largelie touch hereafter when we haue a little spoken of the death of this bishop, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thrée score and six, and in the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Iames the third, who being buried in the college of saint Sauior which he founded most sumptuouslie in the towne of saint Andrews, did in his life time besides his bishoprike hold in his possession the commandrie of the abbeie of Pettinwen, which was worth vnto him 800 crownes by yeare: the grauitie and wisdome of which bishop occasioned Lesleus in his commendation to set downe these fow words.

"Hic (which was this bishop of saint Andrews) prudentia consilióque ita valuit, vt quicquid latebat in republica insidiarum, apperiret, vnde merito potest dici, non armis regem, sed ingenio episcopum Douglassij superbiam fregisse, ac furorem retudisse. Tria confecit (quorum fabrica artificio insigniter polita, & sumptu magnificè instructa, omnibus admirationem sui faciebant) collegium sancti Saluatoris, in quo iuuentus ad eruditionem ac religionem informari possit; sepulchrum quo mortuus tegebatur, ac nauim onerariam ingentis magnitudinis. Horum vnumquódque eiusdem fuisse pretij vulgi sermone celebratum est." After his death, or rather (as hath Hector Boetius) in his life, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Iames the third, being in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred thrée score and two, there was discord kindled betweene quéene Marie the Dowager, and the archbishop Kennedie, who perceiuing that the woman did wholie séeke to vsurpe the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood it in that behalfe, insomuch that it was doubted that the matter would haue broken foorth into some ciuill warre, if that the bishops

of

of Glascow, Dunkeld, and Aberden, with certeine abbats had not taken in hand to trauell betwixt both the parties for attonement, who wrought so effectuouslie therein, that the matter was quieted in this maner. The queene mother was appointed to haue the charge and custodie of the kings person, and of his brethren Alexander duke of Albanie, and Iohn earle of Marre, and also of their two sisters. But as for the administration and gouernement of the realme of Scotland, she should leaue it to the péeres, wherefore by common consent there were elected as gouernors the bishops of Glascow, and Dunkeld, the earle of Orkenie, the lord Graham, Thomas Boid, and the chancellor.

Margaret. Margaret the daughter to Henrie the seuenth king of England was (after the death of hir husband Iames the fourth, and in the minoritie of hir sonne Iames the fift, being but a yeare and six moneths old when he was inuested with the kingdome) made regent of the realme, which she should gouerne by the counsell of Iames Betune archbishop of Glascow, the earles of Huntleie, Angus, and Arrane, but shortlie after they falling out amongst themselues for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

Iohn duke of Albanie. Iohn duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and gouernor of the realme, as he which next of bloud to the king, and néerest to the crowne) was by vniuersall consent at saint Iohns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, hauing the same confirmed vnto him by a parlement holden at Edenburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, and the first yeare of the yoong king Iames the fift. Whereof intelligence being brought vnto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred and fifteene, and in the third of Iames the fift, on the seuenteenth of Maie, he arriued at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of gouernor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edenburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edenburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serueth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed gouernor, the scepter and sword being deliuered vnto him, and an oth by him to the lords, and by the lords to him giuen, that ech of them should be faithfull to ech other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuenteene, as saieth Lesleus, committeth the gouernement of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glascow, and to the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Angus, and Arrane. And least anie euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edenburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwike, and Ruthweene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke hauing thus beene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, remaining still gouernor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, and about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Iames the fift, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the quéene. Margaret the quéene, the mother of Iames the fift, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, the six and twentith of Iulie) find meanes that the yoong king came from Sterling vnto Edenburgh: three daies after which the quéene tooke the whole gouernment vpon hir, and entred into the castle of Edenburgh with the king, making the lord Maxwell prouost of Edenburgh. Then the quéene appointing a parlement to be held the Februarie following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings priuie councell, to take on them the gouernment of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrewes and Glascow, the bishops of Aberden & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane

and Leneux, to whom the queene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be doone. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus in the end fullie getting the whole gouernement into his hands.

Archibald Dowglas.

Archibald Dowglas (after that the bishop of Dunbane was dead, and the quéene gone vnto Sterling, leauing the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and fiue, being about the thirteenth of Iames the fifth) tooke the whole gouernement vpon him both of the king and kingdome, setting vp, remouing, and pulling downe what officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and gouernment, made his vncle Archibald Dowglas treasuror of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas and the earle of Leneux who assisted him. After which there was a diuorce had betwéene the queene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, and the sixtéenth yeare of the same Iames the fift, was attainted by parlement holden at Edenburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute gouernment into his hands in the seuentéenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said gouernement. Wherevpon the yeare following, this Archibald came vnto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason wherof he fled into England.

Iames earle of Arrane.

Iames earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of Iames the fift) being but seuen daies old obteined the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclamed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that Dauid Beton, fauoror of the French causes had without all reason vsurped the gouernment, vnder the pretense of a deuised will and testament of Iames the fift, in which testament he was appointed gouernor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quéenes consent a gouernor to the person of the yoong quéen, which was the lord Leuingstone capteine of Lithquo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of quéen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaell. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, being about the twelfe yeare of quéene Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of gouernor, and the quéene tooke the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same vnder hir: wherevpon the gouernor in the yeare following, being one thousand fiue hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by quéene Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinall of Loreine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writeth the same Lesleus in these words: "Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the queene of Scots) matris suasu, Henricum regem Franciæ, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisium eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem reginæ matri procurandam transtulerunt: &c." This duke had issue Iames Hamilton earle of Arrane after lunatike, and one Dauid Hamilton.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 417.

Marie dowager of Scotland.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to Iames the fift, and mother to the yoong quéene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quéene Marie, made regent of Scotland vnder hir daughter the same yoong quéene, which office this regent tooke vpon hir hauing the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of queene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: "Fuit autem corpus in Gallia postea transuectum, primùm ad monasterium Feckamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius pio tunc præerat, delatum, honorificè condebatur."

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 418.

Iames Steward.

Iames Steward bastard sonne to king Iames the fift king of Scots, and base brother to Marie queene of Scots now liuing and imprisoned, being prior of saint Andrews and earle of

3 Mar,

Mar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three-score and two, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the same queene Marie, made earle of Murreie. About fiue yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against queene Marie, tooke hir, committed hir to prison, deposed hir, and vpon the same (on the nineteenth daie of Iulie in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred three score & seuen, being the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of that queene) aduanced hir sonne Charles Iames Steward (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of Iames the sixt: this Iames earle of Murreie, was made regent and gouernor of the yoong king Iames the sixt, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of three yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of Iames the sixt, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one Iames Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Murreie, maried Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marshall.

Matthew earle of Leneux being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Murreie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of Iames the sixt, made lord lieutenant or prorector of Scotland, in a conuention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another conuention at Edenburgh, where by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntleie tooke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie queene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, with Huntleie in hir name summoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, wherevnto the earle of Leneux was summoned: to incounter which, the earle of Leneux caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name, at the same place, wherevnto the earle of Huntleie was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntleie comming no neerer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Leneux and the nobilitie, to pursue him: whereupon insued great warres betweene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, some taking part with the deposed queene Marie, and other with the yoong king in possession. During which turmoiles & warres, this earle of Leneux hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pistoll by capteine Cawder, whereof he shortlie after died, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and eleuen, being about the fourth yeare of Iames the sixt. Matthew earle of Leneux.

Iohn Areskin earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Leneux, as maie appeare by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whome succeeded the earle Morton, of whome I haue a little before spoken, and of whome we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of Lewes the sixt, after that the said earle had continued that office about fiue yeares. For being aduanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and twelue, he continued in the same, vntill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and seuenteene, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded. Iohn Areskin earle of Mar. Earle Morton regent of Scotland.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand fiue hundred three score and seuenteene, we saie that much about the time in the which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancellorship, was trecherouslie slaine by his enimies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was comming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councell or parlement. Whereby it seemeth that this murthering by sudden shot began now to be a The lord Glames chancellor slaine.

common

common thing: for there were three great persons in short time dispatched after taht sort, which were the earles of Murreie and Leneux regents, & this lord Glames chancellor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was aduanced to that place, and inuested with the title of lord chancellor of Scotland. Wherefore hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancellor to treate of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, of the etymon of the name, and other circumstances belonging thereto.

The earle of Atholl made chancellor.

The originall of the office of the chancellor.

This officer the chancellor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie lawes for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancellor, conestable, marshall, chamberlaine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in the historie of Scotland in these words: "Fœliciter rempublicam haud paucos annos administrauit (king Malcolme) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: intérque cætera municipialium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruarunt, nihil pene immutatas, regiorum magistratuum iudicúmque, quos licet mundiús, magisque Latinè vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, conestabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariúmque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorúmque ministrorum aulæ annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantúmque regijs pro diplomatibus, ac cæteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribúsque soluendum foret, instituit." This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the Confessor, seemeth also to me couertlie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customes from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen and Romans as other nations had: which as I doo not suppose, because the Romans had but little dooings amongest them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilest they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it may be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies beene in league euer since the time of their king Achaius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing that to be as it will (sith it is no dishonor for one nation to deriue their good lawes, beneficiall customes, or needfull officers from another, no more than it was for the Romans to fetch their lawes of the twelue tables from the Grecians) true it is, that this officer so ordeined by Malcolme amongst the Scots, was such an officer as was vsed amongst the Romans, touching the cause of whose name, the ciuilians affirme that he was called "Cancellarius à cancellando, cuius officium est rescripta, vel responsa imperatoris, & mandata inspicere, mala scripta cancellare, & bene scripta cum signaculo suo signare, & sigillum eis imprimere." Of which word chancellor is risen this name, "Archicancellarius quasi princeps cancellariæ," as is noted by Azo in summa.

Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 204.

This officer taking his name of *Cancellando*, (that is of defacing, blotting, or putting out of writings,) did vse to adnull all writings, as we at this daie doo obserue in our chancerie, by drawing certeine strokes or lines made crosse one upon an other ouer the writing, in forme of woodden latices, in Latine termed *Cancelli*, which are either such latices as ye at this daie, and of antiquitie vsed in windowes, or such as were made to compasse about the iudgement seats. For thus said the ciuilians touching that; "Cancelli sunt ligna inter se modicis interuallis in transuersum connexa, quibus tribunalia, scænæ & fenestræ muniri consueuerunt."

consueuerunt." And Cicero saith in his first booke '*De oratore*;' "Forensibus cancellis circumscriptam sententiam, &c." From which word *Cancelli*, is deduced this word *Cancellare*. For thus doo some write thereof: "Cancello verbum videtur esse deductum à Cancellis, in quibus vt transuersaria nectuntur ligna, ita cum scripta expungenda sunt, transuerso calamo lineæ inducuntur, quod proprie illinere, seu allinere est, vel litura:" whervpon thus writeth Q. F. Horace the lyricall poet in his tract called the art of poetrie:

"——— incomptis allinet atrum
Transuerso calamo signum, &c:"

as who should saie, He dooth cancell and blot out the writing with lines drawne one ouer an other like latices, the ciuilians fullie agreeing to the same and saieng, that "Cancellare est scripta transductus lineis instar cancellorum delere." Beside which this word *Cancellarius* is also by some (whose curious ears and pens count the words of former ages to be barbarous) taken scarselie for good Latine, and therefore saie that this officer more purelie ought to be called *Scribarum præfectus*, of which number Polydor Virgil is one, who in his admonition to the reader, at the end of his historie of England, setteth downe these words: "Monitum te optime lector volo, per multa verba minus Latina longo vsu non item ratione iam primùm in consuetudinem quotidiani sermonis venisse, sic vt velimus nolimus ea interdum vsurpare cogamur, cuiusmodi sunt dux & comes, olim officij tantùm at summæ nũc dignitatis vocabula. Item comitatus pro regione, cancellarius pro scribarum, abbas prior pro monachorum præfecto:" and Leland calleth the chancellor *Archigrammateus*. Besides which there be some in our age, who searching after the originall & etymologies of names, affirme this word chancellor to be deriued from the Saxon toong, as it were a cleare or shining person or one excelling other men: compounding that word of these two parts, chance and clere, in which word this part clere dooth after the Saxon signifie in Latine *Præeminens* or *clarus*, and that part chance must note to vs a man. But how aptlie and truelie the same may stand to make the etymon of chancellor, I leaue to others to consider. This thus said for the originall and name of the officer called the chancellor, of whose succession we will talke hereafter, and will now returne to the matters of Scotland in this sort.

Gl. in l. si quis. Hortatem de pot. hæred.

In the moneth of Iulie there was a parlement of the nobilitie assembled, where Robert Steward great vncle to the king was created erle of Leneux, being girded with the sword of that earledome, after the death of Charles Steward, sonne of Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, whereof we haue before intreated. But ouerpassing this Robert, being honoured with a new title, not due to him by inheritance, for anie thing which I can yet perceiue, we will for a while take our leaue of the Scotish soile, though not of the Scotish persons, and remember to speake somewhat of the doings of Steward, coronell of the Scots, which serued in the wars of the low countries: where he behaued himselfe right valiantlie to his owne and his countries commendation. For when the warres were at the hottest in those low countries betweene the states and king Philip (at what time the archduke Matthias was generall for the noblemen or states, and Iohn duke of Austria, the base sonne of Charles the fift, and like brother to king Philip, was gouernour of those parts for the same king Philip) the states gathered a puissant armie of all such nations as were then in seruice with them (as English, Scots, Germans, and their owne countriemen) vnder the conduct of the counte Bossue, with whome duke Iohn of Austria determining to encounter, hoping by that one conflict to set end to all the warres, and to make a full pacification of the countrie: it happened that on the first of August, in this yeare that the armie of the duke of Austria comming to visit the armie of the states (which laie then incamped in the field called Remmant) that in the armie (as I said before composed of diuerse nations both footmen and horssemen) there was amongst others one companie of Scots vnder the leading of Steward their capteine and countriman, who being with his companie called foorth into the battell, was appointed to keepe the streict on the left side, when the English should keepe the like streict on the right hand. After which the enimie making towards the armie of the states, they were intercepted

1578.

Robert Steward created erle of Leneux.

The tragicall historie of the ciuill warres of the low countries, *fo. 4. fo. 21.* Church yards choice.

tercepted by the English, who interteined them with such sufficient skirmish, as that they forced Don Iohns men to giue ground and retire towards the strength of the Scots (which the same Steward had in charge) and that so farre, that in the same action the English brought themselues betwixt the enimie and the Scots, who mistaking the companie, and supposing them to be their enimies, gaue them from the hedge, where they laie such a volee of shot, that it made them to loose more ground than euer the enimie could haue doone.

The enimie in the meane time perceiuing that, and being now fighting vpon the retreict came forward with great force and furie, hauing a new supplie of numbers of fresh souldiors to succour them. All which notwithstanding they could not for all that they might do, force them to abandon the streict which they had in charge, vntill such time as certeine Englishmen (that were left within the closes to discouer the enimie) brought word that the enimie had entred the streict vpon the Scots. Which thing was in deed verie true, for euen at that instant the fire was seene to arise in the village, and the whole forces which were to enter betweene the water and the English companies, retired themselues to the heath againe. The Scots then valiantlie making good their fight vpon the retreict, the lieutenant of the English was likewise driuen to the same: which if he had not doone, the enimie had cut betwixt him, his companie and the trenches. This being well perceiued by capteine Liggins, he presentlie aduanced himselfe, and was now come halfe the waie to the succour of the lieutenant, to preuent the enimie, and to ioine with the forces of the same lieutenant, all who being gotten togither doo retire to the church, and perceiuing that the enimie came on appase, the lieutenant of the English leaueth capteine Liggins to a reasonable ground of strength to interteine them, when he himselfe rideth backe to fetch releefe for capteine Liggins his retreict.

The enimie seeing the streict of the waie, and that their other forces preuailed more on the other streict forsooke anie longer to attempt the same against the English, and retired themselues all they might on the side ouer the closes, to ioine them with their other forces, which had euen now passed the streict which the Scots had in gard, who all togither made hast vp to the hill, and so to the burnt house, then fired by the Scots, at that instant forsaking the field, and retiring them to the campe, after that they had obteined victorie against the Spaniards, by valiant resisting & pursuing the force of the enimie. At what time also maister Norris coronell of the English and the forenamed maister Steward coronell of the Scots, carried awaie the whole commendation of this victorie obteined by the men of these two nations of England and Scotland. But leauing the Scots reioising of this good successe in those low countries, we will call backe our pen and resalute the countrie of Scotland, at this time in some ciuill dissentions amongst themselues, whereof these manie yeares, since the gouernment of this yoong king, it seemeth to me that it hath not long beene free.

In the forenamed moneth of August, there grew secret dissention amongst the nobilitie at home, which still continued & fed the former vnkindlie fire of contention betweene the two factions of the yoong king, and the imprisoned queene: by occasion whereof the realme was diuided into three parts, some following the king, some standing on the queenes side, & some assisting neither of both, all which by some were termed by three seuerall names; as the kings faction, the part of the male-contents, and the neutrals, consisting of such as remained indifferent on both sides, neither seeking to vphold the one or to suppresse the other. Amongst which on the kings part were manie earls, lords and bishops, as Dowglasse erle Morton admerall of Scotland, Dowglasse erle of Angus, Dowglasse earle of Buquhane, Areskin earle of Marre, Steward earle Bothwell, Cuningham earle of Glenkarne, Lesleh earle of Wrothouse, Montgomerie earle of Eglington, Steward earle of Orkeneie, and Steward earle of Leneux, all which were in house with the king, and attendant vpon his person, with whom were confederat the lords Boid, Ochiltree, Ruthwen treasuror of Scotland, Harris, Maxwell, Lindseie, Semple, and others.

Besides these, bishops and abbats, that is to saie, Patrike Adamson archbishop of S. Andrews, Cuningham (kinsman to the erle of Glencarne) bishop of Aberden, Boid (of bloud and kindered with the lord Boid) archbishop of Glascow, Dowglasse bishop of Mar-

naw,

naw, Hesburne bishop of Rosse, Robert Pettarne abbat of Dunfermeling, cheefe secretaris of Scotland, Colaingtón abbat of Cowlros, Richard Bedwell abbat of Holierood house, one of the councell, the abbats of Cambuskinnell and of Dribourgh, with Iames Maghill maister of the rolles, or clearke of the register, and one of the councell. These noble persons thus aiding the king, the partie of the male-contents was supported by manie other persons of the nobilitie: as Camberle erle of Argile, Gordon earle of Atholl, Sincleare earle of Cathnesse, Gordon earle of Southerland, Gordon earle Huntleie (who was verie yeong, of six yeares of age, and had his power with these earles) the earles of Mentros and Menteth (being both surnamed Grahams) and Kenedie earle of Casselles a child of three yeares old, whose strength was also ioined to these male-contents. Besides which earles there was to assist those male-contents Crawford shiriffe of Aire, Kenedie lord of Kurgenie, Kenedie lord of Blachekichen, the lords of Maxewell, Lócheuar, Hume (being but six yeares old) which Hume lord of Colden Knolles (warden of the middle marches of Scotland) Alexander Hume of Maundstone, Care (Lord Seford, and the lord Lindseie, with the Hebburns, which wholie depended vpon the lord Lindseie; vnto whom in like sort, as partaking of the same malecontentment, were added Alexander Areskine, of Mar, vncle to the earle of Mar, & capteine of the castell of Edenburough, and Cunningham, the lard of Drunwassell, capteine of Dumbritaine, with manie other persons of honour and strength.

The heads of these two factions thus set downe, it resteth now to declare who were the neutrals, who being but few, and as I can yet learne onelie three in number, so they were of no great power; aswell for that the one of them being Keth the earle Marshall, was a sickelie man; as for that the Hamiltons were not beloued of the king, nor greatlie esteemed of the other factions: and the third, the Leuingstons familie, wanting their head the lord of that house, being then in France, wherby they could not be of great power, which part soeuer they should support. The order of which diuision and proceeding in Scotland, comming afterward to the knowledge of the queene of England, who had sent Robert Bowes a man of good seruice hir ambassador into Scotland, she did also (tendering the yoong king of Scots, and as a carefull neighbour and louing godmother, fearing least that he might receiue iniurie by the assemblie of these malecontents, whose power grew to be somewhat strong) direct hir commission to the earle of Huntington, president of the north in England, and to the lord Hunsdon capteine of Berwike, they both being of bloud and aliance vnto hir maiestie. In which commission, she willed them to leuie an armie of footemen and horssemen to be imploied in those warres. All which these English lords should haue in a redinesse, against such time as the said maister Bowes (who, as ye haue heard before, had beene sent into Scotland to pacifie these troubles, and to establish a quiet peace and loue amongst them) should giue knowledge for their entrance into the Scotish dominions (vnder the conduct of the same lord of Hunsdon) against the power of those male-contents. Whereupon the lord Hunsdon (hauing a time appointed him accordinglie, and being in order set, well furnished with men and munition) setting forward to execute the force of his commission, threatned spoile to manie places of Scotland belonging to the borderers, and burnt the houses of the lords there inhabiting: if they ioined themselues with the male-contents, as they had fullie deliberated for to doo. By reason whereof, they leauing their former determination, and for that present refusing to ioine against the king: these male-contents (doubting the sequell of their attempt, and how they might performe that which they had taken in hand, being now in the field and in armes (against the other faction) began to hearken vnto a pacification, and were after reconciled to the king and the other lords, about the two and twentith of the same moneth of August, as I haue beene informed. Which matter being more largelie to be discussed, because it is knowne by the name of the battel of Faukirke, I must for this time passe ouer, determining hereafter more liberallie to intreat thereof. Wherefore, falling into other matter, we saie, that much about this time, Iohn Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before been some certeine time

imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had trauelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned queene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the second of that name now emperor. Which Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier townes of Germanie, and was staied at Phaltzburgh, otherwise called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bauier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Veldtzens; in which citie, his cofers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare what friends the queene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enimies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enimie to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safe conduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bauier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie dismisse the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, and conueieng him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horssemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine toong vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was doone to the said bishop, in that his deteining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie seeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfullie and *Verbatim* set downe in this sort.

THE TESTIMONIALL LEFT BY THE BISHOP OF ROSSE WITH THE DUKE OF BAUIER.

"Nos Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauiæ, &c: testamur hoc scripto palàm & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cùm in hisce periculosis & motuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandam pacem publicam, aut noxias dissentiones sub quouis pretextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipuè cùm nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quám facilè aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauariæ, comésque Veldentziæ, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exequeretur significauit. Post factam retentionem celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc appulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquæ copiæ instructionis & memoralium eius celsitudini missæ fuerant, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cùm mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirùm, ut extirpata hæresi, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuratione Scoticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cùm plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus à papa salutauerimus, & inuiserimus. Ad quam suspicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vrgerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tàm in religione, quàm politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minùs quàm ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominùs celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quàm præcedentibus suspicionibus imminentium

tium periculorum non diutiùs nos detenturos conclusit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut structione dissentionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi, sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundo, quod polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarúmque familiarum nomine, neq; per nos neque per alios, vlla via ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindicatam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maximè verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Ideò ab illustrissima eius celsitudine ratione publicorum decretorum, & arctissimæ inter ordines coniunctionis, hanc circumspectionem & detentionem nostram non iniquo animo ferimus, neque pro iniuria accepimus: cùm præsertim eius celsitudo, non modo liberaliter nos habuerit, sed absque omni rerum nostrarum iactura, alijsque dispendijs, nos liberos fecerit, & gratiosè splendido equitum comitatu in maiorem securitatem deduci iusserit. Idcircò sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarúmque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios, vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, qua eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos & ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroborationem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelsteni 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis & administrator ecclesiæ Morauensis."

This Lesle being yet liuing, and (as I vnderstand) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancellor of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both inioied honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was vexed with vniust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Goodwine, & then by the Norman bastard surnamed the Conqueror, which slue Harold and obteined the crowne of England; Edgar did priuilie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obteine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whense they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuouslie molested with vehement winds, which forciblie made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be séene, & at this daie called S. Margarets hauen (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherwith she was woonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Vpon which déed William the Conqueror, being more gréeuouslie mooued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindseie, Vaus, Ramseie, Louell, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie doo at this daie in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crichton, Fodringham, Giffert, Manlis, Brothike, and others; amongst whome Bartholomew Lesle descended of noble parentagé, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edenburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sproong and flourished manie worthie persons, valiantlie resisting and subduing their enimies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisedome shewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewes the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, "Vt (one of their owne name now a bishop of Rosse in his historie of Scotland saieth) à quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frãgere, & sub iugũ fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rothesius, multique alij barones & equites Leslei cognominari (quos Malcolmus primùm, ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fifa, Augusia, Gourea, & Garrocha, alijsque prouincijs munificè cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent." Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rothos now liuing called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Gowrie or Gowrike, the same earle of Rothos being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whense we haue digressed.

Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 344.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Bauier (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and nineteene, Amies Steward the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to Iohn the eldest brother of Matthew Leneux, sometime regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorablie receiued, and aduanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Steward (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneux) the title of that earledome of Leneux, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneux, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should seeme by taking the earledome from Robert Steward to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestoweth vpon the said Robert Steward as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earledome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earledome of Leneux vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneux, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie yoong gentleman dooth most honorablie possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which dooth in this our age inioie that title of duke, being such an honor as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose norished at anie one time (when that title was rifest amongst them) three persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to saie somwhat in this place.

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneux.

Robert Steward made earle of March.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vsed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being Iohn, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor so called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: "Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarẽtur nomini inesse nescio quid ominis infausti, quòd reges Franciæ & Angliæ, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderẽtur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerũt. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentis augurium quoddam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita contusa fuerunt, vt (quòd regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifensi fratri suo regni gubernationẽ dedere cogeretur." Which Iohn as before is said, hauing now obteined a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome: for he created Dauid his eldest sonne duke of Rothsaie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albanie, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these words: "Tertio plus minus anno" (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirteene)

The first erection of dukes in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 364.

In which king Iohn of England and France, he might also haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland Iohn Balioll the king, who was as infortunate in his gouernment as anie of the other. Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 363.

rēne) "concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, post alias res pro regni cōmodo sapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium suum primo ducis Rothesiæ, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando præfecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornabat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati." Thus much he, prouing that it is not aboue one hundred foure score and thirteene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. Whereby it appereth that England since the conquest hauing dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seuen, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had anie in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were inuested with the honor of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the *Interregnum* or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eighteene yeares from the said yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, vntill the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which Iames the first hauing beene trained vp in England obteined the crowne, and vnder the protectorship of Mordacke (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the gouernment of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third. *Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 268.*

Archibald Dowglasse was the first Scot which passing the seas, & seruing a strange prince, inioied anie such title of duke in anie forrein nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithfull vnto him, created Iohn Steward earle of Buquaine constable of France, & aduanced the said Archibald Dowglasse to the honor of the dukedome of Turone: but he did not long inioie that great title, being shortlie after slaine at the battell of Vernoile, in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treting of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from *Bucca vana*, beyond all modestie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I haue treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus hauing somewhat digressed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to haue furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, and who was at this time created duke of Leneux, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesleus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lenoux thus by the king newlie as before said created, the words of which Lesleus bishop of Rosse be these: "Nouum quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6" (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus aduanced in the dominions of France, being meane betweene the said yeares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) "paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armatorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus, & baleagijs communi populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & prosapiæ continuata, successionis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohānis filius non paruam suorum virtutis spem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet." Thus much Lesle. Beside which that Lesleus hath set downe of the first lord of Obegnie in France, Paulus Iouius in his booke of *Empresse* written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the deuise of his ensignes or armes in this sort translated by me into English. *Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 271.*

There was (saith Iouius) amongst the Frenchmen a man of knowne vertue or prowesse, & most famous capteine called * Heberard Steward (borne of the bloud roiall of Scotland) being honored with the title of monsieur de Obegnie, who being of kinred to Iames the fourth of that name, did beare for his deuise or ensigne, a field siluer, a ramping lion gewles, with a * Barnard.

number

number of buckles thereabout; the which cote armour he did weare vpon his vpper garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posie, *Distantia iungit*: signifieng thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit togither the king of Scots and the French king, with a iust counterpeise against the force of the king of England, naturall enimie to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much I of the duke of Leneux lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discoursing of dukes of that countrie, and haue shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowlege by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightéene; which I will not refuse to doo in this place, following the same course which I haue obserued before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of anie duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A CATALOG OF ALL THE DUKES OF SCOTLAND BY CREATION OR DESCENT.

David Steward duke of Rothseie.

DAUID STEWARD (eldest son of Iohn Steward earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leauing the name of Iohn when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred foure score and eightéene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothseie, when he was about eightéene yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentith daie of October one thousand thrée hundred three score and eighteene, made duke in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred fourescore & eightéene, as some haue. But Lesleus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances doo gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred fourescore & thirtéene. He maried Margerie the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Steward duke of Albanie.

Robert Steward second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth Mure or Moore his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteth, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred fourescore and eightéene, and the eight yeare of the gouernement of Robert the second, aduanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Albanie: this Robert and the other Dauid as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend Dauid the duke of Rothseie, and committed him to streict prisonment in Faukeland, where in the end he died by extreame famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers: of this Robert is more spoken in my protectors of Scotland.

Murdacke duke of Albanie.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernor of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander duke of Albanie.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of Iames the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie yoong at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & thréescore, was with his brother Iohn earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée score and thrée, being the third yeare of Iames the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of Iune, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of Iames Kennedie bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtéene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and ninetéene, falling in the sixtéenth yeare of Iames the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edenburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whense being well furnished,

nished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie receiued, and there maried the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortlie after dieng, and the duke perceiuing himselfe not to be so well vsed as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louinglie accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Wherevpon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, comming (without anie resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentith yeare of Iames the third) as far as Radstrag, or Rastalrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclamed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke setteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the queene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the three and twentith yeare of Iames the third; this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edenburgh: wherevpon the earle of Angus and Bucquaine forsaking the king, tooke part with the duke. *Lesle. lib. 8. pag. 319.*

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith that he tooke a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie interteined by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chiualrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did inuade the kingdome, & was put to flight: wherevpon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: "Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite iniuit astans, particula cuiusdam hastæ traijcitur, breuique post moritur," about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie three. He left two sonnes behind him, Iohn duke of Albanie gouernor of Scotland during the minoritie of Iames the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orchadie, which Alexander was after bishop of Murreie, and abbat of Scone.

Iohn Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obteine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie three: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernors of Scotland, wherevnto I refer thée; and therefore omit to talke anie further of him in this place. Iohn duke of Albanie.

Iames Steward (eldest sonne to Iames the third) being duke of Rotheseie, is by some termed prince of Rotheseie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth daie of March, being about the twelfe yeare of the reigne of his father Iames the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentith yeare of his father, and the sixteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capteine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there slea him; wherevpon this Iames duke of Rotheseie was presentlie made king by the name of Iames the fourth. Iames Steward duke of Rotheseie.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to Iames the third, king of Scotland, and brother to Iames the fourth, was duke of Rotheseie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. "In studium incubuit rex" (which was Iames the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) "sedulò, vt Alexander dux Rothoseiæ & Iohannes comes Marriæ sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissimè imbuerentur, tantóque sumptu Alexander duke of Rotheseie.

sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnificè alerentur." He died the fifteenth kalends of Ianuarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftéene at Sterling.

Henrie duke of Albanie.

Henrie Steward lord Dernoleie the eldest sonne to Matthew Steward erle of Leneux, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the queene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Rosse, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thrécscore and fiue by the same quéene, about the thrée and twentith yeare of hir reigne: shortlie after which he was in the Iulie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturdaie the eight and twentith day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclamed king by the queenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edenborough, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentith daie of the same moneth, in the chapell at Holie rood house, at fiue of the clocke in the morning: which honor he did not long inioie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne ouerthrow, and that by such as mooued him therevnto) he was miserablie slaine in a house within the towne, néere to Kirke a field.

Amies Steward duke of Leneux.

Ludowike Steward duke of Leneux.

Amies Steward lord of Obigneie in France, sonne to Iohn Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Leneux, being first by Iames the sixt of that name made earle of Leneux, was after by the same king made duke of Leneux; who being dead, hath left a yoong sonne behind him, a gentleman of great hope, at this daie liuing, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneux. Thus having set downe all the dukes which haue beene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

THAT DIUERS OF THE SCOTS HAUE OBTEINED THE TITLE AND HONOR OF DUKES IN FORREN COUNTRIES.

As it is honorable to anie man to be aduanced vnto anie title of honour in his owne countrie, either for desert or fauor; whereof yet parcialitie maie most commonlie be the furtherer: so is it far more honorable and remooued from all suspicion of vndeserued fauor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose hands are mostlie opened to inrich their subiects, in whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie inclosed) do not commonlie without singular desert aduance strangers to them by birth in an other nation, & not their natiue subiects, for that they are people, to whom without an especiall triall anie prince is not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the same being an argument of worthie desert, either for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one is adorned with anie such title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit in this place to obscure the glorie of the Scots (who might impute the same to be maliciouslie doone by me) and to omit such of their nation as haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie, especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small, as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I would not anie waie pretermit what they iustlie deserue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recorded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald Dowglasse duke of Touraine.

Archibald Dowglasse was created duke of Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and thrée as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of numbers which haue happened through the contrarietie of bookes) Charles the seuenth of that name king of France, sending ambassadors into Scotland, to renew the old league betweene the two nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid against the English, there were ambassadors and other noble men sent likewise

into France out of Scotland; with whose comming the French king being greatlie comforted, and hoping of good successe against the English by reason of the Scotish aid, he did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court creat this Archibald Dowglasse (then erle of Wighton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the battell of Vernoile in Perth the English obteined the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and heire Iames Dowglasse earle of Wighton was amongst others most vnfortunatlie slaine.

Archibald earle Dowglasse was duke of Touraine, as I gather by the words of Lesleus touching this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake hereafter, and then set downe the same words of Lesleus to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married the earle of Crawfords daughter, by whom he had issue William earle Dowglasse, a child of foureteene yeares old which succéeded him, & one Dauid Dowglasse. After which this Archibald died at Lestelrig in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of king Iames the first. Archibald Dowglasse duke of Touraine.

William earle Dowglasse a child of fouretéene yeares of age succéeded his father in his inheritances, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tourone, who being now earle Dowglasse, deliuered foorth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his further honor and his countries benefit. But in the end their expectations were deceiued after that he was made duke of Touraine: for being puft vp in pride with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and wrought his owne and his countries harme, whereof we will not now speake; but onelie set downe Lesleus words touching his admittance to the dukedome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle Dowglasse) "Malcolmum Flemingum dominum Cummirnald & Alanū Lowder ad Carolum septimū Francorum regem misit, oratū, vt ducatu Toronensi eius patrimonia & dignitates amplificarentur: æquum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archibaldus Dowglassius (qui pro libertate Franciæ bello Vernolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur * & pater illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad se quoque peruenirēt. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono quantum illi ad honorem dignitatémque cumuli, tantum profectò ad superbiam, insolentiamque materiæ accessit." Thus much Lesle, placing the same to be doone as other authors also doo, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, being about the third yeare of the reigne of Iames the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king Iames; he was, for that he would neither obeie the gouernment of the gouernor or chancellor, bidden to a banket at Edenburgh castle, whereas when he and his brother Dauid were set at dinner, the meat was suddenlie remooued, and a buls head presented to the erle of Dowglasse, being in those daies a token that he should shortlie be executed. Immediatlie whereypon, the said earle with his brother Dauid, & Malcolme Fleming lord of Cummirnald were beheaded before the castle gate: so that this great honor séemed to those Scots which possessed the same, not much vnlike to the Seiane horse, or to the honor of the dukedome of Glocester. *Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 292.* This prooueth Archibald Dowglasse father to this William to be duke of Touraine.

Iames earle of Arrane being made gouernor to Marie quéene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being about seuen daies old, she began the first yeare of hir vnfortunate gouernement, which I maie so rightlie terme, because she was after deposed in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thréescore and seuen, in the fiue and twentith yeare of hir reigne) was made duke of Chatelerault by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of the same quéene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherfore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters doone in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forren persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the

gospell, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manie princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embrasing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be doone by them in the territories of the aduerse part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselues against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied neerelie in bloud to the imprisoned quéene, and to the yoong king of Scots, and supported with other princes purses, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obteined the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdome. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoiles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Dalphinée, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the staieng to appease the same new insurrection, employeng all his gathered forces therevnto, and encountring with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogither to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprise a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the vttermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell not foorth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therin. For partlie by the policie of the Scots, and partlie by the support of the alies and friends to the king, but altogither by the vnited strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselues of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and readie to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same daie wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were Iohn Durie, and master Walter Bancanquell. In which discourse betweene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manie others fell foorth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

THE EXAMINATIONS AND ANSWERS OF THE EARLE OF MORTON BEFORE HIS DEATH, BUT AFTER HIS CONDEMNATION.

FIRST he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his ouerthrow, in considering the estate whervnto he had béene once called in this world, but rather remembring the glorie to come, he should reioise and be of good comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, bicause he was persuaded that all worldlie honor is but vanitie, and the broken reed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherevnto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, bicause he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the maner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortalitie, & the euerlasting ioy which he looked for, and whereof he was assured.

Which was Henrie king of

Secondlie, being required what was his part or knowledge in the kings * death or murther;

he

he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for *Dauids slaughter, he came out of Whetherbone to Wsethingham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murther, but he would not consent therto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, laieng the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they vnderstood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Leneux; he added, how that in the end he was by the law now of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murther, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermore, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleered of that murther by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should laie the kings murther to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the queenes mariage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therevnto by the queenes owne writing and commandement.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that séeing this murther of the king was one of the most filthiest acts that euer was doone in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof hath not hitherto beene opened, neither who was the cheefe dooer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne vp into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had alreadie declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had alreadie suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie presentlie about the king, which were dooers of that worke, by whose companie the king and common-wealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Althiults, if he had anie act or part therein: he answered with good attestation, saieng; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knew anie thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common brute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knew that maister Iohn Prouandt brought him anie poison; he replied that he knew no such thing, and that he knew nothing by maister Prouandt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; Fie, fie, there is ouermuch filthinesse in Scotland alreadie, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athuile, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue béene ministred, yea if there had béen one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heare of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed anie conspiracie against the earle of Leneux, neither minded to him anie hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it greeued him that the earle of Leneux knew not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceiued the danger of the kings person. For being therevnto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enimies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enimies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the relme: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Leneux familiaritie and his should haue beene greater.

Fifthlie, being demanded whether he had anie league or dealing with England for the conueieng of the king or otherwise, or if he had anie pension of the quéene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had anie dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the quéene nor anie in hir name, that euer mooued anie such thing to me, so indirectlie as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had beene for his

 profit

profit and honor, &c. And for the more cléere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directlie his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mercie for anie thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had beene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to séeke the kings wealth, I had not béene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the quéene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the quéene of England in all my life. And although they caused the brute to go, that I should haue furnished the quéene of Englands souldiors now last vpon the borders, I neuer knew of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtlie, being demanded what was his part of the enterprise of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knew nothing of it till it was doone; but being in Lochleuen, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to kéepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in anie other place. But he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as frée at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present. And if he had knowen that his grace would haue gone to anie other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladlie haue gone with him.

Seuenthlie, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue doone much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & aduancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; insomuch that rather than anie hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indéed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwéene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and follow the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were anie things doone amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowen better, he would haue doone otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eightlie, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainelie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue doone in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthie of this and more: wherevnto he yéelded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue doone, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indéed, that God hath alwaies doone iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so ouermuch to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expressed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue doone, for which I beséech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indéed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which

trouble

trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthlie things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I doo now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue, and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure you that I think this to be the most acceptable time that euer God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and sée such miseries and confusions to insue, that I thanke God that I shall not sée them. And you who doo feare God, and liue after me, when you shall sée these things, you will wish to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Ninethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought anie wrong doone vnto him or no, &c. he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselues vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am inooued to speake somewhat frélie in this matter which is this. I saw such parciall dealing against me, that it hath béene all one to me, if I had beene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had béene as giltie as Iudas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had béene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of anie person which was to passe vpon my assise could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himselfe of parciall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parciall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Wanthon, the lord of Seiton, and such others, who were knowen to be my enimies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it behoooueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they séeke onelie, but they who are authors of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be doone, except I and such other which doo fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie. Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue béene so handled, and that such as héereafter shall be put therevnto, may haue a more plaine waie to doo their turne or intent: and I praie God that they which are to liue behind me sée not the practise thereof, but I feare it sore. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my maister, and wish you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe whereof is this. I perceiue that they which haue béene the kings foes and enimies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue béene the mainteiners of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and misliked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enimies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surelie can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought vp in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath doone with it for euer. For I tell you what mooueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I heere saie there is a dealing put in practise betwéene France and England, and Monsieurs marriage with the quéene is like to be feared; if France and England bind togither, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be doone, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered: I dare giue him no counsell, and I will tell you whie; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may sée in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide

footh I dare not, for then he shall loose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauor againe, and to see if he may haue anie assurance of his life, and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath doone nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which Iohn Knokes gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departure, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knew anie thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knew nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefits which he hath not giuen to euerie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wisedome and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefits aright, and better in time to come than you haue doone in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospell, to the mainteinance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not doo, God shall spoile you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. Then being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edenburgh in ward, he answered: Surelie I meant no euill to those men, but it was doone in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had béene doone. And if I did them anie wrong, I craue forgiuenesse of them as I forgiue all men.

Thirteenthlie, being required to declare if hée knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was aduertised in déed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid Iohn Durie and Walter Balcanquall did togither call to God by earnest praier, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartilie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in déed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praie you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I maie be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satisfie by long conference, which is too long to reherse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were thrée things chéefelie which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God conteined in his word, whereunto it behooued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue beene great sinners: as appeared in Dauid, Magdalen, Peter, and the théefe, &c. Thirdlie the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saieng: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the fiue bookes of Moses, Iosue, the Iudges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I sée that the mercie of God is woonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soone as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in

ese sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of good courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing, as we know in the commun dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand paiment of that whereof he was alredie paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the vttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take paiment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Truelie it is verie good.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, ioie, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onelie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I doo so. This being thus doone, and he hauing in his hand a prene treatise of the meditation of death, written by Bradford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladie Ormeston before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came foorth of prison againe gaue it to maister Lawson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladie againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (hauing sundrie conferences vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherewith being called to breakefast, he earnestlie desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulnesse, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betweene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find anie rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laid vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. Then he said vnto the steward, William you can beare me record of this; who answred, It is true my lord. Then master Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Truelie I will pledge you master Walter on the same condition. After which he said, Iohn Durie, now Iohn I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time master Iames Lawson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternoone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as master Iames Lawson, master Robert Poinct, Dauid Fargasone, master Dauid Hensa, Iohn Braud, master Iames Carmichiel, and master Iohn Dauison, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his armes, and said to him; Master Iohn you wrote a little booke in deed, but trulie I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgiue me, and I forgiue you: vpon which words master Iohn was mooued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle reported againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after noone, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was iniust report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargasone, Iohn

Durie,

Durie, and Iohn Brand, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come foorth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered: Sith they haue thus troubled me ouermuch this daie with worldlie things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable praier being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, minding to go directlie to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie vntill his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Naie my lord, I praie you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie what I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue doone nothing vpon anie particular quarell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to anie other, I forgiue you and all others as I would you forgaue me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, &c: adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Sure I am the king shall loose a good seruant this daie, and so he exhorted the people, saieing: I testifie before God, that as I professe the gospell which this daie is taught and professed in Scotland: so also now I willinglie laie downe my life in the persecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according therevnto as I ought, yet I am assured that God will be mercifull vnto me: and I charge you all in God which are professors of the gospell, that you continue the true professing and mainteining thereof to your power, as I would haue done, God willing with my life, lands and goods as long as I had liued: which if you doo, I assure you God shall be mercifull vnto you; but if you doo it not, be sure the vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in effect and more amplie before. When all these speaches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable praier was made by maister Iohn Lawson, during the time of which praier, the erle Morton laie groueling vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with sighes and sobs, being euident signes of the inward and mightie working of the spirit of God, as all they which were present and knew what it was to be earnestlie moued in praier, might easilie perceiue.

The praier being ended, and sundrie comming to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humblie (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the earle continuallie cried vntill his head was striken off, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now whatsoeuer he had beene before, he constantlie died the seruant of God. And howsoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, so he died proudlie; the charitable seruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: insomuch that we are assured, that his soule is receiued into the ioies and glories of the heauens; and we praie God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. ¶ Thus far the confession and death of the earle Morton, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present thereat, and fauored him in all respects, seeking to cleere him of anie euill imposed against him. In setting downe whereof, I haue not varied from the verie words of my copie in

manner

manner of penning it; but onelie in some few places of some part of the matter, the which I haue purposelie omitted, because it conteined the affaires of state, and the accusation of all-uerse persons now liuing; both which are neither needful to be knowne to the common people, nor méete to be opened to others, thereby to bring those in question vpon a report, whereof there is no further hold to be had, than there was hate or loue betwéene the accuser & the accused. Wherefore leauing the same discourse of the death of the earle (which fell vpon the second daie of Iune in the towne of Edenburgh) in that sort, penned by those of the presbyterie, to stand vpon the support of it selfe, I will descend to other matters.

The time when earle Morton was beneaded.

This earle Morton maried the old earle of Mortons yoongest daughter, who being halfe an idiot brought foorth no issue to this earle: but he notwithstanding, least he should die issulesse, left behind him two sonnes, vnlawfullie begotten. Shortlie after the death of which erle, Thomas Randulph esquier being sent ambassador from the quéene of England, entered into Scotland, whom (being honorablie interteined) I will leaue there to dispatch the effect of his commission, and fall to that which happened. After the death of this earle Morton, in the winter following there was a parlement called, at what time manie noblemen were created, as Ruthwen was made earle of Gowrie, Robert Steward base brother to Marie the imprisoned quéene of Scots was aduanced to the honor and title of the earldome of Orkneie, the lord Maxwell was made erle Morton, and Iames Steward was created earle of Arrane, the manner of obteining which earldome of Arrane by the said Steward being extraordinarilie procured, seemeth to me not to be forgotten: and therefore I will set it downe as I haue had intelligence thereof, in this sort following. The old earle of Arraue (the duke of Chatelerauits eldest sonne being lunatike, and first committed to the custodie of his said brother the lord of Arbroth) was after taken from that his tutor, and set ouer to Iames Steward to haue the ouersight of his person, and the ordering of his liuing. Which Iames Steward being by nature and experience subtill witted, and by authoritie and the kings fauor in great credit; found meanes partlie by policie, partlie by persuasion, and partlie by flatterie, to wring from the lunatike earle of Arrane, a grant and departure of all his right, title, and honor, to the lands and earledome of Arrane. Which when he had obteined of the said lunatike earle (who knew not what he did) he foorthwith came to the said parlement or councell house, or place of the assemblie of the nobilitie, bringing with him the grant of the earle of Arrane: wherby he had infested this Steward with the lands and countrie of Arrane. Which matter being fullie vnderstood there by the nobilitie, supposing vpright dealing to haue furthered the purchase of this earldome by Steward, did then by the decrée and the kings consent, establish, and also inuest him in the lands, & with the title of the earledome of Arrane; which he obteined by such meanes as are before touched. Not vnlike vnto the course which Mordacke (made gouernor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six) sometime vsed for the obteining of the earledome of Rosse, from the daughter and heire of Alexander Lesle, intituled to the same earldome: the maner whereof I will here set downe *Verbatim* taken out of Lesleus historie of Scotland, which deliuered the same in these words.

Thomas Randulph sent ambassador into Scotland.

Iames Steward created earle of Arrane.

"Breui post tempore Donaldus insularis Rossiæ comitatum vendicans, Hebridianos ad suas partes allicit; quo autem iure id fecerit hinc facillimè liquebit. Walterus Lesleus vir nobilissimus, post insignem operam Romanis imperatoribus in extremo bello nauatam, in Scotiam rediens, filiam Gulielmi comitis Rossensis (in prælia apud Holidonum occubuit) vna cum comitatu, dotis loco in coniugem accepit: ex qua vnum filium sustulit Alexandrum inde comitem Rossensem, filiamque, quæ postea Donaldo Hebridiano nuptui data est. Alexander hic, filia Roberti gubernatoris in vxorem accepta, Euphemiam solam suscepit. Quæ adhuc virgo & rerum imperita, gubernatoris partim blanditijs, partim minis inducta, translato in ipsum comitatu Rossensi, subito non sine gubernatoris opera (vt ferebatur) moritur: ac Donaldus qui amitam Euphemiæ Alexandri Leslei sororem vxorē habebat hæreditario iure Rossiæ comitatum petens, collecta ex Hebridibus ingenti manu in Rossiam venit: quam paruo

negotio in ditionem suam redegit, Rossianis verum recipere hæredē non recusantibus." Thus much Lesle. Moreouer at the same parlement wherein this Iames Steward was aduanced to the earledome of Arrane, the king gaue vnto the duke of Leneux the lands that were belonging to the foresaid beheaded erle of Morton, which lands this duke not long retaining, made ouer his part to the earle of Angus, in recompense whereof, the duke obteined of the king the lordship of Methuen, which came to the kings possession by the death of Henrie Steward lord of Methuen, touching whom Buchanan composed these verses following, calling him *Regulum Methueniæ*, in this sort:

The duke of Leneux obteineth the earle Morrons lands.

"Hîc Henrice iaces primæuo in flore, dederunt
Indole cui nullum sæcula nostra parem.
Nemo fuit spes iudicijs cui credula certis,
Sponderet tantum Marte togaque decus.
Nunc pro spe, votis, expectatisque triumphis,
Cura, dolor, lachrymæ, mestitiésque subit:
At tu, mors annis quantum detraxit acerba,
Adjice de gazis posthuma fama tuis."

During these creations of the nobilitie, in a parlement holden in Edenburgh the eight and twentith of Ianuarie, in this yere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and one, being the foureteenth of the kinges reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen and purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spirituall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set foorth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stampe of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his houshold, with diuers others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus & his holie gospell, to their naturall countriemen and to all other realms and nations, professing the same Iesus Christ with them, wish grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

A declaration of the Scotish faith, published and confirmed by the king.

After which title and saluation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forehead of the chapters following, conteineth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthlie of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase and preseruation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Iesus, why it becommeth the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Christes death, passion, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the Holie-ghost, of the cause of good works, what works are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortalitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall councells, of their power, authoritie and cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whom sacraments apperteine, and of the ciuill magistrat, of the gifts freelie giuen to the church.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortlie after the agreement thereunto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and vsed through his realme, as appeareth by this following precept, concerning the same.

THE

THE KINGS MAIESTIES CHARGE TO ALL COMMISSIONERS AND MINISTERS, WITHIN HIS REALME.

SEEING that we and our houshold haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church: deliuering their names and lawfull processe to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the pain of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our councell, maie take order with such proud contemners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holierood house one thousand fiue hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus setled in Scotland, it fell harvpon, that Amies duke of Leneux, to which honor he was not long before aduanced, as is alreadie set downe in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and nineteen, was now in this yeare vpon displeasure, conceiued against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, & inforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had doone before. In whose exile was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of fiue shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scotish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie or England. But as I greatlie fauor not these things, so yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogether condemne them, especiallie, sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summerset, did prognosticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should not long keepe his head vpon his shoulders, after that he began to make his statelie buildings. Of which propheticall verses, declaring the same, the first verse expressing his name, was as followeth;

1582.

The duke of Leneux banished.

A digression touching the duke of Summerset.

"[a] Cessabit missa cùm regnat equa marina."

[a] The mare of the sea, which backeward is seamare.

The other prophesie mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

"[b] Æstatis sedes cùm scandis ad alta per ædes,
Pro certo credes quòd caput perdere debes."

[b] Summers seat, or Summerset.

And to proue that Summerset was manie yeares past called in Latine *Aestatis sedes*, I find this matter in Roger Wall sometime an herald liuing in the time of Henrie the fift, who named him accordinglie, when the said author excusing himself of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to D. Iohn Summerset to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolemaister and physician, a great learned man well seene in the mathematikes, one that had written much therein, & verie eloquent also, was as this Roger Wall thought, most meet to haue the ouersight of his workes: which matter, as it is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the fift, written by this Roger Wall, I shall not greeue (although they belong not, and be vtterlie impertinent to the matters of Scotland) to set downe, both because I would not maime the author in telling his owne tale, and would a little recreat the reader by the obscuritie of the stile of Roger Wall, with some varietie of other than Scotish matter: for "Nihil tam dulce, quod varietas non reficit." These therefore be the words of that writer.

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of doctor Iohn Summerset.

"Vecors, inculta, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefeci: ad hoc immensæ verecundiæ terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, fidutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilijs meis adquiescere

* Summerset.

The commendation of Doctor Iohn Summerset.

non desuras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorē gloriosum inuenies, qui * Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognomen sortitus est. Hic Tulliani testamenti executor, purpura abisso quibus te vestiat, bonorum Oratij ministrator, thesauris innumeris qui te ditet ac ipsius opulentissimæ imperatricis Rhetoricæ custos, gazarum, & ærarij gemmis pretiosis, quibus ruditatis ruæ tenebras excutiens, ipsum syderea politura perornare poterit, præ cæteris copia plenum florei & abundat, hic est qui cœli empeirei situ & mobilitatem, ac vacui, si quid extra ipsum reperiri possit: Chaos & confusionem primi mobilis, motus ac ornamenta syderea, & actum per ipsum inferiorum rapinam planetarum, cursus erraticos in suis epicyclis & retrogradationibus intellectui multùm difficiles, elementorum miranda coniugia, qualitates & actiuitates mutuas, omnium impressionum causas & effectus, & quicquid Aristotelicæ demonstrationes seu Hippocratici aphorismi suadere sufficiunt, nouit, rimatur & intelligit. Hic est quod plurimum ponderandum existimo, qui regalis pectoris sacrarium tantarum virtutum, tantæque literaturæ imbalsamauit aromatibus, & corpus regium ab ægritudinum incommodis seruauit incolume, qui semper reipublicæ promotor, & pauperum procurator extitit. En pagina vecors & misera tibi iuturnæ consolationis ministraui materiam. Esto igitur fortis animi, & vt virum tantum attingas, quem me docente reperies ad iter accingere. Verum quia dum regis assistit lateri, aut pauperum procurando negotia, aut reipublicæ bonum promouendo, vel regiam celsitudinem salutaribus exhortando artis salutigeræ consilijs sic solicitus reddirur, vt vix ei quietis indulgeatur horula infra domum regiam, reuerentiam suam solicitare nolito præsumere, sed vsque ad mansionem suam propriam, quam per signa quæ tibi monstrabo inuenies omni expeditione ne pigriteris currere. Quum igitur iter tuum arripueris strata regia, qua per aliquot miliaria gradieris ad quandam semitam versus dextram, protensam non procul à quadam capella pulcherrima fundationis regiæ in honorem sanctorum archangelorū Raphaelis, Gabraelis, & Michaelis, atque omnium angelorum sanctorum Dei, quam nuper procuratio sua construxerat, tritura multiplici se ipsum manifestantem ducet. In qua cum pauperū nudipedum ad suam domum confluentium impressa vestigia perceperis: & eorundem redeuntium pedum calciatorū quos eleemosyna sua iam pecuali pelle vestijt inueneris: & cùm per eandem semitam nudos, esurientes & tristes ad habitaculum suum concurrentes prospexeris, & eosdem per suæ charitatis liberalitatem vestitos, saturatos & gaudentes obuios habueris, scito quoniam hæc est via in tabernaculum ipsius, quem quæris ductrix infallibilis & directissima. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedē velint ostendere, &c." After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of *Aestatis sedes*, in English Summerseat;

" Fertilis Aestatis florida sedes,
Morum multiplici luce refulgens.
Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicinæ,
Pectore cœlesti cœlica condens,
Præradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammiuomus ignis in orbe,
Aereque sinus abdyta nosti?
Quæ fluit & refluit (piscis opimum)
Oceanum pelagus, quæ pia terram
Numina proficiunt prole feracem
Naturæ probitas, norma, potestas,
Consilium, virtus, quicquid agatur,
Clara luce tua mente coruscans.

Hæc

Hæc cumulata tua lucida virtus,
Musarum sedem pectore regis,
Et morum solium fausta parauit,
Nec minus à regis corpore morbos,
Funebreásque minas cauta fugauit,
Seruans illæsa gaudia regni,
Et fotrix inopum dextera larga.
Corporibus nudis frigore pellis,
Esuriem furiat & famis iram,
Cogit in exilium prodiga mensa.
Doctor qui tanta dote refulges,
Me miseram miserans intuearis
Turpem complectere respice nudam,
Incultam polias, rejice mendas,
Vestes dilaceras consue clemens,
Sint medicina sitis pocula Cirre,
Quæ tibi plus reliquis copia præstat,
Et tua si pietas sordida purgans,
Si tergat maculas horrida limans,
Vt me fortuno fata fœcundans,
Inter plebeos forte remotos,
Angelicum regis cernere vultum,
Præstet me fausta sorte beatam,
Et bene fatatam læta putarem,
Nobilis hæc doctor suscipe vota,
Cuius virtutes, inclyta gesta,
Aeternis titulis fama perennet."

Thus hauing expressed the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeares passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerset by the words of *Aestatis sedes*, I haue trulie beene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which mooued me thereto) for that I would not suffer so worthie a man as that Iohn Summerset was to be buried in obliuion. And for that I would in some part (as anie occasion may serue therefore) make this worke of Roger Wall more common to the world, being onelie now in the hands of one painefull antiquarie. Wherefore in that sort, leauing our Englishmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing doone by them in the low countries, where one Steward a Scot, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zeland, and Holland, vnder William of Nassaw earle of Aurange, did now fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiors their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garison of Bruxels were for the like cause in an vprore. But some portion of monie being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certeine Scot, called Lichféeld, & surnamed Semple, being capteine of the garison of Lire, and long vnpaied his sallarie, for those warres did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Whereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Hietfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in deteining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring this towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, feining himselfe that he would in the middest of the night with his people go foorth to bring home some great bootie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, & late in the night gathered togither a great preie of catell, horsses, oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like,

Suriusin comen. de reb. in orbe histor. pa. 1082.

The Spaniards obteine Lire by a stratagem deuised by the Scots.

like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bootie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abroad, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Semple into the towne. Which thing Semple then perceiuing (& not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enimies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recouer their bootie, vnlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. Then the porter beléeuing all this to be true, foorthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which doone, the Scot entereth thereat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiors, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first woone the market place, and the next daie after the calends of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fensed, and set in such a conuenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and cariage to come to Antwerpe, Mecheline and Bruxels.

Ambassador from the French into Scotland.

After this, much about the beginning of September, monsieur de la Mot was sent from Henrie the third the French king ambassador into Scotland, the outward effect of whose commission was to renew and conclude the old league of amitie betwixt those two nations, as it had béene long continued betwéene them in times past, which doone, he returned, well accepted by his French master. After which in like sort the king of Scots sent the lord Seton ambassador into France to the same king Henrie, which lord came to Paris in the beginning of March, and there remained about six wéekes or more before he could find conuenient passage for him to returne into his countrie, because there was wait laid (as was supposed) to the end that he might haue béene intercepted by some of his enimies, before he should haue atteined the presence of the king his maister.

1585.

Ambassador from the Scot to the French.

But now, as a litle before I haue set downe the exploits doone by the Scots in the low countries of their owne nation, so I thinke it not amisse to adde to the same somewhat doone by a Scot héere in England, the summe whereof is after this manner. One William Creicton a Scot by birth, and a Iesuit by profession, which name of Creicton first came into Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand threescore and six out of Hungarie amongst others with Agatha, the Mother of Maud the wife to Malcolme king of Scots, hauing trauelled the most part of Europe, had conference with one William Parrie an Englishman, by waie of discourse and argument touching such matter of treason as concerned the death of the queene of England. After which (Parrie being returned into England in Ianuarie following) this Creicton also, not tarrieng long behind him, did come from the parts of beyond the seas to take his iornie towards Scotland, who determining to passe through England, arriued here, was apprehended, & committed prisoner to the Tower of London, in such sort as before you haue heard that Iohn Lesle bishop of Rosse was staied by the duke of Bauier vpon suspicion, that the same bishop had dealt with the enimies of that prince against the state of his countrie. The cause wherefore the said Creicton was so committed, was for that he had about him diuers plots for inuasions of this our realme of England. When he was thus prisoner in the Tower, William Parrie was after for the same treason apprehended, examined, committed also to the Tower, and finallie executed on the second daie of March in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred foure score & foure. In the Februarie before which execution, sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir maiestie of England, came to the Tower, examined the said Creicton and dealt with him, to vnderstand if the said Parrie had euer had conference with him in the parts beyond the seas touching that question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maiestie of England or not, the which at that time the said Creicton called not to his remembrance; yet afterwards vpon better consideration thereof it fell into his mind, where, when, & on what occasion such speech had passed betweene the said Parrie and him. Whereupon the twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, during the time that Parrie also was a prisoner

Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 910.

Creicton a Scot committed to prison in England.

in

in the Tower, this Creicton wrote to maister secretarie Walsingham a voluntarie letter penned all with his owne hand, which being alreadie set downe in the historie of England is needlesse here to be repeated. Wherefore hauing thus said somewhat of this prisoner, we will leaue him still remaining in the same state, expecting some folowing successe of libertie to come to him, and returne our pen to the countrie of Scotland, thereof to set downe such occurrents as happened from this time.

A contention betweene the earle Morton and the lard Iohnstane.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betweene the lord Maxwell earle Morton warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lard of Iohnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enmitie begun in the time of Dowglasse earle Morton beheaded, as before in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurlie burlie the lard of Iohnstane behaued himselfe verie rigorouslie against the lord Maxwell, in blowing vp with gunpouder the lockes of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secrethe after the death of Dowglasse earle Morton, continuing betweene the lord Maxwell and Iohnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yeare sought a fresh reuenge thereof, sith the lord Iohnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to incounter with the lord Maxwell. But now the ladie Iohnstane (being verie familiar and fauored with and of Iames Stew[illegible] earle of Arrane) obteined of the king some succors of men of warre against t[illegible] well earle Morton, hir husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwis[illegible] part good against the same earle. Wherevpon capteine Lamie and capteine [illegible] sent with two companies of hackbuts vnto the relefe of the lard of Iohnsta[illegible] thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie th[illegible] him with their power: which being had, he meant and therefore went to [illegible] with the said two capteins Lamie and Granestane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite contrarie to our determination: so the lard Iohnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose heedfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enimies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) hauing intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Iohnstane, and wiselie (as behooued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to incounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischiefe, and to stop their passage, did prepare to preuent all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Maxwell capteine of Langholme with some horssemen and footmen vnder the conduct of Iames Fraiser brother to the lord of Fullorth, which Robert meeting on Cranford mere with the foresaid capteins Lamie and Cranestane, before that they had ioined with the lard Iohnstane, gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enimies, slue Lamie, tooke Cranestane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who sought their liues by the benefit of flieng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Iohnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, vsed the helpe of other meanes when he perceiued that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he vsed the strength of one element against an other, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruellie spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers trees, Duncoll, Cowhill, and such like. Wherevpon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie serued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Iohnstane, vtterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castels of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Iohnstane, and slue sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Iohnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Wanefraie, some of the sons of Iohn Iohnstane of Holgill, with others. Which doone, the earle Morton proceeded

Robert Maxwell base brother to earle Morton sent against capteine Lamie.

Capteine Lamie & Cranestane ouerthrowen.

The castels Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

vnto

vnto further pursute, and determining fullie to reuenge himselfe vpon Iohnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Iohnstane himselfe to flie his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castell belonging to Edward Yrwine of the Bonshaw, whome the earle pursued, and besieged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castell with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceiued of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parlée, and so to composition: whereby in the end the matter was wholie compounded and ended betweéen them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scroope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Iohnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Iohnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst foorth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst, for the lard Iohnstane, he was taken betweén Tinwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Maxwell comming from the towne of Domfreies to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the castell named Truife) being by the earle Morton appointed to incounter with the said [illegible] which this baron was the more willing to doo, because he entirelie loued [illegible] alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

The lard Iohnstane forced to flie.

The lord Scroope compounded the contention betweene earle Morton and the lard Iohnstane.

The lard Iohn-

[illegible] performed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, [illegible] displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarse able to sustéene the [illegible], by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Iohnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partlie by the persuasion & lamentation of the ladie of Iohnstane, whereof the last was enimie to the earle, as of dutie she ought in respect of hir husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enemie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Maxwell Hewch with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined neere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deliuered others of no lesse value and honor (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Kinneile for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeeld therevnto: as well for that Maxwell Hewch was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they tooke the name of lord Maxwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Maxwels, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue béene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Maxwels so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were Iohn Maxwell lard of Newarke, and William Maxwell lard of Poke.

[illegible] earle of [illegible] would [illegible] lands [illegible] the earle [illegible] from.

The Maxwels would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parlement in Maie, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherin he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publikelie to render a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vnder his gouernment, sith he was not bound therevnto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting foorth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parlement enacted for the reformation of religion,

gion, which to the king séemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in séeking a certeine equalitie of gouernment in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Mar, with diuers others of the temporaltie and the spiritualtie, as Andrew Melvine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were inforced for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselues from their countrie, and to flie into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to prouide for the safetie of their persons, who comming into this realme, made their abode and soiourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discouered by Robert Hamilton vnto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, wherevpon some were summoned vpon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dowglasse were summoned to the court vpon suspicion that they were consenting and conceling to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donwhasell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkict, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and Iames Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which Iohn Hoppingell of the Moores was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keier with the lord Maius and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donwhasell and the lord Maius were executed, with the lord Ruthwine earle of Gowrike, treasuror of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus doone, the king as is before said made this following declaration vpon the said acts of parlement, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those laws, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these words.

THE KINGS MAIESTIES DECLARATION OF HIS ACTS CONFIRMED IN PARLEMENT.

For as much as there is some euill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impaire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the frée passage of the gospell, good order and discipline in the church: which brutes are mainteined by rebellious subiects, who would gladlie couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no good religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their natiue souereigne, and periuredlie dooth stand against the oth, band, & obligation of their faith, wherevnto they haue subscribed) therfore that his maiesties faithfull subiects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse good affectionat frends in other countries maie vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commanded this bréefe declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in Maie one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discouered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approoueth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his highnesse is able to conuince and ouerthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happie wherein a philosopher reigneth, or he that reigneth is a philosopher) we maie much more estéeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his good subiects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisedome, and by his birth-right borne to great possession; but much more his high-

nesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and dailie increase of all heauenlie sciences, dooth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties roiall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporall is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the sauiour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the comming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie surelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chéefe and principall member appointed by the law of God, to sée God glorified, vice punished and vertue mainteined within his realme: and the souereigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to apperteine to his highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their natiue king (by the instigation of sundrie vnquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrew Meluin of a salt and fierie humor, vsurping the pulpit of Saundois, without anie lawfull calling, and priuie at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundaie, to inflame the harts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and councell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their natiue king, and not by popular sermons (which hath béene the euersion and decaie of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturbe the countrie. The said master Andrew being called before his highnesse, presumptuouslie answered that he would not be iudged by the king and councell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or déed against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gratious prince) was not willing to haue vsed anie rigor against the said master Andrew, if he had humblie submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offense, and craued pardon: who notwithstanding afraid of his owne guiltinesse, being priuie to diuers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose naughtie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common prouerbe beareth "Ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt," which is, that Of euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not anie right intollerable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his prince, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither doo the prophets, apostles, or others (conducted by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to affirme (as manie doo) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters doo onelie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernors, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitiue church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, deposed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge

challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the councell holden at Tirus, and by infinit good reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other seuerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie prooued and verified. But this appéereth at this present to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heresie, whereby the profound mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched foorth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperors haue vsed: and his maiestie following their example would allow the councell of learned pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controuersies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken anie déepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, ioining themselues to rebels haue trauelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might imbrace anie sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright proceédings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decaie; but rather to preserue, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, conestables, shiriffes, prouosts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be doone in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserued in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vsed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them doo amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such maner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was inuented by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie, vnder pretense of new inuented presbyters, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop vnder his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maiesties intention to represse, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parlement dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parlement. Which act speciallie concerneth the remouing and discharging of that forme, inuented in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselues to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vsurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the laws at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of dooing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian prince. The perill whereof did so increase, that in case it had not beene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties laws, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaie of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may know the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby insueth in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassador of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouosts, bailiffes, and conestable of Edenburgh to make him a banket, that he might be receiued honorablie according to the amitie of ancient times betwéene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the saturdaie by his highnesse, and the banket appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselues on the sundaie in the morning, and presumptouslie determined & agréed, that the ministers of Edenburgh should proclame a fasting vpon the same mondaie; where their

seuerall ministers one after another made thrée seuerall sermons, and inuectiues against the prouosts, bailiffes, and councell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie; who repared to the banket at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and persuaded them, and scarselie by his maiesties authoritie could be withholden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obeieng onelie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Ius gentium* requires towards ambassadors of forren countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclamed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath ioined themselues with his maiesties rebels; and flieng foorth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discouered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in time prouided remedie. The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemblie of the whole cleargie in the realme: vnder pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauorers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme; where there was no certeine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall conuention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succéeded vnto the most vnlearned of the multitude.

This generall assemblie amongst other things, did appoint and agrée with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the *estate of bishops should be mainteined and authorised, as is registred in the bookes of councell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse, vntill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundée, and Glascow, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, tooke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwriting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leaue their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings councell or parlement, without commission obteined from their assemblie: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and councell, but according to their acts and iniunctions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the councell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue deiected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselues, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and councell, might be authorised in place of the estate: wherby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experimented of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue beene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

* Which is one of the estates of parlement.

After they had discharged bishops, they agréed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other apparance that they should haue staied from such dailie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continuallie be disquieted, where the law of conscience, which they mainteined by the sword of cursing, was subiect to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemblie was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certeine times appoint generall fastings through out the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprise. For at the fast, all

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the ministers were commanded by the assemblie to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certeine great alterations to haue insued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discouered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath béene iustlie moued to discharge such conuentions, which might import so preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemblie being met at Edenburgh, did authorise and auow the fact perpetrate at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which déed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason, the said assemblie esteeming their iudgement to be the souereigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approoued the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemblie, and the lawes of the estate directed, weied in ciuill matter, with the which the assemblie should not haue medled, it behooued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemblie, which in déed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall councels at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperor for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Yea the bishop of S. Andrewes had not in time of poperie power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discréet men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthie of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and executions to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their deseruings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall foorth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as apperteine to the vniformitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable councell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclamed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentith act ratifieth and approoueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement, and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their bloud for the truth: but also sith this realme imbraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath béene mainteined, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, vntill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue practised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, as well concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience,

experience, to haue bëene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to apperteine to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behooueth his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerseers vnder him which maie be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing accesse to his maiesties parlement and councell, maie intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propone their grëefe vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties fauorable answere therein. The which forme dooth preserue a godlie quietnesse, vnitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vniforme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuideth the same, and vnder the pretense of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtile dealers to be aduanced and inriched: and in pretending of partie, to sëeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doo within his diocesse what he pleaseth. For his maiestie cannot allow of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the prouerbe saith) "Nulla tyrannis æquiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis," that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the councell of thirtëene of the most ancient, wise, and godlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemblie of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church maie be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners twise in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the sixt of September, hold their synodall assemblies in euerie diocesse, for the këeping of good orders therein: and if anie be stubborne, or contemne within their bounds the good order of the church, that it maie be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their deseruings. Neither is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission ordinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrone, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensiue in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnes estate, councell or parlement: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemblie, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterprise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, maie be most commodiouslie once in euerie fiftëene daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all vnlawfull mëetings,

ings, that maie ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to sée the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all meanes to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who maie haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his councell and synod; and he to be respected reasonablie for his paines, at the modification of stipends: that all things maie be orderlie doone in the church, peace & quietnesse mainteined in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expreslie forbids vnder the paines conteined in his maiesties acts of parlement, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & councell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselues for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse maie be certeinlie informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfullie to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie maie in a prosperous reigne enioie good and long life, and continue and increase in the feare of the almightie.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

THE KINGS INTENTION DRAWNE INTO CERTEINE ARTICLES, AND PUBLISHED IN PRINT.

"His maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sinceare profession of the gospell, and preaching thereof within his realme.

"2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiouslie abuse the truth, and factiouslie applie or rather bewraie the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or imparing of his highnesse and councels honour.

"3 His maiesties intention is, if anie question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experimented pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expressed.

"4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of good order in euerie paroch, certeine ouerséeers to the good behauiour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

"5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render accompt of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of liuing shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burthen.

"6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinarie bishops, their councels and synods: but if anie of them doo amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

"7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or staie anie godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitiue church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselues onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearefullie of the estate.

"8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at Landwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their councels and synods.

"9 It

" 9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not anie generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obteined therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euerie particular heard and discussed.

" 10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his councell, his highnesse deputie.

" 11 It is his maiesties intention, that when anie paroch findeth necessitie of anie fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their councell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his councell prescribe anie publike humiliation.

" 12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclamed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall councell, wherin his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

" 13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euerie diocesse with their councell procéed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a councell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be auoided in the church.

" 14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissioners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presentlie for the translation of such ministers, whose trauels they esteeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place."

These things was the king faine to publish, to staie the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which séemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue mooued, nor for colour of religion procured anie beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the duetie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift vp their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But leauing the discourse of these things to preachers, to whome it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we speake anie thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather bicause the same consisteth of thrée estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement dooth, from whome it séemeth to me that they haue fet their light. Touching which, Lesleus in his Scotish historie lib. 1. pag. 75, vnder the title of *Leges Scotorum*, writeth in this sort. " Qui verò seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerũt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latinè scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quòd ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiorũ (quæ populari sermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hîc aduertendum, nos ita lege municipali teneri, vt si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe sit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquisitè inuestigare, intelligat potestatem has ferendi antiquandíque trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publico latis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam." On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to kéepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdome and kinglie authoritie, caried before him, attended on with all his nobilitie

The parlement of Scotland consisteth of thrée estats.

nobilitie and cleargie) those common people will manie times giue such bie names as séemeth best liking to themselues, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we also doo héere in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbeare, and onelie set downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, least in passing it ouer without some example thereof, I might make a vaine shew of knowledge consisting in naked words, without anie sound matter. Wherefore I saie, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, the parlement held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called *Parliamentum insanum*, bicause manie things were there intreted which turned to the death of diuerse noble men. So the Scots in like maner bynamed a parlement, in the yeare of Christ 1556, (being the foureteenth yeare of Marie the now imprisoned queene of Scotland) and called the same a running parlement, bicause there were manie intermissions and remoouings during the continuance thereof, as appeareth by Lesleus in these words. "Aestate sequenti habita sunt Edinburgi trium ordinum comitia, in quibus domini Brunstonius, Grangius, Balnauius, & alij nonnulli, quorum bona à gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singulari regis Franciæ commendatione dignati, famæ atque bonis restituti sunt. Hæc verò comitia quòd intermissa, potiùs quàm omissa, quasi continuarentur, nomen à vulgo acceperunt, vt currentia dicerentur." Thus much being said about their parlements, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland, which followed the former parlement assembled in Maie, and mooued the king to make that declaration thereof which I haue before set downe.

Parlements nicknamed.

The made parlement.

The running parlement.

Lesleus.

About the time that the earle Gowrike or Gowrie was as before is remembred beheaded, the king did roiallie set forward his iourneie, and possessed the towne of Sterling, in which the said earle was executed, hauing a sister married to Lesle earle of Rothos, and a daughter married to Steward earle of Atholl. After the death of the said earle Gowricke lord treasuror of Scotland, the king bestowed that office vpon Grahame earle of Montrosse, who had married the lord Dromands sister, which name of Grame is supposed to be deduced from Grahame, who in the yeare of Christ foure hundred twentie and two, resisted the Romans, inuading the Picts and Scots, for when Victorinus the Romane legat, had againe commanded a trench or fense to be made from the castell of Abincorne to Cluide, the same was vtterlie ouerthrowne and cast abroad by the noble Capteine Grame, of whome as is supposed the familie of the Grames liuing at this daie had their originall, the same place to this daie being called the trench of Grame or Grames trench.

Lesleus li. 4. pag. 133.

The tenth of September (after that he was sent for by the queene of England vpon certeine articles laid against him) did George Talbot erle of Shrewsburie (a graue and honourable person, who had Marie the imprisoned queene of Scots in his custodie at Sheffeld castell) repaire to London according to his dutie, to answer those things which should be obiected against him, who comming to London verie honorablie attended on with his owne retinue, amounting to the number of two hundred horsse, and with some few others of the queenes men, which were sent to bring him vp, repaired to his house at Coleherbert in London from whense in Nouember going to the court to answer the things to be obiected vnto him, about the custodie and vsage of the same queene of Scots, which had manie yeers beene vnder his charge, he answered the matter verie honourablie, and to his good discharge, being then dismissed of the keeping of the same queene of Scots. During whose being here at London the queene of Scots was appointed to the charge of sir Rafe Sadler knight banneret, a graue and old councellor to the state of England, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaster; with whome was also ioined in the same commission Iohn Summers esquier, clearke of the signet, a wise and honest gentleman, well seene in the languages, excellent at disciphering, and brought vp vnder that worthie and rare witted gentleman, doctor Nicholas Wotton, of whome I haue spoken more in the historie of England. These hauing this queene thus committed vnto them, did (as persons carfull of so weightie a charge) remoone hir to a place of good strength, and conueied hir to be kept in the castell of Tutberrie, where she (not remaining

maining long in their custodie) bicause they were remooued and others put in place, was afterward about Maie following as anon shall appeare committed to the charge of sir Aimes Paulet one also of the priuie councell of England, hauing before beene ambassador legier in France, a person descended of an ancient and honourable familie, with whome and vnder whose charge she still remaineth at this present in the said castle of Tutburie.

But to leaue that matter, we saie that about the tenth daie of Ianuarie following this discharge of the earle of Shrewsburie, sir Lewis Balentine knight, iustice, clerke, and maister of the ceremonies of the kings house, which office as I haue beene crediblie informed by a Scot (but how trulie I leaue to others) his father, his grandfather, and great grandfather before him, did inioie, and to whome most of the nobilitie of Scotland, either by affinitie, consanguinitie, or aliance, were linked in blood, a goodlie yoong gentleman about the age of thirtie yeares, was sent ambassador into England for the redeliuerie and accusation of the erle of Angus and Marre, and the other nobles which were fled out of Scotland into England for a supposed treason wrought by them against their king, whose redeliuerie was required of the queene of England, to the end the king might execute the law vpon them. In which his ambassage he behaued himselfe before the councell of England so grauelie and learnedlie, that the said earles were sent for from Norwich (where they soiorned before his comming) to Westminster, there to answere to such things as should be laid to their charge by the said sir Lewis Balentine. Wherevpon after that the said ambassador had remained in England at London (honorablie interteined and feasted of the nobilitie and others) by the space of seuenteene weeks, he was dispatched into his countrie with answer, that hir maiestie would shortlie send an ambassador into Scotland which should fullie satisfie the king. Wherevpon the said sir Lewis Balentine departed from London on the tenth daie of Maie following,
1585. in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, and so returned into Scotland; much about which time, as is before a little touched, was Marie queene of Scots, remaining in the custodie of sir Ralfe Sadler in the castell of Tutburie, committed to the keeping of sir Aimese Paulet.

After this the queene of England the nineteenth daie of the said moneth of Maie dispatched in ambassage into Scotland, Edward Wootton esquier, a gentleman of good descent, and one whose ancestors had honorablie & faithfullie serued manie princes of England, as well in the place of priuie councellors, as also in manie ambassages into forren nations: which ambassador being of yeares not much more than the said sir Lewis Balentine, had trauelled the most part of Europe, and had before time beene ambassador for the queene of England into Portingall. This gentleman so sent from the queene of England to the king of Scots, attended on by other English gentlemen, departed as is before said from London towards Scotland the nineteenth of Maie, who remaining at Berwike about three dais, did there receiue his conduct from the king of Scots to passe into his kingdome; which once obteined, he presentlie entred that land on Whitsun eeue, being the nine and twentith daie of the said moneth of Maie, and so came that daie to Edenburgh, being first at his entrance into the Scotish borders receiued by the lord Hume and his retinue, who conueied them to Seton house, where they were interteined by the lord Seton: after which when the ambassador was departed about halfe a mile from the said lord Setons house, he was met with sir Robert Meluin knight, maister William Keth one of the kings chamber, and others, which conueied him that night to Edenburgh. The next morrow (after that the English ambassador was come to the citie of Edenburgh) being Whitsundaie, the ambassador was after dinner brought to the kings presence, where he had full audience for the deliuerie of his ambassage, consisting vpon the confirming of the old and concluding of a new league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland; which the king accepting in honorable part, did for that time dismisse the ambassador, vntill the minds & consents of the nobilitie might be vnderstood and had. With which answer the ambassador then satisfied, tooke leaue of the king for that present, and remained still at Edenburgh some fortnight, interteined with sports of delights answerable to the course of the yeere, and the dutie of an ambassage. From

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whense the ambassador attending on the king was conueied to Dumfermling, where the king remained some time to repose himselfe, progressing from thense to Falkland, and so to saint Andrews, hauing the ambassador alwaies with him. When the king was come to saint Andrews, the noblemen and states of the realme repaired thither to hold a parlement, according to the former appointment.

But whilest these things did thus passe at saint Andrews, the time drew on, when the borderers of both the nations of England and Scotland should assemble according to the custome of the true daies, there to determine for recompense of all such iniuries as each people had offered to other, in conueieng of cattel or other booties from their borders; for which cause there did about the sixteenth daie of Iulie assemble the people of both the borders, and the wardens of the same; at what time the lord of Fernhurst warden of the Scotish borders, and sir Francis Russell knight lord Russell, and sir Iohn Foster knight warden of the middle marches came with their companie to the borders of Scotland, not far from Berwike, and so entred into speech with the Scots of such causes for which they repaired thither. After when the wardens were set vpon the bench to heare and determine the same, there did suddenlie arise among the people a contention, whereby followed at the first some small fraie, which being perceiued by sir Francis Russell, he arose from the bench and called for his horsse, who meaning to appease the matter, went among the prease. At what time a certeine number of shot comming on him, he was suddenlie, but most vniustlie, slaine with a peece amongst the rest discharged against him by a Scot borne about that place (suspected by the most to be the brother of the lord of Fernhurst) contrarie to the nature of such assemblies, where each part shuld labor for quiet, sith publike faith at such times are giuen, that euerie one shall returne home without anie damage or iniurie offered by anie side. The losse of which sir Francis Russell, being a gentleman of great hope, was much lamented of the English, and that especiallie sith his vntimelie death so iniuriouslie (by the earle of Arrane, as the common fame went) procured and so suddenlie performed, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his age, did bereaue the realme of England of a goodlie yoong person, well staied in gouernement, bountifull, wise, and vertuous, whose death happening the daie before that his honorable father the earle of Bedford (being of the same christian and surname) departed the world, occasioned T. G. first in Latine, and then in English, to set downe certeine funerall and moorning verses touching both the father and the son in these words:

"En duo Francisci subitò occubuere, simúlque
Et pater & natus, Russellæ splendida stirpis
Lumina, quos binos mors abstulit atra diebus:
Londini, comitem prouecta ætate parentem,
Finibus ac Scotiæ natum florentibus annis,
Ille perit morbo, insidijs cadit alter iniquis:
Dum miser occulta traiecit viscera glande
Incautè Scotus, heu fictæ sub nomine pacis.
Occidit ante patrem, non multis filius horis.
Anglia magna tibi est rapti iactura parentis,
Nec leuis est nati, de quo spes optima fulsit.
Quis scit an irati foret hæc vindicta Iehouæ,
De vitijs pœnas dum nostris sumit acerbas?"

The English whereof is in this forme drawne into verse by the first author of them T. G. in this sort:

"Lo Francies twaine at once
both suddenlie are gone:
Two shining stars of Russels race,
the father and the sonne.

Whom in two daies vntimelie death
hath from vs caught awaie:
The earle in London natures debt,
the father old did paie.
The sonne his heire, lord Russel hight,
Of courage fresh and yeares:
On Scotish borders lost his life,
whose want now well appeares.
The father did by sicknesse die,
the sonne through fraud vniust:
By Scotish hand with gun was slaine:
whilst nothing he mistrust.
The sonne before the fathers death
not manie hours was slaine:
Great is thy loss, ô England, of
these peerelesse nobles twaine.
Thy fathers worthie vertues late
knowne well (and long) to all:
From fathers steps the sonne great hope
gaue that he would not fall.
Who knows if God the Lord of hosts,
this punishment doth send:
Our sinnes so great thereby to scourge,
and wicked liues amend?"

Of which erle of Bedford (hauing occasion to mention him in this place by the death of his sonne) I suppose not amisse to saie somewhat more, especiallie concerning such matters whereof he was a dealer with the imprisoned queene of Scots when she was at libertie and in hir best estate.

In the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three score, Francis the French king died at Orleans in the kalends of December. After which, in the yere following, Marie the queene of Scots, Dowager of France and widow to the said Francis, soiourned a certeine time in France about Ianuille and Loreine, where the cheefe part of hir friends & kindred (being of the house of Guise) did remaine, during whose abode in France, and before she went into Scotland: this earle of Bedford and sir Nicholas Throgmorton (ligier ambassador in France for the queene of England) were sent vnto the queene of Scots to conclude with hir, that the agreements and conditions of peace, which were established a little before at Leith should be established by hir consent. Wherevnto for answer she affirmed, that she could not determine anie thing therein, vnlesse that she were present with the nobilitie of hir kingdome, to whom the administration of the realme of Scotland was committed at the intreatie of the English. And that when she was in Scotland, where by Gods good furtherance she hoped shortlie for to be, she should earnestlie trauell all she might for the establishing of all good conditions of peace. Againe when the king of Scots now liuing was by his godfathers to be taken from the font and to be regenerate in Christ, in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred threescore and six, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the same Marie queene of Scots, this earle of Bedford as ambassador from the queene of England, was sent to the queene of Scots by waie of deputiship to present the person of his mistresse requested to christen the yong prince of Scotland. At what time this earle of Bedford presented, in the behalfe of the queene of England, one font of gold curiouslie wrought, weighing three hundred thirtie and three ounces, and amounting in value to the summe of one thousand fortie three pounds & nineteene shillings. Thus this much spoken by the way of the earle of Bedford.

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The report of the death of sir Francis Russell before mentioned, came to the knowledge of the said Edward Wootton, as yet remaining ambassador in Scotland, and then lieng at S. Andrews: wherevpon the ambassador went to the king, and opening vnto him the iniurie doone to the English by the procurement, as was thought, of Iames Steward erle of Arrane then chancellor: he obteined that the king (finding the matter to sound both to reason and iustice) did command the said earle to prison, where he remained some time, and was after at the sute of William Steward brother of the earle, vpon the kings remoouing from saint Andrewes, released from the prison, and committed to restreint in his owne house, vntill such time as he had cleered himselfe of the same imposed crime, and cause of breach of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland. During which imprisonment of the earle of Arrane, the former appointed parlement or assemblie at saint Andrews was holden by the king & the nobilitie there gathered togither, which were Graham earle of Montrosse treasuror of Scotland, Robert Steward erle of March sometime bishop of Cathenesse, and now prior of S. Andrewes, great vncle to the king and to the yoong duke of Leneux, Keith erle marshall, Lesle erle of Rothos, Steward earle of Atholl, & Patrike Constance archbishop of S. Andrews, with diuers others. Amongst whom the king opening the contents of the ambassage sent out of England for the concluding of the league betweene the two nations, vsed vnto them this following speech, wherein declaring the opinion he conceiued of the religion, the necessitie of the ioining with England the sworne league of other nations against the professors of the gospell, and the reasons which induced him to mooue this matter vnto his people, all which he vttered in this sort.

THE KINGS SPEECH TO THE ESTATES, CONCERNING A LEAGUE IN RELIGION WITH ENGLAND.

"Two causes my lordis and ȝe all of the estatis haue mooued me to send for ȝow at this time to craue ȝour aduises towardis them, quharof sith the one is generall & the vther particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greatest weight. Amongst all the benefeits that God dooth bestow vpoun his elect and church, the triall and sifting of the gud chosin from the bad hipocreitis, is ane of the mast speciall, quhich he hath vsed in all ages for the separatioun of thame, als well for that to lang companie of the vicked dooth corrupt the godlie, as also that their separatioun is a taken in this earth, of Godis luue towardis them, quhich triall he dooth now cheeflie vse, for that the number of the vicked doth abound in these letter daies, quherin God dooth permit the deuill most to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the bastard christians, I meane the papistis, in a league quhich they terme holie, albeit most vnholie in varie truth, for the subuersioun of the trew religioun in all realmes throuchout the quhole world. This is a matter so manifest and notorious to ȝou all, euen by the report of the smallest merchantis that trauill, as it dooth dilat the selfe, though I were silent.

"This leagues whome of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen, and Hispaingnols, assisted with the king of Spaines and the papes monie, solemlie sworne to performe the forsaid enterprise before they leaue armes: the performance quhereof we aught to resist for three causes (to wit) for conscience, honor, and loue of selffis. For gif they may atteine to their purpose (as God forbid) either will they destroie or root out vs, our wifis, and childrein, & quhatsoeuer we possesse, gif we remaine constant; either else must we render Christ Iesus, and suffer our saulis which is the mast nablest part of man to be bund with the bundis of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vsed at their inordinat plesuris. But sith the loue of our selffis and our honour cannot permit the ane, and that our consciencis and the reuerence we ow to God, cannot suffer the vther: I craue my lords ȝour best and soundist opinionis and aduisis quhat ȝe thinke meitest to be vsed for the remedie hereof. But gif ȝe desire to haue first my opinioun, it is this in few woardis; that as sondrie christian princis haue alreadie counselled me, our contraleague sal be maid, not anelie in termes, but in effect holie, for the ioining

togidder

togidder all true christian princis to defend themselfis, in case of vtheris inuasioun. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for selfis, acceptable to God, and vise in the sight of the varld. By this meanes sall our consciencis, honors, and lifis be preseruid, and God and his religioun glorified and aduancid.

" And sith the queene of England is not anlie a true christian, but also nerest ioinit to vs in nighbourhed, consanguinitie and gudwill, I thinke it meitest in mine opinioun, that it be our league first & maist abstrictlie maid with hir; for quhich cause I haue maid & set downe a forme of act to be subscribit by ȝou all, quherein ȝe promes to ratifie and approue in parliament, quhatsoeuer articles I, or anie in my name sall conclude with the queene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and the effectualing of the foresaid league. But for that the act it selfe vill mare ample informe ȝou, it sal be presentlie read in all ȝour audiencis."

Vpon this speech, the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to imbrace the league with England, and some desirous to leaue it, and to ioine in amitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue beene established betweene them and the Scots (by most of their former kings, whereof the first was Achaius, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation thereof, which was the floure de lices added to the armes of Scotland) there was nothing doone in that conuention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: the manner and time of the entrance of which nobilitie was in this sort.

Towards the latter end of September, the earls of Angus and Mar, with such others of their faction as were in England, did (after that they had long before this, sent thither the maister of Glames out of England to prepare their waie, which he did verie effectuallie) returne into Scotland; at whose comming into that their natiue countrie, there met with them about the borders, manie others of the nobilitie to ioine in one action, for the redresse of such gouernment as was vsed by persons about the king, suspected to nuzzell him in the Romane religion. After this their first meeting, they did by appointment disperse themselues, euerie one to the place of his most strength, and where he could make most friends and followers, appointing a daie to meete againe at Fawkirke, a meete place fensed by nature for the assemblie of an armie. Wherevpon, some departed to Lowthian, some to Domefreis and others to other places. But in short time following they reassembled in October at Fawkirke with such power as they could make, which amounted to the number of ten or eleuen thousand persons. The report whereof was brought vnto the king, then remaining at a noble mans house (not far from Sterling, whereas a contract of mariage was solemnized. Vpon which, the king supposing it to stand most for his suretie (iudging these noblemen so assembled to be his enimies) conueied himselfe, and such nobilitie as were with him to Sterling, raising power (such as the present state of the time would permit) intending with them to haue subdued the earle of Angus and his companie: For which cause also, the earle of Arrane came from his house to Sterling, and the maister of Greie with commission rode to saint Iohns towne to assemble the kings subiects.

After that the earle of Arrane was come to Sterling to the king, the earles of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Atholl, Marshall, the lords Hamilton, Hume, Heres, Cambuskeneth, Dribourgh, Paislaie, & Coldingham; the lairds of Sefford, Drumlarige, Codentnewes, Wedderburne, with other earles, barons, gentlemen & commons, with their friends & complices, marching all night from Fawkirke, did in the next morning come to saint Ninians chappell within a mile of Sterling, and presented themselues before the towne of Sterling, before suspicion was had of their approch so neere. At what time, being the first of Nouember, they pitched their tents, placed there as it had beene a new towne, to the great terror of their enimies within Sterling: deliuering for the cause of their comming this proclamation following.

THE PROCLAMATION PUBLISHED BY THE NOBILITIE OF SCOTLAND, CONTEINING THE CAUSES OF THEIR REPAIRING TOWARDS THE TOWNE OF STERLING TO THE KINGS MAIESTIE THE SECOND DAY OF NOUEMBER.

" WHEREAS the kings maiestie our souereignes good, naturall, and vertuous education is now plainelie vnderstood to haue beene abused, and his roiall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far aboue the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath beene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or woorthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of maruelous aspiring wrongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and bloud creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particuliar profit and promotion: shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humanitie vsed amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill foxes and bloudie woolues, by wresting of lawes and other deceitfull practises hath so wasted, torne in peeces, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spirituall or temporall estate; but the naked shadow & counterfeited maske thereof to our souereignes high dishonor, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie griefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne what iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subiects, what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what dailie hope of increase, what expectation was of his highnesse in forren nations, before the arriuall of Obigneie, afterwards called the duke of Leneux; and the entring in credit of Iames Steward, and coronell Steward with their vnhappie companies. But what hath succeeded since no true Scotish heart can remember without extreame dolor: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replenished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

" It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subiects, & to keepe the strengths of their relms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserue themselues against such inconueniences, as manie princes of that land misgouerned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue beene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusors had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them laie. For the cheefe strength of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who bragging of his pedegree by descent from duke Mordacke (one that was beheaded for his treason against his souereigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) Here stands the person of king Iames the seuenth. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made vnable to punish them, if at anie time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable dooings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath alreadie doone in that behalfe, seeing vnder his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (vpon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) cleerelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (proceeding from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings leeges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honor, crowne, and estate in maruellous danger, whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinelie persuaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnesse in euerie respect, which hath beene these yeares past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seeke for their particular commoditie, the destruc-

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tion of certeine seuerall persons, but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

"The worthiest and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best proofe of their forwardnesse in true religion, and fidelitie to their souereigne) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, coosoned, imprisoned, banished, or at the least debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, schooles, and clergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlements, proceedings, or at the least by laudable custome permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie and examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need require. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or depriued of their stipends. Iesuits, seminarie priests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloudie councell of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie and faithfull senators haue beene by them deiected. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burowes, by intrusion of such magistrates to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgesses, nor apt to discharge themselues of such offices, but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, their priuileges and ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenlie decaie. So as these three pillers (whereby the king and common wealth should be preserued, and vpholden) being wasted and vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie preuent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusors not resting content with the enormities aboue expressed, haue practised, and dailie doo practise to turne the happie amitie and loue, which now a good space hath stood betweene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie and hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betweene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that hir maiestie of England hath bestowed vpon the king our souereigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preseruing his maiestie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterprise for himselfe.

"To this effect they openlie delt with such persons, as by all meanes sought hir maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie hir maiesties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with hir enimies, then fraudfullie to illude hir maiestie, they haue pretended these months past, in great freendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulate a band offensiue and defensiue to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue beene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a yoong nobleman, for his birth and qualities verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and good affection to the king and souereigne, and to all Scotishmen in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, euen when as greatest kindnesse and freendship was pretended; which cannot but produce maruellous suspicion and slander, aswell against the king our souereigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonor, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne iustice be not ministred vpon the authors and the executors of the horrible crime aforesaid.

"Last, which is most of all, and necessarilie craueth present reformation, the foresaid abusors

sors couer all these enormities with his maiesties name and authoritie, thereby thinking to excuse themselues, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath alreadie made shipwracke of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his companie, so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellowes replenished with all vice, should extinguish the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, & keepe his maiestie thrall to authorise by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, we of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our souereignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangell, and borne councellors to his highnesse our souereigne, bound in duetie not onelie to hazzard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangell and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honor, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitors of woorthie memorie.

" In consideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing connected our selues togither for redresse and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath alreadie wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations, we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperate and enorme persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maie freelie, peaceablie, and wiselie gouerne his subiects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent councellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suretie and preseruation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in preiudice of the same, maie be solemnelie cancelled, and for euer adnulled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice cheeflie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and mainteinance of vertue) maie be once disburdened of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small greefe so long susteined, and the happie amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honor of the king our souereigne, and vniuersall contentment of all good men euerie where. In prosecution whereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazzard and expend the same as need craueth, vntill the said abusors be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits, or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties companie and expelled the realme.

" Wherefore we command and charge (in our souereigne lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this godlie enterprise, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme, certifieng all and sundrie that dooth attempt anie thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, assisters of the treasonable conspirators aforesaid, and enimies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authoritie, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, and will vse them as bodies and goods accordinglie. And that all iustices as well lords of sessions as shiriffes, commissioners, and other inferiour iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the lawes of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and vttermost perill, with certification of the disobeior as is aforesaid."

This assemblie of the nobilitie, and the proclamation thus knowne; the earle of Arrane and others which were in Sterling with the king, placed foure hundred men vpon the wals of the towne to defend the assault. But the earle of Arrane chancellor, knowing that he was the principall The earle of Arrane flieth.

principall person, against whome they directed their force, did secretlie without anie other companie flie from thense to Dunbritaine, escaping the hands of the lords of the religion, wherevpon small resistance being made by such as were within Sterling against the assailants, vsing their force by the space of two houres, the earle of Angus and the rest did quietlie enter Sterling and all parts; which being perceiued by such of the nobilitie as were within the towne, they (as the earle of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothosse, Glencarne, Arroll and the Colonell) fled to the castell whither the other faction did chase them. Now when the lords of the religion (for so they of the presbyterie terme them) had fullie gotten possession of the towne of Sterling, they placed their ensignes before the foreblockhouse of the castell, and so ordered the matter, that there was no waie for anie in the castell to escape their hands, for they had by strength inuironed the same, and by siege brought it as some said to that extremitie, that they within were in great default of vittels. Wherevpon the king (after agreement made, that persons on each part might passe betweene to compound the matter) sent foorth of the castell vnto the lords of the religion, the maister of Greie his secretarie and sir Lewes Ballentine, iustice Clarke (deputie to the earle of Argile cheefe iustice of Scotland by inheritance) and colonell Steward, desiring three petitions of his nobilitie; the first whereof was, that his life honor and estate might be preserued; that the liues of Crawford, Montrosse and the Colonell, might be preserued; thirdlie, that all things might be transacted peaceablie: on which conditions he would hereafter be ruled by their aduise and counsell. Wherevnto the noblemen answered, first that the lord knew that they neuer had anie other intention but to preserue his noble person, his honor and estate, and to deliuer his maiestie out of their hands, who vnder his name had so greeuouslie oppressed the church and commonwealth, and therein hazarded as well his life and crowne, as the danger of other of the nobilitie. Wherefore they were onelie there assembled in the feare of God, and loue to his person and their countrie, wholie to endeuour themselues to shew the performance of their obedience and dutie vnto him, and so to shew themselues faithfull and good subiects.

The earle of Angus entreth Sterling.

The castell of Sterling besieged.

The king sendeth to the lords of the religion.

The answer of the lords of the religion to the kings demands.

To the second point they answered, that where the liues of such were desired to be preserued, which had disturbed the whole kingdome, and beene instruments of the great confusion in the church & commonwealth, they could doo no lesse in respect of the loue and dutie which they bare to the king and their countrie, but vse all meanes possible to bring them to the triall of iustice, thereby to receiue the reward of their demerits. And for the third they would most humblie craue of his maiestie, that these things might be doone in most peacefull maner in due time required therefore, wherby all his good subiects might be satisfied, towards the execution whereof they offered their assistance, with the vttermost of their endeuour, because they were assembled and come thither for the dooing thereof.

The lords of the religion exhibit three petitions to the king.

Besides which at the returne of these commissioners, the nobilitie exhibited other three petitions vnto the king, whereof the first was, that the kings maiestie would allow of their intention, subscribe their proclamation (conteining the declaration of their cause) vntill further order were established by the estates, and so agree vnto the reformation of the premisses, & that all the common holds & strengths might be rendred into their hands to be kept as the councell of the ancient nobilitie should appoint, who were there in good number assembled. Secondlie, that the said disquieters of the common-wealth might be deliuered into their custodie, vntill they had receiued their due triall by the law. Thirdlie, that the old gard might be remooued and an other placed of modest, wise, and godlie men. Which petitions being so to the king exhibited, the first was vpon diuers considerations granted, and the castels Dunbarton & Kineile were assigned to the custodie of Iohn lord Hamilton; the castell of Edenburgh was committed to sir Iames Hume of Codenknolles; the castell of Sterling was restored to the earle of Marre, to whome the custodie thereof did belong by descent of inheritance; the castell of Blacknesse to the lard of Dalketh; Tantallan and Dowglasse were deliuered to the earle of Angus. Touching the satisfaction of the second request of the lords, the said earles of Crawford, Montrosse, Glenkarne, Rothosse, Arroll, and colonell Steward, the lords Seton, Leuingstone, Greie, Summerwell, sir William Steward brother to the earle of Arrane,

The king granteth the requests of the lords.

Noble men committed to custodie.

Arrane, and William Steward capteine of Dunbarton (who had beene taken in the towne of Sterling, when the lords of the religion entered thereinto) were committed to the safe custodie of manie noble men. For the performance of the lords third petition, the old gard was immediatlie remooued, & the maister of Glames was appointed by the consent of the whole nobilitie capteine of the gard, with such gentlemen as the nobilitie and he should choose of those which are alreadie entred into their places and offices.

The kings gard remooued and a new placed.

In the meane time, as is before touched, Iames Steward earle of Arrane did at the entring of the lords of the religion into the towne of Sterling, flie to the castell of Dunbarton, where he was inclosed, as well by sea as by land, without anie great store of vittels. The bishop of saint Andrews was taken by the scholers of the vniuersitie, and yoong men of the towne aforesaid (as was said) to be presented to iustice into the hands of the lords of the religion; and so all capteins were set at libertie, the banished ministers called home (though manie of them still remained in England) and restored to their former offices, dignities, and liuings, and the Iesuits and seminarie priests woonderfullie amazed, who were willinglie minded to flie disguised in mariners attire into the parts beyond the seas. Thus the king granting the requests of the nobilitie, and yeelding to the state of the present time, committed himselfe to the protection of these lords of the religion remaining in their custodie, after that they had once entred the castell of Sterling.

The bishop of S. Andrews taken.

The ministers call'd home.

The Iesuits readie to flie Scotland.

The king in the custodie of the lords of the religion.

Wherevpon much congratulation being made for this returne of those banished lords into Scotland, the queene of England hauing intelligence thereof, did send hir ambassador William Knolles esquire marshall of hir bench into the parts of Scotland, to vnderstand the parts thereof, and of the maner of the proceeding of these noble men with the king: which ambassador after his abode and honorable interteinment in that countrie, returned home in December following. In which moneth there was a parlement called at Lithgo, for the full ratifieng and confirming of the restitution of these lords of the religion: at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced both from his earldome of Arrane, and office of chancellorship: and the earle of Bothwell was admitted to that office of lord chancellor. Besides which also the custodie of the lunatike earle of Arrane, sonne of the duke of Chatelerault was taken from the same Iames Steward earle of Arrane, and committed to Iohn lord Hamilton lord of Arbroth, and brother to the lunatike earle, sometime remaining in the wardship of the said Iohn Hamilton, before that the said Iames Steward had gotten the possession of that lunatike earle into his owne hands, out of the custodie of the same Iohn Hamilton.

William Knolles sent ambassador into Scotland.

The earle Bothwell made chancellor.

But somewhat to leaue the lunatike earle in safe keeping, we will speake a little of this Iames Steward earle of Arrane, and of his wife; who being a woman of delight of change in marriage, was (after the second shipwracke) married to this earle of Arrane; for she being one of the daughters of the earle of Atholl, was first married to the lord Louet. After which, iudging it better to marrie than to burne (although by the sequele of the same she felt small contentment therein) she bound hir selfe with the knot of matrimonie vnto Robert Steward earle of March and bishop of Cathnesse; but after finding occasion of diuorce, the contention and sute whereof continued verie long, from the said earle she was in the end separated; and then the third time bestowed hir selfe in marriage vpon this Iames Steward earle of Arrane, by whome she had issue diuerse sonnes and daughters, the eldest whereof the king tooke from the font and christened.

Iames Steward earle of Arrane married to the widow of the erle of March.

Thus leauing this erle of Arrane for this time, I thinke it not amisse in this place to step aside from the matters of these present times; and herein at the aduancement of this earle Bothwell to be lord chancellor of Scotland, to record some things touching some such persons as haue (to my knowledge by reading of Scotish histories) possessed that office of chancellorship before time, as in an other place before at the mention of an other chancellor I haue discoursed of the originall and deriuation of the name of that office. In which this my discourse of the succession of chancellors, although I shall set downe but few persons in number, & can not make a full continuance of their orderlie succession, from their first institution vnto this daie: yet I suppose it better to mention those which haue come vnto

my hands, thereby to occasion others hereafter to treat more liberallie of such honorable officers, than vtterlie to drowne them in the pit of forgetfulnesse. Which treatise of the chancellors I am the willinger to deliuer, because I haue doone the like (but more amplie) for England, as being better acquainted with our owne than their histories.

THE NAMES AND TIMES OF CERTEINE CHANCELLORS OF SCOTLAND, GATHERED OUT OF THE HISTORIES OF THAT NATION.

William Wood. WILLIAM WOOD bishop of Dunblaine was chancellor to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fiue, as some haue (but Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 226. giueth it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand one hundred and three score, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yeere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and foureteene. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancellor.

Iohn Lion. Iohn Lion chancellor of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which ware the crowne) was chancellor of Scotland, who being in great fauor with the said Robert the second, maried the ladie Elisabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whome he had in franke mariage diuerse possessions called Glames, whereby he was called lord of Glames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies with the tresse in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancellor was slaine in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eightie, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlaw. Gilbert Grenlaw bishop of Aberden, being chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred and eleuen in the vacancie of the kingdome, vnder duke Mordacke, betweene the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and the beginning of the reigne of Iames the first, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred twentie and six) was sent ambassador into France with other noblemen of Scotland, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 270. "Mortuo interea Roberto Scotiæ gubernatore, filius eius Mordacus regni procurator designatur. A quo Carolus septimus Francorum rex (in patris quoque locum suffectus) per legatos auxilium contra Anglos postulat. Assensus ille est, & eosdem duces (quos paulò ante in Franciam in copijs traiecisse commemorauimus) cum valido militum manu Gallo subsidio remisit. Cum eis quoque Gilbertus Grenlau episcopus Aberdonensis, vir magnæ inter regni primores singularem ob prudentiam auctoritatis, qui cancellariatus magistratum magna gessit dexteritate, in Galliam mittitur legatus, qui regem Carolum consolaretur, & certiorem faceret eos, qui Galliam aduenerant, & totius Scotiæ incolas, adeò in eius fide & amore perstare, vt se atque bona omnia, pro illius Francorúmque salute tribuere ex animo, sunt parati: ídque rei exitus probabit." After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long, for Henrie Lichton, who came shortlie in his place of the bishoprike, was with other sent ambassador into England, to fetch home Iames the first, and to inuest him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creichton. William Creichton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chancellor to Iames the first, was (in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and three, about the ninth yeare of the same king Iames) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepborne of Hales, sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliuer the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobeie, but permitted them to enter accordinglie. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and fiue, and the eleuenth of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a

sound peace betweene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good seruice being well weied, he was after the death of Iames the first, and in the entrance of Iames the second into the gouernment of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ 1436, confirmed in his office of chancellorship, besides which he had the gouernment of the kings person, and of the castle of Edenburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betweene sir Alexander Leuingston the gouernour of the realme and this chancellor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, whereby insued much mischeefe and bloudshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minoritie and the insufficiencie of kings) at what time the queene taking part with the gouernor against the chancellor, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancellor, after that she had handsomlie trussed vp the king in a troonke like a fardell full of apparell, wherevpon the gouernor besieged the chancellor in the castle of Edenburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still keepe the castle of Edenburgh and his office of chancellor.

That doone, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of Iames the second, the chancellor obteined to haue the queene Dowager, and hir husband Iames Steward lord of Lorne released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the gouernor. Which doone the chancellor keeping in mind the deceit of the queene, in ouerreaching him, by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the gouernor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke that he found meanes, that he onlie accompanied with foure and twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edenburgh, wherewith the gouernor was greeuouslie displeased, but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betweene the chancellor and him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancellor, and the gouernor continue his office in administrating the affaires of the realme. Wherevpon in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of Iames the second, the gouernor and the chancellor assemble a councell of the nobilitie at Edenburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same Iames the second, both the gouernor and the chancellor (at the persuasion of William earle Dowglas) were remooued from their offices by the king, who being now about fourteene yeres old, had taken the absolute gouernment of the kingdome vpon him: besides which they were also put from the councell, their friends were banished the court, and they were summoned to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as giltie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enimies, wherevpon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Dowglasse the chancellors great enimie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton, for requitall wherof, Creichton gathered a like power, entred the land of Dowglasse, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Dowglasse, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and fiue, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the deliuerie of the castles of Edenburgh and of Creichton, which he denieng to doo vntill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, hauing therein no iniurie doone vnto him, for as saith Lesleus: "Primus omnium sanciuerat Creichtonus, vt qui regi castrum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violatæ maiestatis arcessatur, cuius ille legis pœnam primus subijt," as did he which deuised Phalaris bull. But after when the king had besieged Edenburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was deliuered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancellor, which obteined, he neuer after delt in the affairs of the commonwelth, whereby growing again into the kings fauour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie & six, being the tenth of Iames the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obteine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 297.

was by parlement holden in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and seuen, forfalted, for that his seruants would not deliuer Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you haue heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Dowglasse (supposing him to be the cause that the king misliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edenburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped vnto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recouered Edenburgh from the Dowglasse, and had destroied the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie more speedilie: who being thus dishonorablie chased from Edenburgh, drew the erle of Crawford and Rosse to ioine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, or a thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, greeuouslie fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edenburgh, the earldome of Murreie was giuen to sir Iames Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whom it had beene wrongfullie taken by the iniust sentence of William earle of Dowglasse, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Dowglasse, although the right remained in the same sir Iames Creichton. But yet when the same sir Iames could not keepe that earledome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendred the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathnesse, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I doo now intreat by reason of this chancellor.

Andrew Steward.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancellor of Scotland in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king Iames the third, & was sent with others into Norweie to conclude a mariage with the king of Denmarke, betweene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Iulie, at what time they were married accordinglie. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and two, and the two and twentith of Iames the third, when Alexander Steward Duke of Albanie with the duke of Glocester were come vnto Rastalrig with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agréement was made. By which the duke of Albanie, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the gouernment of the kingdome for a certeine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the queene at Sterling, the duke by the queenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edenburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

Iames Beton.

Iames Beton archbishop of Glascow was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred & thirteene, being the first yeare of king Iames the fift. This man being of great wisdome, was appointed amongst others to assist the quéene in the gouernment of the realme, whereunto she was for a time aduanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the mariage, performed the sixt of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene, betwéene hir and Archibald Dowglasse earle of Angus (which this bishop incountred as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glascow, at saint Iohns towne, whervpon the bishop got him to Edenburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the quéene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great dissention and part taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwéene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftéene, he commeth with the earle of Arrane, who submitteth himselfe to the gouernor.

Shortlie

Shortlie following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glascow the abbeie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murreie a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was (in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuenteene in Maie, when the gouernor went into France) appointed, amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme vntill his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being diuided about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrane, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ninetéene, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glascow; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edenburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadors came to Sterling, where a peace was proclamed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one staie, or what peace will be long imbraced amongst ambitious minds? sith in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for when diuerse of the peeres were come to Edenburgh to aid the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrane (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they pursued the earle and chancellor so hotlie, that they were both constreined to forsake the towne, and to flie through the north Loch, about the thirtith daie of Aprill. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now vp now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recouered breath, and in Nouember following, did accompanie the regent come out of France to Edenburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus tó appeare; but he refusing, it was agréed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enimies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, being about the ninth yeare of Iames the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor Iames Beton bishop of Glascow was aduanced to that sée, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Vpon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his vsurped gouernment, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was deliuered to the messengers: vpon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of diuorce sued before him, betwéene the quéene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and six, séeke for the queéne and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbeie of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop kéeping in fauor with the old quéene and the yoong king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of Iames the fift, christen Iames the kings sonne borne at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not gréeue me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our toong, to depriue the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

"Iacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublicæ honoribus summáque gloria apud nos quàm diutissimè floruerat, ætate iam grandior, naturæ concedebat, ac in æde sancti Andreæ tumulo honorificè tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregiè charos habuit, viuus constituebat, vt in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficerétur. In episcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbathiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine præstans Dauid Betonius cardinalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbathiam verò Dumfirmlingensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impediuit, quo minùs illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs liberè fruerentur: *Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 450.*

rentur: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiosè videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecuniæ vim qua reliqua pars inchoata perpoliretur, testato reliquit: verùm pecunia illa in alios vsus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acriùs dicam) perierat." Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of sant Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glascow, and the kings schoolemaister, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, writeth: "Non multò post Andreas Formannus episcopus Santandreapolitanus vitâ cessit, huius quàm primũ honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Betonus archiepiscopus Glascuensis, qui quidem archiepiscopatus omniũ summa voluntate cessit præstãtissimo cuidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quòd recõditæ eruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque grauissimi laudibus præstiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrinâque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij sociũ, regníque cancellarium postea illum coaptauerat."

Dauid Beton (the brothers sonne of Iames Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was chancellor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassador into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, being the one and twentith yeare of the gouernment of Iames the fift, for to procure the earle of Vandosmes sister in mariage for the king; but the same tooke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hir not. About thrée yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and seuen, and the foure and twentith yeare of Iames the fift, this Dauid was aduanced to the honor of a cardinall, of which title I doo not at this time remember, that euer I haue read anie other to haue inioied but Walter Wardlaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth: "Walterus episcopus Glascuensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemẽtis 7, obijt inter annum 1400, & 1409," whome the Scotish histories make cardinall somewhat before in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassador to renew the league betweene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gaue in commendam the bishoprike of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinall, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: "Dauid de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropiensis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Cælio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1538, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiũ, anno pontificatus 13." In which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinall vnto the yeare one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and seuen. In which yeare one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassador into France after the death of the quéene, to procure Marie of Lorreine widow duchesse of Longuile, and daughter to the duke of Guise, to be giuen to king Iames in mariage; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

Two cardinals onelie in Scotland.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vncle Iames Beton archbishop of sainct Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succéed in the same bishops sée and abbeie, which he inioied accordinglie: who aduanced with these dignities, did after the death of Iames the fift, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouernor of the realme, during the minoritie of the yoong queene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whereof, there fell continuall dissentions betwéene the nobilitie, which ended not vntill this cardinall was slaine as after it shall appeare. For shortlie after in the said yeare one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalketh vnder the custodie of the lord Seton, smallie fauoring the

French

French faction) because he would haue persuaded the nobilitie to forsake the motion of the K. of England, determining to marie his son prince Edward to the yoong quéene of Scots. But the cardinall did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was remoued to his owne castell of S. Andrews, hauing watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept, in which place also he did not long continue: for corrupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which doone, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fortie and thrée, he came to the coronation of the yoong queene, and shortlie after persuaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinall ordered all things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose of the common-wealth as séemed best liking vnto him. Wherevpon, the earle of Leneux taking part with the English, opposed himselfe against the gouernor and the cardinall, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinall still supporting and counselling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat abated, by reason the earle of Leneux was gone into England, the cardinall in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, receiued the patriarch of Ierusalem arriued in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betwéene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glascow, for bearing their crosses in the others iurisdiction: wherevpon they fell from words to swords, which the gouernor appeased: that doone, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinall, which he long inioied not. For being greatlie enuied by reason of these honors & some gréeuous facts, certeine persons in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six (after that he had burned George Wischart a learned man, condemned at saint Andrews by an assemblie of bishops) did the thirtéenth daie of Maie (when they had secretlie in the morning entered the castell of saint Andrews where the cardinall was) expell the porters of the foresaid castell, the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinall naked as he came to méete them, whose death sir Iames Liermount prouost of saint Andrews thought to haue staied by assembling a power therefore: but after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinall comming to the gouernors eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Lesleus in these words: "Gubernator, quòd nec cognato suo sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinali dignitas, nec cancellario maiestas ac domus propria, ad impiorum insidias effugendas quicquam profuerit, ægerrimè ferre. Consilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij suasu indicto, in cædis auctores capitis proscriptionisque sententia data est." *Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 482.*

George Gordon earle of Huntleie, sonne of Iohn Gordon, being chancellor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seauen, falling about the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie quéen of Scots, was taken prisoner by the English at Muskelborow field, who pitieng the miserie of diuerse of his countriemen, wounded and taken at the same battell, did vndertake for their ransome; wherevpon they were permitted to depart, and left to shift for themselues as well as they might. In the next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath Lesleus one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight) the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to ransome Huntleie, or at the least to obteine that his wife might come vnto him. Wherevpon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Morphet, where expecting his wife, he thought vpon his escape, and from thense after supper, deceiuing his warders, he fled by night into Scotland, through the aid of one George Carre his déere friend, who prouided him speedie horsses therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was ioifullie interteined of the quéene, the gouernor, and the other nobilitie; but chiefelie of his wife, whose earnest desire to sée him was the occasion of his escape. But as all ioie hath some hard hap for the most part attending vpon the same; so this earle did after féele the force of like misfortune. For about seuen yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare George Gordon.

of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the queene mother of Scotland; but before that iournie, whilest he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Mackintosch chiefe of the Glenchattins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priuie conspiracie made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succéeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Mackintosch) if the wisdome of the quéene mother had not appeased the sathe.

After that the queene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntleie warlie fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them) returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had beene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quéene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntleie into Heitland to take Iohn Mudriad: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edenburgh the eleuenth of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, tooke awaie the great seale from this earle Huntleie the chancellor, and gaue it to monsieur Rubie a Frenchman, which monsieur Rubie thus made kéeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie queene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntleie then chancellor in ward. But the earle of Huntleie after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancellor. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Orkeneie & Heitland, and the queenes land at Straitsdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scotish histories named still chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and one, and the ninetéenth yeare of quéene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priuie councell. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, the quéene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: "Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis definiret, reddidit."

Monsieur Rubie keeper of the great seale.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thrée score and two, in October being the twentith yeare of the same quéene, he was in the faction betwéene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanors also, vpon his comming with an armie to Cornethie in Mar) slaine, and Iohn Gordon his sonne taken prisoner, brought to Aberdine, the nine and twentith of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I doo not intend to make anie double recitall of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to doo; & therefore, & because "Omne nimium vertitur in vitium" (whereto the lawiers agrée saieng, that "Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora") I will referre thée for the supplement of this title of the chancellors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leauing them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought foorth in Scotland: we saie, that as the quéene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quéene of England, by whome she might haue knowledge of such things as were after doone. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quéene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who comming to the court then remaining at Gréenewich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against

William Keith sent into England.

such

such as séemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselues, imbraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set vp the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whome, one, not of the meanest, the lord Maxwell, who had maried the earle of Angus his sister, did in Ianuarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Linclouden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike laws appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Maxwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and vpon the refusall of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edenburgh, where he long remained.

The lord Maxwell heareth masse.

These things thus doone in Scotland, the aforenamed maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentith of Ianuarie, with answer that hir maiestie of England would shortlie send an ambassador into Scotland, who should fullie satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the full of hir maiesties determination. Wherevpon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & maners of the people, was by the quéene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorised, tooke his iourneie from London towards Scotland on the eight daie of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maister Archibald Dowglasse (one that had beene sometime of the session or parlement of Edenburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, vpon displeasures which the king of Scots conceiued against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so wiselie, that he obteined great fauor after his returne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they had manie times doone before, but especiallie in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three, which I thought to note in this place, because I would not often vse repetition of one thing doone at seuerall times in so manie places) did excommunicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S. Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because they would not in all their actions, support and confirme the doctrine which the presbyterie had established. Which excommunication the presbyterie did the more boldlie, because they were supported by the assistance of the maister of Lindseie, a great enimie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint Andrews.

Maister Randolph goeth into Scotland.

1586.

But the king in the beginning did assist him against them, and the archbishop did in like sort thunder an excommunication against them. Which diuision not being méete to be in the cleargie, who ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring the same realme to confusion: for "Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur:" which must néedes be, where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie anie superiors. In which place, sith I haue mentioned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint Andrews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake anie more of him, I will here set downe a collection of all the archbishops of that sée.

A CATHALOG OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF SAINT ANDREWS, COLLECTED OUT OF THE HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND.

THE Scots séeking meanes to rid themselues from subiection of the bishop of Yorke, who was the metropolitane of Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thréescore and fouretéene obteine of the pope that they might haue a metropolitane sée within themselues, by reason of the continuall wars which was betwéene the two nations; during which they could neither vse appellations to their metropolitane, nor haue other bishops consecrated. Wherevpon the pope erected the church of S. Andrews into an archbishoprike in the time of king Iames the third, touching which, thus writeth Lesleus, lib. 8.

pag. 317. "Hoc anno (which was the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée-score and fouretéene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolitanæ ecclesiæ episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a papa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui Andreæ ciuitate figeretur: iniquū esse enim contendit, vt Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo tanquam primate pēderent, cùm propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti & Angli mutuò lacessunt) Scotis ad illum non pateretur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, præsertim in appellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andreapolitano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi nobiliúmque lætitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Grahami odio flagrantes, illius authoritatem repudiant, regisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other authors saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne Grahami partibus studeret. Interea præsules Romā mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum suscipiunt." But in the end they did not preuaile. Graham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews and the first archbishop of that sée, was after his aduancement to that title depriued in this sort. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée score and seuentéene, pope Xistus the fourth of that name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland, which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismatike, simoniake, wherevpon he was depriued of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, and commanded to perpetuall prison; in whose place was William Schewes chosen, to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was committed, after which Graham being remooued for his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Locheleuine, there in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sarffis or Seruinianus Ile in Locheleuine after that he had béene thrée yeares archbishop.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 3. 18.

William Schewes.

William Schewes being created archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thréescore and eighteene as some haue, or one thousand foure hundred thréescore and nineteene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in Edenburgh, in the presence of king Iames and manie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne of his metropolitane power, being declared legat and primat of Scotland, at what time he was not withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being estranged from shewing anie fauor to Graham, did often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled the same Graham from his archiepiscopall sée. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request of the king resigned his archbishoprike, contenting himselfe with the bishoprike of Murrie.

Andrew Steward. *Lesleus.* 1483.

Andrew Steward vncle to king Iames the third was vpon the resignation of William Schewes made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambassador to Rome for the obteining of certeine priuileges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king Iames the fourth, about the third yeare of his reigne was great contention betwéene the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glascow, touching both their authorities: which when it had drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions, it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, vntill all doubt thereof might be taken awaie, by deciding the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iudges. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare of Iames the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadors into France.

Alexander Steward.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 353.

Alexander Steward bastard sonne to king Iames the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ten, about the two and twentith of the reigne of the same Iames the fourth: this man hauing long studied with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low countries was aduanced to this sée of the archbishoprike when he was yet in Flanders; who hauing intelligence thereof by his freends, came foorthwith into Scotland, where he was ioifullie receiued by the king, the nobilitie, & his kindred.

kindred. He was slaine togither with his father king Iames the fourth at Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene. After which, Iohn Hepburne prior of saint Andrews stronglie besieging the castle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yéelded vnto him. The cause of which besiege grew, that Hepburne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his canons of that church (wherevnto the whole nobilitie were helpers) was hindered to possesse that archbishoprike, by such stipendarie people of Gawine Dowglasse as kept the castle; wherevpon the queene and the earle of Angus, after that they vnderstood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so troublesome vnto them, should ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Gawine Dowglasse so déerelie to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bishoprike should be helplesse of the recouerie therof. Wherevpon the queene and the duke of Albanie diligentlie labored by ambassadors sent to Rome, that a third person (sith Gawine Dowglasse could not obteine it) might be aduanced therevnto, which third man was Andrew Forman bishop of Murrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obteined of the pope. *Lesl. pag. 378.*

Andrew Forman bishop of Murrie was at Edenburgh by the popes buls on the eighth kalends of Ianuarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and fiftéene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of Iames the fift) declared archbishop of S. Andrews, and abbat of Dumfermeling and Aberbroth. Wherevpon the prior of saint Andrews before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could against Forman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his freends came to Edenburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openlie assisted Forman, did oppose themselues against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest and hinder Hepburne, shortlie after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being striken with the sharpnes of that precept, did priuilie depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Forman the archbishoprike, which he could not obteine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I doo not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and sixtéene, about the third yeare of the same Iames the fift, that the gouernor perceiuing that all these contentions, hatreds, and diuisions of the nobilitie did arise by these bralles, which were betweene Forman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andrewes, desired to cure this grieuous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he persuaded Andrew Forman that he should resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assemblie at Edenburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and vtterlie root out those breaches of dissention. Wherevpon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at what time Andrew Forman fréelie resigned to the gouernor the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishoprike of saint Andrews and the abbeie of Dumfermling vpon the same Andrew Forman, and gaue the bishoprike of Murrie to Iames Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Forman) being therevnto substitute by Iohn Hepburne prior of saint Andrews in place of the said Iohn, to whom moreouer the duke appointed a yerelie pension of a thousand marks, to be paied by the same Forman out of the abbeie of Dumfermling. After which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this Forman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, and the ninth yeare of king Iames the fift, to whom succéeded Iames Beton. Andrew Forman.

Iames Beton archbishop of Glascow and chancellor of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Andrews (as is before touched) after the death of Andrew Forman, hauing therewith the abbeie of Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had possessed it, of whom sée more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland. Iames Beton.

Dauid Beton brother to the same Iames Beton was after the death of the last archbishop of Dauid Beton.

of saint Andrews named to that sée by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordinglie, after the death of the same Iames Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

Iohn Hamilton. Iohn Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being abbat of Paslaie, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quéene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andrews, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie & thrée, being the first or second of quéene Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whome he was most honourablie and courteouslie receiued. From whense going into Scotland he was made treasuror, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whome he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauentéenth of quéene Marie, he was with the queene besieged in Leith. After still following the quéenes part, he with others méeteth hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and six, at Muskelborow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of Iames the sixt, was taken in the castell of Dunbritaine, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Matthew earle of Leneux, about the murther of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Matthew, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrike Ademston. Patrike Adamson *aliàs* Constance succéeded Iohn Hamilton in the archbishoprike of saint Andrews, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in seuerall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is héere to be ouerpassed, and therefore I referre thée to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. ¶ Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andrews, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassador from the quéene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatcht his ambassage to good effect. During whose aboade there, there was an assemblie holden at Edenborough in Maie, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

THE ARTICLES CONCLUDED IN THE ASSEMBLIE HOLDEN AT EDENBURGH IN MAIE.

"First, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euerie presbyterie.

"2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesdaie of October and Aprill.

"3 There shall be one generall assemblie in the yeare, the first of October next insuing.

"4 All assemblies doo consist of these persons, the pastor, doctor, and elders, & all the three to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue anie sutes in the assemblies may sée and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the thrée afore specified.

"5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastor, doctor, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastor or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastor.

"6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldership as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did apperteine onelie to a pastor or pastors sent from the assemblie, and not else.

"7 That when euer the assemblie maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

"8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, triall of ministers, deposing them

them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest judgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand vntill the presbyteries be better erected.

" 9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblie, being a pastor, as pastor shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblie, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblie, of whome he receiued the same.

" 10 If he admit or doo any thing without consent of his assemblie, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

" 11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis.*

" 12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not preiudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

" 13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblie for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblie shall appoint.

" 14 That no commission giuen by anie in times past before the date of this assemblie shall be vaileable, but such onlie as the said assemblie shall appoint. In which assemblie also it séemeth that the kings maiestie made certeine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, wherevpon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the preiudice of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne."

THE MEANES TAKEN IN THIS GENERALL ASSEMBLIE, TOUCHING THE BISHOP OF S. ANDREWS, AT THE DESIRE OF THE KINGS MAIESTIE.

" If the bishop by his owne handwriting or personall appearance in the assemblie, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publikelie professed or meant in anie sort to claime a supremasie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so doone, it had béene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

" 2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall assemblie he claimed to be iudge therevnto, and that if he had doone it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour in contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the ouersight thereof, and promise good behauiour in the time to come.

" 3 If he will promise to claime no further than he iustlie may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endeuour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderat person, and so serue, as that he may prooue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblie without anie reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in anie time to insue."

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yéeld to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand therevnto, which doone, the said assemblie at Edenburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind & obedience to his maiestie, in adnulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

THE DECREE OF THE ASSEMBLIE AT EDENBURGH, CONCERNING THE RESTITUTION OF THE BISHOP OF S. ANDREWS.

" For his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what good will we would obeie his heires so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for good hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building vp of the house of God within this realme, and bicause the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time

time of the conference, wherevpon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie good causes were conuenient to be remooued, we will forbeare to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects aforsaid, and vpon good and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaied, vndeducted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatlie before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had been laid and deducted against him. Prouiding alwaies he obserue what hath béene promised by him in the premisses, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming."

This doone the earle of Rutland (hauing a commission directed to him, to William lord Euers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwike as hir maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Wherevpon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Euers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwike the place appointed where this league should be fullie stablished. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authoritie, appointed to come to Berwike for Scotland. But some delaie being made of their appearance, and manie excuses wherewith to interteine time by messengers vsed, at the length commeth to Berwike Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Boid, and sir Iames Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensiue and offensiue betweene these two nations: which doone, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftéenth of August, where I will now leaue him. But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet bicause they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are méet for the instructions of the yoong Scotish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

" Sæpe tibi Randolphe iubes me pingere regem,
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.
Accipe: sit primùm veræ pietatis amator,
Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,
Pacem amet: & si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,
Exuat in victos arma, odiúmque simul,
Nolo nimis parcus, nimiùm sit nolo benignus,
Vtráque regno æqua est exitiosa lues,
Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,
Et se communem ciuibus esse patrem:
Puniat inuitus, cúm res iubet esse seuerum,
Publica cúm poscent commoda lenis erit.
Viuat, vt exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,
Sit vultus prauis terror, amórque bonis,
Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modestè,
Luxuriem frænet cum ratione pudor:
am tacitus tecum, tentas me fallere, tanquam
In tabula nostram qui mihi pingit heram."

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassador sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassador being called monsieur

D'annuanall had at this time small interteinment in Scotland; where not staieng long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boid was slaine in this sort. The earle being a goodlie yoong gentleman, and like to prooue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had doone before, did for his delight ride foorth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about fiue or six miles frō his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enimies, he was in his iorneie towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertslands, and some of the surnames of the Muirs; at what time he was most miserablie slaine by them to their great dishonor, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglasse (who as you heard before departing this realme in Aprill last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassador from the king of Scots to the queene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Murro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglasse nephue vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassador after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsore, on the sixt of the same moneth of September, with whome remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender discourse. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapsodie of some few things doone in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so nakedlie deliuered by me, I determine to knit vp all whatsoeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue beene the willinger to doo, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue doone in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphaell Holinshed. For hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written anie thing concerning England, so will I wrap vp these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In dooing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lesleus and other historiographers of Scotland, obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

A GENERALL CATALOG OF THE WRITERS OF SCOTLAND, WITH THE TIMES IN WHICH THEY LIUED, AS WELL OF THE YEARE OF CHRIST, AS OF THE REIGNE OF SCOTISH KINGS.

Before I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scotish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scotish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauing correction) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, doo transferre them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they seeme vnto me (holding the same for this present vntill I may see good authoritie to disprooue it) to be ouer couetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I doo verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For vntill late yeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scoti or Scots; wherevpon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, doo chalenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers doo vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same,

same, still leauing it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please ; for I neither may nor will sit as *Honorarius arbiter* betwéene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius. Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yéere of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lesleus saith three hundred and fiue before Christ, did write *Leges politicas lib.* 1. This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them ; for thus writeth Stanihurst in his writers of Ireland : Fergusius sonne to Fequardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose to haue béene an Irishman, was in the fiue and twentith yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned neere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Vpon whose mishap these verses following were made :

" Icarus Icareis vt nomina fecerat vndis,
Fergusius petræ sic dedit apta suæ."

Iosina. Iosina, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the first, who florished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, thrée thousand eight hundred twentie and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seuen, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. did write *De viribus herbarum lib.* 1.

Ethodius. Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesleus, but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath Gesnerus, slaine by a musician of the Hebrides, did write *Ad Pictorum regem plures epistolas.*

Celius Sedulius. Celius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which florished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Gréece, and Asia, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 134. whome the pope Gelasius woondering at his vertue and writing was woont to call *Venerabilem*, or woorthie reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write *Carmen paschale lib.* 4. which books are intituled *Libri mirabilium diuinorum.* Besides, he penned *Annotationes in omnes Pauli epistolas*, printed at Basill by Henrie Peter, *Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib.* 1. *In æditionem Donati lib.* 1. *In Prisciani volumen lib.* 1. *Exhortatorium ad fideles lib.* 1. *De Christo lib.* 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonius. Merlinus Calidonius otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Vplandisi (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet Telesinus. This Merline Calidon executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man florishing about the yeare of Christ fiue hundred and seuentie, did write *De vaticinijs lib.* 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus. Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Vlster, but Sixtus Senensis in his *Bibliotheca sancta*, Lesleus, & the Scotish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a moonke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lesle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbeie he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) togither with the abbeie of Fountnesse in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in th' end was reduced therevnto. He went into Almanie now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bouiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentith daie of Nouember. He florished in the time of Convallus king of Scots, about the

yeare

yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, *Commentaria in totum psalterium lib.* 1. *Epistolarum lib.* 1. *Monasteriorum methodos lib.* 1. *Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib.* 1. *De moribus monachorum metricè lib.* 1. *Collationes ad monachos lib.* 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to borne in Limster, but Gesnerus and Lesle with the Scots doo affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Laginensis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Man, as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 149. she florished about the yeare of our Lord fiue hundred thrée score and eight, as hath Lesleus, in the reigne of Convallus king of Scots; some other saie she florished in the yeare fiue hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ fiue hundred and eightéene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesleus will not haue to be written by this Briget a Scotish woman, but by Briget called Brigita Suetica that florished manie yeres after this Scotish Briget, writing thus: "Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundũt: siquidẽ multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius cæterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui idipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hactenùs putantur," &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen chalenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which veres are thus: Briget.

"Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,
Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius."

Maidulphus or Maiduldus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord six hundred foure score and nine, he writ *De Paschatis obseruatione*, whom I take to be Maidulphus, who was notablie learned in the Gréeke and Latine, first a schoolemaster, and after abbat of Malmsburie called in the beginning *Maidulphi curia*, or Maidulphsburie, after the name of this Maidulphus, who as hath Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and sixtéene. Now it is certeine both by our and the Scotish chronicles, that Maidulphus the builder of Malmsburie monasterie was a Scot. Maidulphus or Maiduldus Scotus.

Kilianus a Scot being a moonke, was martyred in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord six hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesleus affirmeth him to liue in the gouernment of Ethsinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seuen hundred thrée score and two, being the thirtith yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write *Contra peregrinos cultus, lib.* 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth *Lecturã Kiliani super magistrũ sententiarum*, which peraduenture might be this Kilianus the Scot. Kilianus.

Ionas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, florished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ *Vitam sancti Columbani lib.* 1. *Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib.* 1. Ionas Monachus.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a moonke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Hua, who flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and ninetéene, and writ *De locis terræ sanctæ lib.* 1. *De situ Ierusalem lib.* 1. *De pascheta legitimo lib.* 1. *Epistolas multas.* From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had manie things which he inserted in his owne bookes. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Yorkeshire belonging to the bishoprike of Yorke, and now at this daie is in English called Cawood. Adamannus Coludius.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought foorth florished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the sixt king of Scots began his reigne) was, Florentius.

as hath Lesleus, noblie borne, who trauelling into strange countries, conuerted manie from paganisme vnto Christ, leading a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Bruschius the famous riuer in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Rotharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: "Florentius Volusenus Scotus scripsit *theologicā orationē siue cōmendationem piam & eruditam*, Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem *de animi trāquillitate carmen* ibidem excusum 1543, & Basiliæ apud Ioannē Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551, Idem edidit *aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate*, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artuillus. Artuillus, or Artuillis a worthie gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person borne in Scotland, florished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he further saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred thrée score and two, this Artuillus writ *De rebus mathematicis librū vnū, ad Adelmum episcopum lib.* 1.

Sedulius Iunior. Sedulius Iunior being bishop of the south Scots did write *Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti*, and liued in the yere of Christ seuen hundred and fourtéene.

Bonifacius. Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witnesse of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scotish bloud, went to Rome, from whense by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to conuert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: "In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messem longè copiosissimam collegerat;" after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thense into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ seuen hundred fiftie and fiue, who being a moonke of the order of saint Benet, did write; *Epistolarum ad diuersos lib.* 1. *Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib.* 1.

Ioannes Mailrose. Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the sixt of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Rosse, and also florished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Gréeke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de sancto Victore, a most notable diuine. Shortlie after which, the said Iohn was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat so worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had setled a perfect league betwéene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie interteined by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe schoolemaister and instructor.

But shortlie after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Malmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certeine scholers of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpelie rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with *Pugionibus*, as saith Lesleus. Which Iohn, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authoritie of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordeining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: "Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit *super canones Aizachelis lib.* 1. *Ad Carolū regē lib.* 1. *Versus diuersi generis lib.* 1. *In euangel. Mat. lib.* 3. *De officijs humanis lib.* 8. *De officijs diuinis lib.* 1. *Dialogum de natura lib.* 1. *De naturæ diuisione lib.* 1. *De primo rerū principio lib.* 1. *De eucharistia lib.* 1. *Commentaria scripturarum lib.* 1. *Homilias eruditas lib.* 1. *De German. iuxta Irenium lib.* 1.

Claruit

Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem *libros Dionysij Areopagitæ* in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dress.

Kennethus king of Scots. Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie and fiue, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Gesnerus: "Kenethus Scotorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit *Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iurisconsulti vtuntur.*" But in that Gesner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borowed, & beene inforced to obeie the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superior lords: to whome they haue doone their homage, although time hath now worne the same out of vse.

Claudius Clemens. Claudius Clemens, by birth a Scot & a moonke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in *Bibliotheca sancta*: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowleges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: *In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Matthæum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum*, & alia multa.

Beornillus. Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie: "Beornillus Scotorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeis carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam lacessiuit:" which Beornillus was also at the councell of Calne in Wiltshire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred thréescore and seuentéene. For Alfritha the queene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of moonks in their roomes.

Leuinus. Leuinus archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to haue written certeine homilies; he florished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seuen, vnder the gouernment of Grime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme. Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slaine by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus. Marianus Scotus so called, because that he was borne in Scotland, was a moonke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and ciuill hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his comming thither, had the gouernment of the same abbeie. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortlie after died, who (florishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these works of his: *Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolas hortatorias*, obijt Moguntiæ, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus. Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrewes, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, or with the great head king of Scots, did write *De Scotorū regibus*

regibus lib. 1. *Chronica Dunelmensia lib.* 1. *Annales sui temporis lib.* 1. *Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ.* In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not anie Margaret quéene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quéene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

Dauid Scotus.

Dauid Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe Dauid Scotus, and next Dauid Presbyter Scotus, this man being borne in Scotland, was first schoolemaister at Wiceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the fift the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspengensis & manie others doo write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneie which the emperor Henrie the fift made into Italie after the pacification had betwéene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmsburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke *De regibus.* "At verò Henricus antiquis Cæsaribus in nulla virtute deiectior, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem vrbium subiugaturus, quæstionémque de inuestitura suo libito recissurus; sed iter illud ad Romam magnis excercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporū consummatū, Dauid Scotus Banchorēsis episcopus exposuit, magis in regis gratiam quàm historicum deceret accliuis." He liued and prospered about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write *Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib.* 1. *Magistratuum insignia lib.* 1. *Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotiæ lib.* 1.

Richardus de sancto victore.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I doo not as yet find anie mention in Gesner, but in Iohn Maior and Lesleus) liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder Dauid the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to anie diuine of his time, aswell in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set foorth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be séene with this epitaph recited by Iohn Maior in his memoriall:

"Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Puluereo hîc tegeris docte Richarde situ:
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
Te fouet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec stamina paruo
Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:
Plurima námque tui superant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
Segnior vt lento sceleratas mors petit edes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu."

Walter the bastard sonne of king Dauid the first.

Walter the bastard sonne of Dauid the first of that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholie consecrat to holie exercises and offices, being first indued with the rich canonrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishoprike of saint Andrewes, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrosse, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laied the foundation of manie abbeies. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie miracles (as that age did simplie suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and florished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand

thousand one hundred fiftie and thrée, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writeth in this sort: "Gualterus Albanensis monachus scripsit *de libris ecclesiæ lib.* 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Baleus.

Thomas Liermant *aliàs* Ersilton being borne in Scotland was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certeine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) fortell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obteined the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall daie of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and thrée. He wrot *Prædictiones rerum Scoticarum rithmicis versibus*, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed *Rithmicus*, or the Rimer, liuing some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to florish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six. Thomas Liermant *aliàs* Ersilton.

Michaell Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophie, astronomie, and the other mathematiks, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twise mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his *Bibliotheca*, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who florished in the time of Iohn Balioll king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote *In gratiã Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphera lib.* 1. *In Aristotelis meteora lib.* 4. *De constitutione mundi lib.* 4. *De anima lib.* 1. *De cœlo & mundo lib.* 2. *De somno & vigilia lib.* 2. *De generatione & corruptione lib.* 2. *De substãtia orbis lib.* 1. *De sensu & sensato lib.* 2. *De memoria & reminiscentia lib.* 2. *Contra Auerroem in meteora lib.* 1. *Imagines astronomicas lib.* 2. *Astrologorum dogmata lib.* 1. *In ethica Aristotelis lib.* 10. *De signis planetarum lib.* 1. *De chiromantia lib.* 1. *De physiognomia lib.* 1. *Abbreuiationes Auicennæ lib.* 1. *De animalibus ad Cæsarem lib.* 1. whose booke of physnomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by Iohn Baptista Sessa. Michaell Medicus.

Iohn Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and tearmed the subtill doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minors brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time nor long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length tooke the habit and order of the Franciscans, prooving of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtill disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minors, where when he had for some space remained, and read vnto them of scholasticall matters, he traueld to Cullen, and there vntimelie died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of Iohn Balioll king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283. of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as saith Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 250) called *Scotistæ* or *Scotists* as all they of an other faction are surnamed *Thomistæ* or the *Thomists*, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, doo chalenge him to be their countriman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Stanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers, Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scotish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine prooue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Chyians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirnians were so stiffelie bent in prooving him to be borne in their ter- Iohn Duns.

ritorie,

ritorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and therevpon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtill and profound clearke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dusked, was a little spice of vainglorie, being giuen to carpe and tawnt his predecessor diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduansing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Stanihurst. Now the bookes which he wrote were these. *Super sententias lib.* 4. *Quodlibeta quoque lib.* 1. *Sermones de sanctis lib.* 4. *Sermones de tempore li.* 1. *De cognitione Dei lib.* 1. *Cõmentarios Oxonienses lib.* 4. *Reportationes Parisienses lib.* 4. *In metaphysicã quæstionẽ lib.* 12. *Quæstiones vniuersaliũ li.* 2. *Quæstiones prædicamẽtorũ lib.* 1. *In analytica posteriora lib.* 1. *In Aristotelis physica lib.* 8. *In Categorias eiusdem lib.* 1. *Lecturam in Genesim lib.* 1. *De rerum principio lib.* 1. *Commentaria in euangelia lib.* 4. *In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrãmatum lib.* 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose works thus further writeth Gesn. "Iohanni Scoto sententiarum interpreti primæuam sacratissimi Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cùm alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto" (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) "Qui istũ multis sæculis antecessit, & Athænis Grecè didicit, accepta referri debeat." Of the death of this man sée Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. *De honesta vita*, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis out of Gréeke into Latine.

Thomas Varreie. Thomas Varreie or Varraie flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at what time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort:

"Musa refert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatum," &c.

Who being maister and ruler of Bethwallie, is not greatlie estéemed of the Scotish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinstone. William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I doo find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. "Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit *antiquitates Scotorum*, & *conciliorum statuta librum vnum.* Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valdè Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340." Thus much Gesnerus.

Iames Steward. Iames Steward the first of the name of Iames, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his natiue soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue béene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was Iohn Steward, and not Iames. This man in the time whilest he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

Iohannes Maior. Iohannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his *Bibliotheca sancta* dooth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where atteining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obteining further knowledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne workes. He was borne at Hadington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Hadingtonensis, he did write *Decisiones sententiarum lib.* 4. *Sophisticália Parisiensia*, *Placita theologica*, *Commentarios in Matthæum*, *Historiarum maioris Britanniæ*

lib. 6. *Caxtonum Anglum* transtulit *lib.* 7. He florished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred & twentie, vnder Iames the fift king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his storie of Britaine, conteining England and Scotland. There is one Iohn Maior vouched and aledged in Crisopasso Ioan. Eccij, which I doo take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible dooth speake of one Iohn Maior in this manner: "Iohannes Maior Anglus scripsit *in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam*," and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Maior himselfe wherein he should liue. Of which Maior Bucchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here vnder written as followeth:

"Cùm scateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulis quòd se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet."

William Gregorie borne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and seuenteene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie books behind him which he had carefullie and learnedlie written, whereof these are the titles: *De duplici potestate lib.* 1. *Elucidationes sententiarum lib.* 4. *Quæstiones vesperales lib.* 1. *In politica Aristotelis lib.* 8. *De triplici animæ potentia lib.* 1. *De regno Christi æterno lib.* 1. *De triplici principatu lib.* 1. *De scripturæ sensibus lib.* 3. *Ad vocabulare theologicū lib.* 1. *Collectiones Sorbonicas lib.* 1. *De disciplina Iuniorum lib.* 1. *De sacra synaxi lib.* 1. *In psalterium commentarios lib.* 1. *Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib.* 2. William Gregorie.

Hector Boetius of Dundée in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scotish historie. He florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred twentie and six, vnder Iames the fift king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus words: "Hector Boetius Deidonatus, natione Scotus, scripsit *catalogum regum Scotiæ. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib.* 1. *Historias Scotorum lib.* 17. *Aberdonensium pontificum vitas*, eius *historiæ Scotorum* excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiæ libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic æditioni eiusdem Scotorum historiæ continuatio per Ioannem Ferrerium Pedæmontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita fol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580." Hector Boetius.

Gawine Dowglasse, borne of the noble house of the Dowglasses in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betweene him and the gouernor of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, in the time of Iames the fift of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write *Palatium honoris lib.* 1. *Aureas narrationes lib.* 1. *Comœdias aliquot lib.* 1. *De rebus Scoticis lib.* 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem *Aeneidos Virgilij lib.* 12. Gawine Dowglasse.

Dauid Lindseie of the mount or hill, otherwise by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his works written in his owne toong in verse, which were *Acta sui temporis lib.* 1. *De mundi miserijs lib.* 1. *Tragœdia Dauidis Beton lib.* 1. *Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib.* 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinall be not all one) *Testamentum psitaci lib.* 1. *Dialogus aulici & experientiæ lib.* 1. *Somnium Dauidis Lindsei lib.* 1. *Deploratio mortis reginæ Magdalenæ lib.* 1. Of most of which his works Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he florished in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and fortie, in the time of Iames the fift king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindseie was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court. Dauid Lindseie.

Patrike Hamilton. Patrike Hamilton, borne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephue of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of Iames the fift of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse bookes, amongst which were these, *De lege & euangelio lib.* 1. *De fide & operibus lib.* 1.

Ioannes Altus. Iohannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot borne, had some contention with one Eusdan Morphet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which conteined one booke; besides which also he did write another booke *Contra Antiscotiton* of this Morphet, & *Epigrammata lib.* 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie vnder Iames the fift.

Iohn Bellendon. Iohn Bellendon or Ballentine, who florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and six, vnder king Iames the fift, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scotish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

Iohn Wourā. Iohn Wouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language *Catechismum fidei lib.* 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie queene of Scots.

Iohn Herrison. Iohn Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight, being the sixt yéere of Marie queene of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, *De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib.* 1. which was written to Edward Seimor duke of Summerset protector of England.

Iohn Makbeth. Iohn Makbeth called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who florishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scots, did compose, *De vera & falsa ecclesia lib.* 1.

Iohn Makbraie. Iohn Mackebraie borne in Scotland, did florish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixteenth yéere of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scots. This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same Iohn Makleth before touched, did write *Anglorum ecclesiæ originem & progressum lib.* 1. *Explicationem suæ fidei lib.* 1.

George Buchanan. George Bucchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times maliciouslie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forbeare in the highest degree of malice to vpbraid and backebite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as maie appeare by his immodest spéeches, not beséeming a man of his learning, was schoolemaster to Iames the sixt of that name king of Scotland, of whom liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and nineténe, I will forbeare to saie what I could, least I might offend in that which I mislike in him, & therfore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. "Georgius Buchananus Scotus *rudimenta grāmatices Latinæ Thomæ Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum* vertit: ea Nicol. Brilingerus impressit Basiliæ anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima *poemata*: *Iephtes tragœdia*, Lutetiæ apud Vascosanum. *Franciscanus & fratres*, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum *poemata*, Basiliæ apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem *psalmorum paraphrasis poetica*, Genevæ, Argentinæ, Antuerpiæ impressa in 8 & 16, eiusdem *Baptistes siue calumnia tragœdia*, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelum. *De iure regni apud Scotos* editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. *Psalmi Dauidis* ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primùm modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. *Rerum Scholasticarū historia lib.* 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

Iohn Knokes. Iohn Knokes borne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles Iames, the sixt of that name king of Scotland, and writ manie bookes in the Scotish English, amongst which were *Ad Londonienses & alios lib.* 1. *Ad euangelii*

euangelii professores lib. 2. *Qualiter sit orandum*
Doctrina missalium lib. 1. *De fide eucharistiæ epi*
Ad Scotiæ reginam Mariam epist. 1. *Concilium in his*
primum lib. 1. *Appellationem a sentẽtia cleri lib.* 1.
He liued in the yere of Christ 1569.

Iohn Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie in Paris beca
liuing in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thrée score
of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and Iohn Caluin, an
nisters of the new gospell (as he scornefullie termed it) which bookes w
turned into Latine, and latelie into the Germane toong, printed in 4 at Inge
yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and two.

Iohannes Duræus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Bureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought vp in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Iesuit, who now liuing did in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled *Confutatio responsionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei:* which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunelius, 'In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuæ.'

Patrike Adamson liuing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred three score and thirteene, did write certeine verses, whereof this was the title and effect, as hath Gesnerus, *Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illustriss. & potentiss. principi Elizabethæ Angl. Franc. & Hiberniæ reginæ, propter liberatam ciuili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munitissimam Edenburgi arcem sub fidem regis carmen elegiacum*, which man being now liuing, is archbishop of saint Andrews. Patrike Adamson.

Patrike Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quéene of Scots, did write, *De vtilitate & excellentia verbi Dei*, which was printed at Paris by Michaell Fezandate, and Robert Grauson, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one. He writ also *De vulgari sacræ scripturæ phrasi, lib.* 2. whereof the first doth intreat of the sinne against the Holie-ghost, which they call irremittable or vnto death: the second booke dooth with great diligence and fidelitie vnfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie euillie vnderstood, and worse interpreted: which worke was printed at Paris by Robert Messiline in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13. Patrike Cockburne.

Iohn Lesle sometime officiall of Aberden, and bishop of Rosse, of whom I haue spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauorer and futherer of the Romane religion dooth yet liue in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles Iames the sixt king of Scots, and hath written *Pii afflicti animi consolationes diuinúque remedia lib.* 1. *Animi tranquilli monumentum lib.* 1. *De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib.* 10. printed at Rome. Iohn Lesle.

Ninianus Wenzetus, who flourished in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and one, in the time of Marie queene of Scots, was a fauorer of the popes doctrine, and enimie to Iohn Knokes, touching whom I will set down the words of two seuerall authors, whereof the one is Lesleus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: "Hæc res" (which was a disputation in religion) "Niniano Winzeto maximam apud hæreticos inuidiam conflauit, vnde cum audirent illum" (Ninian Winzet) "iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitarat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expostulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulctando. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, libros quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scotũ typographũ bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quẽ tantopere cupiebant, præ foribus magistratui occurrentem quòd incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent hæretici, rident Catholici." On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: "Ninianus Winzetus Renfrous, S. theologiæ doctor, & apud sancti Ninianus Wenzetus.

[illegible] sectariorum qui religionis prætextu iam [illegible] es excitare student, quærentes ineptissimè quidem, [illegible] uiendū. Accessit velitatio in Georg. Bucchan. circa [illegible] gni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadii ex officina typographica [illegible]

[illegible] Scotland in Dumfermeling, was brought vp in Paris, where [illegible] of learning, is now liuing, being aduanced to the place of one of [illegible] of Poitiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie works, amongst [illegible] ookes *De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admoralli* [illegible] *æ, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis* (after that Charles Iames the sixt, attemed [illegible] crowne) *Scotiæ*. Besides which hauing written against the work of Bucchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Bucchanan.

[illegible]ew Mel- Andrew Meluin one of the presbyterie in Scotland, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fourscore and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuectiue against the quéene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth "Vipera cum catulis."

[illegible] Tirie Iames Tirie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who comming to Paris, trauelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluin; he florished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred thréescore and one, vnder Marie quéene of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola* 1. *Responsio ad Knoxium lib.* 1.

[illegible]les Iames. Charles Iames the sixt of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yoong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yoongest yeares about the age of seuenteene or eightteene, write a booke of verses in his mother toong, conteining manie matters of sundrie rare inuentions, and of sundrie forms of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scotish writers, to the end that I would close vp the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it vp with a king.

Thus setting end to my trauels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie requireth, but as my skill, helps, & intelligences would permit) I desire thée reader to take it in good part, remembring that "Vltra posse non est esse," sith according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his vpper lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing anie more subiect whervpon to worke, I can doo no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that "In magnis voluisse sat est;" I commit my selfe and my labors to thy fauorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of anie of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue doone maie well appeare) thou shalt incourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine ("Absit verbis philautia") as maie both shew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my fréends. For though I maie séeme to be idle, yet I saie with Scipio, "Numquàm minùs sum otiosus quàm cùm sum otiosus."

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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